Addenda

# The Toronto French School Inc.

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September 14th, 1964

ROYAL COMMISSION ON BILINGUALISM & BICULTURALISM
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COMMISSION ROYALE D'ENQUÊTE SUR LE BILINGUISME & LE BICULTURALISME

Mr. Paul Lacoste,
Co-Secretary,
Royal Commission on Bilingualism
and Biculturalism,
P.O. Box 1508,
Ottawa.

Dear Mr. Lacoste:

Please find enclosed some additional material to the brief submitted by the Toronto French School, Inc., on June 30th, 1964.

Yours very truly,

W.H. Giles
President

WHG/sda

30 encls.

C O P Y

The Toronto French School Inc.
2 Carlton St., Suite 919
Toronto 2, Ont.

September 4th, 1964

Mr. M. Sullivan,
Educational Editor,
The Toronto Star,
80 King St. W.,
Toronto

Dear Mr. Sullivan:

When the Toronto French School started in September 1962 it had 16 students. This year 247 students are registered, and there are still a few openings left.

Most of the children are of a pre-school variety, being Kindergarten and Junior Kindergarten. But this year 77 children are in the grade school and 169 are in the Kindergarten and Junior Kindergarten level. This is made up of a regular French speaking Grade II and a special Grade II of English speaking beginners; and two French speaking Grade I's and two English speaking special Grade I's.

We have expanded our Day Nursery-Kindergarten program to Don Mills, and we have temporarily located one section of North Toronto in search of space in Willowdale. We had hoped to open a section in Etobicoke, but we were unable to find accommodation in any Etobicoke Church and had to abandon that attempt for this year. We are still expecting to find space in Willowdale. Had we solved our space problems in Etobicoke, we would have had over 300 students this year.

The School recently became a member of the International Schools Association, a UNESCO sponsored curriculum development association for the development of improved international education. Our School was nominated for membership by one of the leading European experimental schools, the Ecole Active Bilingue in Paris.

This year we will have 12 French language teachers on Staff, one Carl Orff teacher and one teacher of English. This year, for the first time, we are beginning to attract French language children, as well as children from an

English language background.

We have now 4 Kindergarten classes for English speaking children, 3 Kindergarten classes for French speaking children, who are sometimes from French language homes, and on other occasions are graduates from our own nursery or Junior Kindergarten. We have 5 Nursery programs as well.

We have found that our Nursery children acquire between 800 and 1,200 words a year, given regular attendance, and the English speaking Kindergarten children acquire from between 1,200 words to 1,800.

This year we continued our policy of seeking out teachers from as broad a background as possible, with the result that we have teachers originally from three Swiss Cantons, from several parts of France, from Egypt and from Canada.

We are in the course of building an international library and intend to continue to aid, from our experience, whatever schools or school boards are interested in our experience with recommended programs, texts and methods. In fact we are hoping to launch a teacher training program, in conjunction with the Government of France, in the Summer of 1965.

If I can be of any further help to you in this connection, please do not hesitate to call.

Yours very truly,

W.H. Giles
President

WHG/sda

The Toronto French School was formally created in August of 1962, but in fact its program had existed for some 18 months prior to that time.

The first program was one established for 6 pre-school children, in which the children were taught by formal methods with the teacher being French speaking, but unqualified. The program ran for three mornings a week, and except for its psychological importance was actually almost entirely worthless. This program was organized by Claire BRIGDEN and Anna GILES. In July of 1962 the problem arose of what further steps should be taken, if any. They thought of setting up a more extensive program in order that the children would not lose what was thought to be their knowledge of French. A teacher appeared but she was technically unqualified to teach pre-school children. We located some space and we had to make a decision as to what had to be done. The others involved (7 in all) seemed to be flapping about with no clear idea of what the whole thing was about or how it ought to be approached and immediate steps had to be taken. I seized the reins, and started the school on its course. I arranged to have our teacher receive temporary pre-school qualifications, and at the same time incorporated the school as a non-profit corporation. Thereafter I arranged to have the school registered as a charitable trust under the Income Taxt Act.

We placed posters up and circulated the Alliance Francaise, and gave a press conference. The Globe and Mail carried an article on August 25th, and the Star and Telegram followed this with articles on September 7th. We opened with 13 students, of which 9 were new. We then tried to attract further interest and we sent out 2,500 letters to staff members at the University of Toronto. This created additional students. We found a new teacher who agreed to work half days and further articles appeared in the Star and Telegram on November 7th. We then had 31 students. Prior to this I had been arranging to have an Advisory Committee appointed to assist in the selection of staff, texts and program. This Committee consisted of W.S. ROGERS of Trinity College, D.M. HAYNE, E.A. JOLIAT, R.R. ROBERT, and Victor GRAHAM, all of University College, Rev. L.J. BONDY of St. Michaels College, all being university professors at various French Departments and myself, my wife Anna, who had been a psychologist at the child adjustment service of the Toronto Board of Education, Yolanda DEMIBORSKI, whose husband was staff member at University College, and Claire BRIGDEN. As president I was Chairman of the Board, and of the Advisory Committee, and was acting principal and director of councilium.

In preparing for the Fall of 1963 it was obvious that a whole new approach to obtaining students would have to be followed. I arranged for the publication of articles in a number of small newspapers, the North Toronto Herald, etc. The Trans-Canada Matinee did a 10-minute spot on the school and in June 701 did a 7-minute entry as well. We had been trying to get publicity by writing dozens of letters to dozens of places and ultimately these resulted in two or three radio interviews and the T.V. spots noted.

We were hoping we would get support and help in Quebec and in investigating schools, we arranged to visit College Marie de France and the Weston School in Montreal. While there we hoped to inform others on our school and called a press conference. We sent letters to 22 leading French language newspapers and periodicals and to two English ones. In November I visited Montreal and, along with Marcel LAGRENADE, and after a lengthy conference we believed that our school would receive the full support and interest of French Canada. The first hint that this might not be true came with the press conference when the two English language newspapers appeared and articles subsequently were written on the school. Not one French language newspaper appeared or afterwards showed any real interest. The academic persons we spoke to were kind and helpful, but it soon became apparent that the help which we had thought we would receive was not coming. The academic programs however, were of no real assistance since the French schools were for French children, and the English schools, were not placing the kind of emphasis on French which was clearly imperative. I began writing to schools all over the world, collecting information on methods, texts, and programs and began to develop our own methods from the work of others.

In search of money I wrote to over 100 major Trusts and Corporations seeking assistance. It was explained that we were concerned with research into bilingualism, its methods, problems, and programs. This program did not interest the English or French controlled corporations and trusts sufficiently to enable any of them to contribute a 10¢ piece. I wrote to 22 organizations supporting French language groups, two replied and none gave aid. Though no one else in this country cared about effective bilingualism, I did. I was prepared to go on fighting with or without aid. The idea was of such importance that it could not be abandoned without a further fight.

We had hopes for the Fall 1963, but how many teachers should we hire, and where should we get them. When hiring time came by we had applications sufficient to enable us to hire two teachers, and the rest would be guesswork. Although we had begged for help, we had been denied everywhere. We hired five teachers with the expectation of having to pay two or three of them out of my own pocket. Since I had already paid out several thousand dollars in expenses, I felt that some way, somehow, or

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somewhere, someone in this country would believe in what we were doing or trying to do. I had worked a year for between 35 to 45 hours a week for the school, and together with those helping us had brought something valuable and important into being, and injured my law practice severely in so doing as well as having paid a large percentage of the bills from my own pocket. Fine deeds by me buttered no parsnips, however, for me or the school, we needed real help and saw it nowhere.

The basic problem with what we were trying to do was that our school was not acting as a private school concerned with the education of privileged children. We were trying to do things expressly for public education, because public education was more concerned with other matters. The problems were too large for most public authorities to face, and even keeping pace with an expanding population was enough. Boards of Education, in Ontario at least, must comply with Departmental regulations. Only an independent school could do the practical and theoretical work necessary and so we plodded on, doing what we could, and doing what the largest Board of Education in Canada thought was too big for them.

In September of 1963, we started with five full-time and one part-time teacher and ended with 99 students. To obtain the students I prepared a pamphlet on our program and we distributed 25,000 of these via postmans' walks. Articles appeared in the Toronto Star and Telegram at the opening of school and some T.V. shots on C.F.T.O. T.V. All of these were induced by prompting from the writer. Later in the year, a Toronto Star reporter visited the school and a new article appeared which was reprinted throughout much of Canada.

In the course of our development enquiries came steadily from all over Canada as to what we were doing, and how it was being done. Out of the hundreds of letters I had written, and the visits I had made in Canada, and the United States, and from the published research on bilingualism, I began to evolve a method. One of our teachers, a Nicole CORBI, had used the standard approach in the pre-school classes in accordance with approved theory and the children learned from it. This method consisted of the use of mime, movement and drama in keeping with the vocabulary to be learned. In our first formal year, 1962-63, the vocabulary learned was by choice of the teacher. During the Fall of 1963 I prepared a formal program and revised the vocabulary lists three times, using pre-school texts and ideas from Canada, Switzerland and France. The vocabulary lists are now being reviewed for comment in France. We began to follow a policy of deliberately aiding every school and organization which asked us for pedagogical help. In the Fall of 1962 the Village of Rockcliffe Park expressed interest and we provided them with data on our approach. In September of 1963 they commenced a program similar to our own. They visited the school in 1963 and we

provided them with material, vocabulary lists and pedagogical instructions. As the lists have been revised, they have received copies. The Chambly County Protestant School Board near Montreal expressed interest and we went to very considerable lengths to try and advise tham as fully and fairly as possible as to the problems of our type of programs and the ways in which it could best be modified to meet the needs of their own community. They too visited us and were provided with material on methods, programs, etc. Visitors came from local school boards, from the United States, from Quebec, from Moncton and we answered enquiries from all over Canada and elsewhere. As a consequence of research we learned a great deal and to the limited extent of what I was physically capable, this material data and information was given to others.

In looking at texts I have had to find out what texts there are, find out their costs, find out the editors, find their addresses and order them. To date I have collected copies of most of the French language texts used in Canada, almost all those used in the first three grades in France, and those used in three Cantons in Switzerland. Having obtained the texts, it is necessary to evaluate them. Since we had no principal, I have had to act the role, and to this end I have had to read dozens upon dozens of books on program development. I took a course by correspondence in the Montessori method; I visited schools using different methods, I visited centres concerned with programmed instruction. To develop a sound psychological basis for the program it was necessary to survey carefully all research material written on the subject, and to disregard all the material - thousands upon thousands of pages, that represented only the guesses of educational quacks. I have had the theoretical backing of the Advisory Committee of our school, and they have given fully of their time in ensuring that our texts were of good standard. There were still questions that needed to be answered in this area. I tried to get the Toronto Board of Education interested, and succeeded but the Director of Research was going on leave to Harvard for a year, and no research program beyond our own was launched. I prepared a research program for submission to the Ontario College of Education and it seemed that some serious work would at last be started, but it has faded somewhat. The work has not been started and we are almost as ignorant now of the real problems, as we were before. No one helps us, and no one does anything quickly enough.

I have been interested in methods for several years, since methods are probably more important in language instruction than elsewhere. I became aware of the Voix et Images de France method, and its approach about three years ago. I visited the Centre in Philadelphia, and by comparing this method with others, it became perfectly clear that the method was one good answer to the needs of English Canada. Astonishingly enough, no one in Ontario seemed to have heard of it. Since no one in Canada was

concerned with the establishment and development of pre-school programs for the teaching of French we turned to St. Cloud and the Centre de Recherche et d'Etudes pour la Diffusion du Francais. There, we obtained interest and today St. Cloud is examining our vocabulary lists. Again, we received help and recognition, but outside of Canada.

In the development of our program it was obvious that a higher standard would have to be introduced than that currently taught. Most of the University entrants cannot write now, with a monolingual background. In our Nursery or Junior Kindergarten classes English language children are introduced to French for the first time. The teachers are French speaking, and after a few days, they stop speaking whatever English they have. We use selected vocabulary lists thought to be appropriate for the age level. The words are not taught individually, they are taught in sentences. They are taught by means of drama, mine and games.

The classes are kept small, at 15, but we believe that classes as large as 20-25 could successfully apply the method. By Easter, the children are speaking in French to each other, and by the end of the year they have a speaking vocabulary of from 1000-2000 words.

The children who enter our Kindergarten classes are from three groups :

a) French language children fluent in the language and children of English language homes who have made exceptional progress;

b) French language children who speak and understand French, but who do not have an unusual fluency in their language, and children who have graduated from our Junior Kindergarten and who do not possess exceptional fluency;

c) English language children who are introduced to the French language for the first time.

All three groups go through an intensive language program with the more advanced children receiving an enriched form of instruction, including more printing, music and art, and reading. The children who are introduced to French for the first time are expected to have a speaking vocabulary of from 1500-2500 words. The others are completely fluent. All Kindergarten and Junior Kindergarten programs are of the half-day variety of $2\frac{1}{2}$ hours.

The graduates from other schools or French speaking children of considerable fluency are admitted into our grade school classes. In some cases they will be behind in some

academic work but special instruction is arranged to deal with their problems. The children from this class end the year with an extensive knowledge of vocabulary, and in most areas are ahead of their compatriots whose mother tongue is French, in France, Switzerland and Quebec after the 11e or Grade I. These programs have substantially more academic content than public programs in Canada.

We also have special classes which use special methods in the Grade I for children who enter without French. By the end of the year, these children are fluent, and have covered the work of a good 11e in France, Switzerland or Canada. We propose to adapt methods as we progress to higher grades.

Problems : 1) Children cannot transfer into these classes in mid-term unless they are French speaking;
2) If a static method is used then the child will become bored, indifferent and the program will fail. Good teachers employing good methods are of fundamental importance;
3) The teacher must learn to mime and act, and after one or two days must never speak English.

In Grade I in Ontario the children are introduced to reading, learn to print (or start to), and are adding and substracting to totals of 10. In our program the children learn to write in Grade I, since they have already learned to print in Kindergarten, read at a level of at least 3,500 words in French, add and substract to totals of 1,000, multiply to their five times table, and divide by two. Our children take a geography course, together with one in history. They take a music course and an art course; and they take this program in French. Because we teach in French to children basically English, variety is used extensively. Our reading program employs the global method (and special material), the phonetic method, and the syllabic method. The variety of material, with the varied approaches, enables the children to face an intensive program without experiencing boredom. The same is true of our mathematics. We teach this in a variety of ways in the conventional manner, but we also use the Cuisenaire method, and Montessori material. This variety is even more important for a school like ours, than for most and enables us to reach much higher levels quickly and thoroughly. To achieve these levels we also need good teachers, and on the whole we have been fortunate in this area as well. No school can do anything with teachers who are indifferent to their charges and to the society about them. Our teachers have not only taught, they have helped to evolve methods from their experience.

The practical problems we have had can only be described as fantastic. Aside from the fact that we have had to set up a program based on sound methods, in an area of controversy, we have had to evolve methods, develop the program, find the texts, find the students and find the teachers. We have also the fantastic problem of finding locations and getting our children to school

and arranging for the parents to assist at the pre-school level. The pre-school groups must be located in accommodation near to their homes, but zoning by-laws prevent us from locating anywhere other than in churches or schools. We have not enough money to get in the public and separate schools, and the churches are more concerned with religious problems than the problems of biculturalism. We have approached perhaps 75 churches and synagogues, of which four have signified themselves willing and have agreed to permit us occupancy. Each one requires an introductory letter, sometimes one or more interviews and visits, and usually three or four more letters, before we are finally turned down. Considering the other difficulties, this problem by itself has been almost insurmontable. Since the children are driven to school each day, car pools are arranged and three or four parents co-operate in the bringing of the children to school, but the school arranges this down to and including the day to day transportation and without it the school would have died. Any illness with a driver and the school is usually called in, to rearrange matters. Each parent must arrange to come to the school and help her child's class once every 2-3 weeks. This must be scheduled and rearranged to convenience the parents and to deal with illness. On a day to day basis these problems are also fantastically demanding and complex. Each child coming into the school must be interviewed with parents to obtain an adequate background. This spring and summer, we face about 210 interviews. Each teacher and teacher prospect, and this year we will have 12 new ones, must be interviewed. To survey 1,000 grade I texts is not an easy task, but to have to find, acquire, and then survey the texts is a task infinitely larger.

We started in 1962 with 16 students and 1 teacher. We started 1963 with 5 teachers and 99 students. We will start in September 1964 with 15 teachers and 300 students. We have been authorized by Credif to train teachers, along with the University of Montreal and Laval, but we have to pay most of the costs of training. Credif is doing research with us. The International Schools Association, a UNESCO sponsored curriculum Development Association has invited us to join their organization, the first Canadian School or association so invited. We have been acclaimed by educators from within and without Canada. We have done much, but much more needs to be done, and what has been done can be lost through indifference. We have already indicated that what almost everyone in Canada said was impossible, or at best undesirable, can be achieved at the highest levels, under the most fantastically difficult circumstances, and without any visible harmful side effects. Infant bilingualism has stimulated interest not only in the new mother tongue, but also in the old one. Children who had been experiencing difficulty in expressing themselves, through speaking in French have somehow acquired increased facility in English.

Canada will become a real partnership, or it will become nothing. The country is not large enough to support

monolingualism in any area. If we are so narrow that we do not know each other's languages, then there never will be any hope for any long term understanding other than on a basis which does not do anyone real credit. It is time for us all to grow up, and to recognize that for each of us to acquire a second great language, is not a concession, but a reward; not a surrender, but a victory; not a contemptible end, but a meritorious and richer beginning. Any course which does not embrace a bilingualism which will be nation-wide is not only short-sighted, it is stupid, irrational and contrary to the best interest of all of our people. It is time that we mature enough to at least recognize the truth, and be wise enough to act on that recognition.

Our Advisory Committee has expanded and changed since it was first set up in that Claire BRIGDEN and Yolanda DEMBOWSKI are no longer on it and Alexander WITTENBURG, a trilingual mathematics professor for York University, and Maurice LEBEL, the former Dean of Letters at Laval University are now members.

We wish to become a cultural centre in Canada concerned with the two basic languages but also with the others as well. We would like to train teachers, using a similar method to Voix et Images not only in French, but also in Italian, Ukranian, German, and such other languages as it might be appropriate or useful to train in order to help preserve the several cultures in the country. We would like to attempt to establish a library of films and texts, with branches in each province to deal with the special problems in that area and to supply such centres with lists of teachers duly qualified to teach in any required language and to ensure that supplementary cultural material is available to facilitate that end.

If a school such as ours can achieve what we have achieved almost without help, then surely with help much more can be done. This is not to belittle the problems, but rather to state that with financial assistance these problems can be much more easily surmounted; and the achievements become that much more substantial.

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# B R I E F

Submitted to the

ROYAL COMMISSION
ON
BILINGUALISM & BICULTURALISM

Presented by

Dominion Executive
Ukrainian Self-Reliance League
of Canada

651 Spadina Ave.
Toronto 4, Ontario.

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U. S. R. L.


PRESIDENTS

HON. PRESIDENT -- J.W.STECHISHIN,B.A., LL.B. (Saskatoon)

PAST PRESIDENT -- T.HUMENIUK, LAWYER, (Toronto)

PRESIDENT -- DR. PAUL OCHITWA, 127 - 8th Street, Toronto, Ontario.

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HEAD OFFICE

U. S. R. L. OF CANADA,
651 SPADINA AVE.,
TORONTO 4, ONTARIO.


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## PART A

## IDENTIFICATION OF THE BODY SPONSORING THIS BRIEF

### I NAME, ORIGIN, AND SCOPE

1. The Ukrainian Self-Reliance League of Canada (U.S.R.L.) originated in the Prairie Provinces in 1905 as a people's group or movement known as Narodowtsi (Populists).
2. In 1927, this movement crystallized itself by adopting a Constitution and federating the then existing components as listed under II
3. Thus the League became the first Dominion-wide Ukrainian organization, embracing over 300 branches across Canada. It totals at least 90,000 members, and adherent sympathizers and supporters.

### II. FEDERATED MEMBERS OF THE U.S.R.L.

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| 1. | Ukrainian Self-Reliance Association (male membership) | - | 1927 |
| 2. | Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada (female membership) | - | 1927 |
| 3. | Canadian Ukrainian Youth Association (youth membership) | - | 1927 |
| 4. | Union of Ukrainian Community Centres (mixed membership) | - | 1927 |
| 5. | P.Mohyla Ukrainian Institute in Saskatoon | - | 1916 |
| 6. | St. John's Ukrainian Institute in Edmonton | - | 1918 |
| 7. | St. Vladimir Ukrainian Institute in Toronto | - | 1945 |
| 8. | Ukrainian Voice (Official Organ) in Winnipeg | - | 1910 |

### III IDEOLOGICAL PRINCIPLES OF THE U.S.R.L.

1. "Self-respect, self-activity, self-reliance" -- Our motto and slogan.
2. No binding links or affiliations with organizations beyond the borders of Canada.
3. To found, build, and maintain our organizational structure on democratic and Christian principles.

### IV. AIMS AND OBJECTS OF THE U.S.R.L.

1. To establish, operate, and maintain an organization which will provide a common bond of unity amongst Canadians of Ukrainian origin (descent) in order to:

(1) Promote, foster, propagate, disseminate and preserve the Ukrainian language and culture.

(2) Provide, maintain, and improve our educational institutions, and to make available all other media of Ukrainian educational facilities to the Canadian Ukrainians.

(3) Foster, promote and perpetuate the finest elements in the customs and traditions of the Ukrainian people in the national life of Canada.

(4) Encourage all Canadian citizens of Ukrainian descent to actively participate in the educational, cultural, social, economic and political life and advancement of Canada, on the basis of equal citizenship rights, privileges, duties and responsibilities.

(5) Provide moral and religious guidance to our members as outlined in all our constituent constitutions.

## V CHRONOLOGICAL BACKGROUND AND EVOLUTIONARY HISTORY OF THE U.S.R.L.

### 1. BACKGROUND

1865 Recent research shows traces of Ukrainian settlers in Canada as early as 1865.

1867 Father A. Honcharenko, an orthodox priest from Ukraine, became editor of "Alaska Herald" (on behalf of the U.S. Government) and thus made an important impact on the Slavic Community in North America.

1891 The two pioneer settlers, Eleniak and Pylypiw, initiated mass immigration of Ukrainians to Canada.

1895 Invited by the Canadian Government, Dr. Oleskiw made a research tour of Canada to study the possibilities of increased immigration to this country.

2. PEOPLE'S MOVEMENT (THE POPULISTS)

1905 A Ruthenian (Ukrainian) Training School for Teachers was founded in Winnipeg and later moved to Brandon where it operated until 1916 and produced some 150 teachers. In 1911 and 1912 similar training schools were established for the benefit of Ukrainian settlers in Regina (Sask.) and Vegreville (Alta.)

1907 (1) Bilingualism was officially recognized in the Manitoba School system, permitting the teaching of any two languages. There were many bilingual (French and English, Ukrainian and English) schools and teachers.

(2) The bilingual Ukrainian teachers (Populists) trained in the Ruthenian Training Schools, held a Convention that year in Winnipeg, and laid the

(a) Plans to publish a Ukrainian newspaper as soon as possible,

(b) Foundation for the organization of the Ukrainians into the People's Movement or Group. The purpose for such an organization was to build community halls and educational institutions to raise the standard of culture, education, economics, citizenship and general welfare among Ukrainian Canadians recently settled in Canada.

1910 "Ukrainian" Voice, spokesman for the People's Movement, began publication.

1913 T.D.Ferley, active leader of the Populists was elected as M.L.A. to the Manitoba Legislature. (First Ukrainian Canadian Parliamentarian in Canada.) In 1926, another associate of the Populists, M. Luchkowich, became the first Ukrainian Canadian to gain a Federal seat in Ottawa.

1916 Inauguration of the P. Mohyla Institute in Saskatoon.

1918 Inception of the M. Hrushewsky Institute (now St. John's) in Edmonton.

## 3. THE UKRAINIAN SELF-RELIANCE LEAGUE

1927 The People's Group held its Eleventh "Grand" Convention in Saskatoon and adopted a Constitution uniting and co-ordinating the various, then existing, organized bodies listed in II, into a Canada-wide federal entity under the name of the Ukrainian Self-Reliance League.

1940 The U.S.R.L. played the leading role in forming the Ukrainian Canadian Committee (Winnipeg) whose primary purpose was to enable the Canadian Ukrainians, by a united effort, to give their utmost towards the winning of World War II. The Association of the United Ukrainian Canadians (Communists) was specifically excluded.

1945 St. Vladimir Ukrainian Institute was founded in Toronto.

1946 The U.S.R.L. actively participated in establishing St. Andrew College, which is now part of the University of Manitoba.

## PART B

### 1. INTRODUCTION

This brief will attempt to crystallize the attitude of one segment of the Canadian nation to some of the issues and attitudes that have emerged as a result of the establishment of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism. It is not our intention to express opinions on the various press releases that have appeared from time to time, purporting to speak for the whole British-Canadian, French-Canadian or some other Canadian community. These press releases range over a wide field and represent, at time, contradictory solutions to the same problem, or disagreements on what the problem is.

We are concerned only with one aspect of this discussion, namely, the demands for the extension of the official status of the French language beyond that laid down in Sec. 133 of the British North America Act. If this means that special arrangements are to be made for the preservation of French-Canadian culture and language in those parts of Canada where the French-Canadians represent a small minority compared with some of the other minority groups, then, in our opinion, this would lead to resentment on the part of many so-called "other" Canadians, and would represent an unfortunate disrupting stress upon Canadian unity unless these groups could avail themselves of similar opportunities to preserve their languages and cultures through public facilities.

Associated with this issue is the matter of definition of who constitutes the other Canadians referred to in the terms of reference of the Commission.

### 2. IDENTIFICATION OF ETHNIC GROUPS

An instance of this matter of identity is the Commission working paper dated November 23, 1963, written for, or by a member of, the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism. In this

paper, the "other" groups are reduced to 14% of Canada's population by the simple expedient of using mother tongue rather than ethnic origin. The assumption seems to be that mother tongue is an appropriate means of estimating the numbers of those who do not identify, in the first instance, with either the British or the French culture in Canada.

With great respect for the opinions of the author of that working paper, we must assert that such an approach rests on a dubious sociological assumption. Many individuals who are second, third, or fourth generation Canadians were brought up in homes where English is the predominant, if not the only language, but they do not thereby identify culturally, exclusively or even predominantly, with the Anglo-Canadian way of life. Although language is a primary facet of culture, it is not the whole of culture. For instance, the Scots and the Irish are English-speaking peoples but this does not make them English. It is not our purpose to attribute bias to the author of this working paper, but it is our respectful submission that he misuses statistics and fails to leave with the reader that feeling of objectivity which one would expect in a document issued by the Commission.

We are aware of the fact that the English language, as the carrier of the predominant North American culture, is a powerful implement of assimilation. Even those whose mother tongue is French represent only 28% of Canada's population as compared with 31% for those who are of French origin. These statistics may be taken as an indication that with time, more and more persons of French-Canadian origin, as well as those of other origins, will speak English as their mother tongue. However, it does not follow that they will have thereby identified with the British segment of Canada. Maternal language is a necessary segment of cultural identity, but of itself, it is not a sufficient condition for cultural identification.

## 3. WHO IS ENGLISH?

There seems to be a multiplicity of views among French-Canadians as to who is English. Sometimes usage follows the ethnic origin approach as used by Dominion Bureau of Statistics, sometimes it refers to the concept of mother tongue, and sometimes it embraces all who use English to communicate with the total Canadian human environment regardless of whether they have even a passable working knowledge of the language let alone mastery. This tends to create the impression in the minds of many French-Canadians, that there are only two linguistic and cultural groups in Canada, the French and the English. Nothing could be further from the truth; the fact remains that there are a significant number of people in Canada who feel themselves completely Canadian but do not want to, and see no reason why they should, try and pass themselves off as English or French.

## 4. CONCEPT OF FRENCH-CANADIAN NATION

A great deal of the discussion with respect to the work of the Commission seems to turn on the question of definition of the status of the French-Canadian nation. It is our view that if the French-Canadians are to be regarded as a nation that status can have realistic expression only within the territorial boundaries of the Province of Quebec and perhaps, in adjacent areas where the French-Canadian element now forms a clear majority. In other parts of Canada, the French-Canadian group is entitled to no more and no less than any other ethnic group. We do not know of many instances where one member group of a democratic federation enjoys special rights and privileges throughout the federated area that are not accorded to other constituent groups. In our submission, any insistence on such special status would offend against the basic principles of constitutional democracy.

We see no reason why Canadians should accept any assumptions that there are consitutional differences between the French-Canadians and the "other" Canadians outside the province of Quebec, except for the status of the French language in Parliament and in the Courts as guaranteed in the British North America Act. Indeed, all the "others" are entitled to the same privileges outside of Quebec as are, or may be, extended to the French-Canadians in the future.

The insistence on equal partnership for only two ethnic groups in Canada instils a feeling of anxiety in many citizens who hitherto felt they lived in a land where first and second class categories of people, discrimination, favouritism and inequa lity had given place to equality and unity extending equal privileges and imposing equal responsibilities on all citizens under the Law.

5. CANADIAN UNITY

What has been the true source of Canadian unity over the last 98 years following the Proclamation of the British North America Act on July 1, 1867? To be sure, our unity has not been founded on similarity of ethnic origin, religion, or race. Even at the time of confederation we already had, in addition to the British and French, small but significant Indian, Negro and German groups in Canada.

Today, our population is as diversified as anywhere in the world. If we project our rate of population change during the last fifty years, we can expect almost an even division among British, French and "other" Canadians before the end of this century.

Canadian political, judicial, educational, social and economic institutions, established here mainly between the Conquest and Confederation, and stemming from British heritage, have been the most important factors working for the unification of immigrant peoples of diverse ethnic, racial and religious origins. It is in the spirit of the social philosophy underlying these institutions that the members of the Ukrainian-Canadian

community, as well as those of other ethnic groups, feel obliged to categorically insist that Canadian unity cannot be conceived as an exclusive arrangement between two groups, or as a relationship between so-called first-class, "founding" or "charter" members on the one hand, and so-called second-class "newcomers", or "new Canadians" on the other. Such an approach to the problem of our national unity would be repugnant to the letter and spirit of existing international conventions dealing with human dignity as well as against Canadian legislation embodied in the Citizenship Act and the Bill of Rights; for it implies that unless these "others" have gone through some 'rite de passage' and identified themselves with the British or French group, they are doomed to a lower category of citizenship. This can hardly be construed as a means of extending and deepening the spirit of unity among the people of Canada. Degrees of citizenship breed disunity.

We, in Canada, have a unique opportunity to demonstrate to the world that people can rise above primordial loyalties to clan, tribe, race or religious group and be bound together by higher social purposes and institutions. In fact, in the World Wars, and in other fields of human endeavour, we have already shown that primary group loyalties need not, and do not, prevent the fulfillment of the highest duties of citizenship. Why, it may be asked, should we now take a retrograde step as a matter of national policy, and assert that all ethnic groups in Canada are equal but that the two "founding" groups are more equal than the others.

Those pioneers of Ukrainian origin who broke the virgin prairies, cleared the bush, built the roads, worked the mines, were unquestionably "founders" in their own right just as much as British or French settlers of earlier vintage. Their sons and grandsons do not wish to feel unworthy of them by not raising at least a voice of protest against the basic assumptions that seem to underlie the terms of reference of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism.

## 6. LEGISLATED CULTURE

It is our respectful submission that the concept of biculturalism arising out of the Terms of Reference, is a difficult one, and does not admit a simple solution. The principles underlying the structure of the Canadian political system preclude interference by the Government in the private sphere of an individual's activity; if the present discourse on biculturalism is in any way a prelude to legislation or government action in the cultural sphere in such a way as to favour, or to support one culture as against another, or to suggest to the "others" that they become acculturated to either the French or the English culture of North America, then, we respectfully submit government would be exceeding its legitimate powers and interfering in the private affairs of Canadian citizens.

In a democratic society such as Canada, it is generally accepted that a citizen has the right to form his own ideals and to choose his way of life for himself. The State is made for man, to enable him to achieve happiness and to develop his faculties; man is not made for the State. We expect it of a man that he shall pursue the maximum development of his personality and the development of his faculties to their utmost capacity. Since the individual lacks the resources for pursuing such development on his own, it is the duty of society, through its government, to make the good life possible for all citizens; not any sort of life, to be sure, but the sort of life that seems to men individually to be good. Hence no man should be in a position to dictate to another the ideal of good-living which he should set before himself. The State is not entitled to impose its concept of the good life upon its citizens; all that it may do is to establish the conditions in which the living of the good life by its citizens is possible. To hold otherwise, would be undemocratic.

The direction of acculturation by the non-British and non-French elements in Canada is a matter of private choice; the cultural

choices of people in a free society should never become the object of legislation or social pressure, especially of the kind inspired by government. The pressures of the mass culture of English-speaking North America are already sufficiently overpowering without reinforcement by government action.

## 7. PRESERVATION OF CULTURES

The "other" groups, in our submission, will have nothing to contribute to Canada on the cultural level if they are going to be culturally assimilated, at the earliest possible moment, into the French or the British group. The possibility of a genuine contribution to Canada's cultural development along unique lines of their own, rests on the ability of these groups to preserve their cultural values, including their languages, their religious groupings, their songs and dances and a host of different social customs. To this end, the Government of Canada, and of the Provinces, should create a climate which tends to support the preservation of specific cultural characteristics of the different ethnic groups including the teaching of their languages to their Canadian-born children; it should not, however, dictate which cultural activity Canadians shall pursue.

An air of disquietude prevails that the distinguished members of this Commission appear to be seeking further ways of extending protection to an already well-protected minority when in the terms of reference they were instructed to examine as well the "contribution of the other groups to the cultural enrichment of Canada and the measures that should be taken to safeguard that contribution....." The other groups, amongst them the native Canadians, Indians and Eskimos, do not have any guarantees similar to the British and French.

We do not propose to take up the time of the Commission by reacting to the extreme views of certain individuals, associations, and other organizations that have been reported in the press from time to time.

We cannot accept these extreme views, but we do respect the right of those who have advanced them, to speak freely. We do not regard the views as serious proposals for dealing with the legitimate aspirations of our fellow-citizens, the French-Canadians, especially since some of them are based on the faulty assumption that either the "others" do not really exist, or that the "others" are an undifferentiated mass swallowed and digested by either the French-speaking or English-speaking Canadians. The "others" seek no special status or favour; they merely seek equality for their cultural values and cherished traditions.

## 8. LEGISLATION AND PRESERVATION OF BILINGUALISM AND BICULTURALISM

It would appear to be the current view, prevalent among many French-Canadians that government in Canada, both at the Federal and Provincial level, should take all the necessary legislative and administrative steps that would ensure the perpetuation of the French language and culture in all parts of Canada. In our view, it is not in the nature of democratic societies which, by definition must be accommodating ones, to entrench one or another way of life by legislative action. Within the limits of national security, public health, welfare and safety, democratic systems must safeguard for their citizens the right to perpetuate their social, cultural, and religious values and ways of life. The giving of official status to both the English and the French languages is surely the ultimate and absolute limit of cultural bias that our legislators can allow themselves to impose upon Canadians. Any other position on this issue would tend to promote a basic shift in political philosophy from democracy to authoritarianism.

## 9. SPECIAL GROUPS AND EQUAL RIGHTS

We admire our French-Canadian brothers for their staunch adherence to their values, their language and culture. We concur in their view that it is important that the great French traditions, as transmitted by French

life in North America and adapted to a new geo-political reality, remain one of the cornerstones in that unique structure which is Canada and act as an essential component of an emerging Canadian ethos that will protect and perpetuate Canada's urge for an independent political life and for securing its own national destiny.

But without being any the less Canadian than either the French-speaking or English-speaking segment of the Canadian nation, those of us who are of Ukrainian origin wish to preserve those aspects of our culture and traditions which we hold dear and the preservation of which can but enrich our own, and we hope other people's lives, in this great country. Our fathers and grandfathers on coming to Canada were not told that their welcome in this land was conditional upon their loss of identity. On the contrary, they were assured by fellow-Canadians and representatives of the then Canadian Government that what is required of them is loyalty to Canadian political institutions rather than linguistic and cultural assimilation. This loyalty and devotion to duty the Ukrainians have proudly given, and considering the length of time the Ukrainian group has been here, and the conditions of backwardness which our parents and grandparents left behind when they emigrated, we have made our modest contribution to the defence and development of this nation. We categorically reject the view, again with respect to those who have advanced these arguments, that because the French and British settled in the land of the North American Indian earlier, or because the British conquered the land from the French, this should provide a reasonable basis for categorizing the people of this land into different classes of citizens.

It is with a feeling of equality as citizens of Canada that we want to enter the dialogue on bilingualism and biculturalism, "taking into account the contribution made by the other ethnic groups to the cultural enrichment of Canada...".

## 10. THE MASS MEDIA OF COMMUNICATION

Finally, we wish to comment on the use of the mass media

which has concerned us for a long time. The publicly owned media of mass communication in Canada are tied to the languages of the two founding peoples of our population. Any use of other languages is exclusively through the purchase of time from private radio or television stations. We are aware of, but we do not accept, the argument supporting this practice. In communities where there are sizeable minorities with native language backgrounds other than English and French, there is no convincing reason why an occasional half-hour program might not be in Italian, German, Dutch, Ukrainian or Polish.

The same applies to the other nationally-owned mass communication medium. In the film library of the National Film Board, there is a paucity of 16mm. films on the folk lore, the performing arts, or the crafts of the many ethnic groups that make up our population. In view of these facts, we can reluctantly deduce only one logical conclusion; in spite of assurances to the contrary about the contributions of other ethnic groups, the policy and practice of Canada's successive Governments has been to promote assimilation and the concommitant cultural homogeneity rather than integration accompanied by its cultural diversity.

## 11. SUMMARY

The thesis of this brief consists of the following points:

(a) Outside of the province of Quebec and the Federal area of competence and responsibility, the French language does not have any higher status than the languages of other Canadians. Any privileges that are demanded by the French-speaking Canadians for better use and better teaching of French in English-speaking Canada, can also be legitimately demanded by "other Canadians".

(b) Cultures, per se, used in an anthropological sense, are not the subject of legislation by constitutional governments. The concept of biculturalism does not describe Canadian reality which is multi-cultural now and will be so for an indeterminate time to come. Acculturation is a private voluntary act and cannot be the subject of enforced government action in a free society.

(c) Canadian unity cannot be fostered by dividing the population into first and second class groups.

(d) The non-British and non-French groups can contribute to the development of Canadian cultural values only if they can preserve and perpetuate their own heritage, especially their languages.

All of which, is most respectfully submitted.

Dated at Toronto this 1st day of August, A.D., 1965

Ukrainian Self-Reliance League of Canada

per _____

President

Outlining in writing the role of the Saskatchewan Committee on Biculturalism, the Government of the Province of Saskatchewan makes the following observation:

"In establishing the Saskatchewan Committee on Biculturalism the Government recognizes a distinct Canadian problem which undoubtedly has to be examined. This problem arises from the fact that in one Canadian province, the Province of Quebec, many of the people are of one national origin and naturally have a great dedication to their language and culture. The Government of Saskatchewan also emphasizes, however, that it is extremely important for the rest of Canada and for the Royal Commission examining this problem to realize that in Saskatchewan, and in the Prairie Provinces generally, there are people with many different languages and cultures. We must be aware of the contribution which all of these can make to strengthening the vitality of Saskatchewan and Canadian life." (February 24, 1964)

The above quotation is substantiated by the following statistics taken from the 1961 census of the population of Canada:

ETHNIC ORIGIN OF CANADIANS

| Canada and Provinces | Total Population | % British | % French | % Other |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Canada | 18,238,247 | 44.2 | 30.4 | 25.4 |
| Newfoundland | 457,853 | 93.5 | 3.7 | 2.8 |
| P.E.I. | 104,629 | 80.0 | 16.7 | 5.3 |
| Nova Scotia | 737,007 | 71.2 | 11.9 | 16.9 |
| New Brunswick | 597,936 | 55.2 | 38.9 | 5.9 |
| Quebec | 5,259,211 | 10.8 | 80.7 | 8.5 |
| Ontario | 6,236,092 | 59.6 | 10.4 | 30.0 |
| Manitoba | 921,686 | 41.7 | 9.1 | 49.2 |
| Saskatchewan | 925,181 | 40.3 | 6.5 | 53.2 |
| Alberta | 1,331,944 | 48.8 | 6.8 | 44.4 |
| British Columbia | 1,629,082 | 59.2 | 4.1 | 36.7 |
| Yukon | 14,628 | 48.0 | 6.8 | 45.2 |
| N.W.T. | 22,998 | 20.7 | 6.1 | 73.2 |
| TOTAL | 18,238,247 | 7,996,669 | 5,540,346 | 4,701,232 |

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# BRIEF

*PRESENTED TO THE*

## ROYAL COMMISSION ON BILINGUALISM AND BICULTURALISM

*by the*

## UKRAINIAN CANADIAN COMMITTEE

*HEADQUARTERS*

456 Main Street, Winnipeg, Manitoba

October 1st, 1964

# B R I E F

to

the ROYAL COMMISSION on BILINGUALISM and BICULTURALISM

presented by

the Ukrainian Canadian Committee,
H e a d q u a r t e r s

456 Main Street,
Winnipeg, Manitoba

September
1964

The Secretaries
Royal Commission on
Bilingualism and Biculturalism,
Ottawa, Canada.

Dear Sirs;

The contents of the enclosed Brief are based mainly on two fundamental decisions made by the Sixth All-Canada Congress of the Ukrainian Canadians in 1959 (Text on page 26), and Resolutions of the Ukrainian National Council (Text on page 28). These have been confirmed by the National Pre-Congress conference in Winnipeg on September 7, 1964.

We tried our best not to overload our Brief with statistics and quotations but are aware that the result is not without dificiencies. Please honour the main desire running through the entire Brief which is that Canada should be one united entity based on equality for all who were, are, and will be her builders, with the understanding that by the word builders we also mean "founders." Let us all look more into the future and not be lost in conjectures of the past which belong to history. This was an expression of one of the delegates of the convention, and we feel is very true. By united efforts, looking into the future, we can make Canada one of the most prosperous nations on this planet - materially and spiritually. We must call on the vital forces in our midst which were up to the present time without recognition. We trust that in this direction our Brief supplies an answer.

The work of the Royal Commission is not easy and the Executive takes this opportunity to wish you the very best results. Please accept the assurance of our sincere respect, and willingness to co-operate with you at all times.

UKRAINIAN CANADIAN COMMITTEE
H e a d q u a r t e r s

Rev. Dr. B. Kushnir,
President

W.J. Sarchuk,
Gen. Secretary

# I N D E X

## 1. TERMS OF REFERENCE

On July 19, 1963, the Government of Canada appointed a Royal Commission whose principal terms of reference are as follows:

> "To inquire into and report upon the existing state of bilingualism and biculturalism in Canada and to recommend what steps should be taken to develop the Canadian Confederation on the basis of equal partnership between the two founding races, taking into account the contribution made by other ethnic groups to the cultural enrichment of Canada, and the measures that should be taken to safeguard that contribution."

History tells us that the nations of the Old World were developed through a process of gradual historical evolution during many centuries. Canada, on the other hand, was built in a relatively short period of time, by the nations of the Old World through a process of colonization and immigration. It has thus become the home of peoples of various national origins and cultural backgrounds.

Besides their technical and vocational skills these peoples brought with them a wealth of their traditions and cultural heritage which formed the basis for the development of our Canadian cultural pattern reflecting the multiethnic contributions to the mosaic of the Canadian nation. Canada has undergone tremendous changes in all walks of national life since the proclamation of the British North America Act in 1867. The original four provinces have increased to ten, while the population has increased from 3½ million to approximately 20 million.

### Few statistics

According to the 1961 census those of British Isles origin comprised 43.9% of the total population of Canada,

French origin 30.4% and other (the third element) 25.7%. The French population is heavily concentrated in the province of Quebec. Statistically it is interesting to take a look at the population of the rest of Canada. If we omit Quebec from the calculations, we find that the rest of Canada has 58.5% people of British origin, 10.2% of French origin, and 31.3% others.

In the three prairie provinces others than English and French form about 50% of the population. Of these, Ukrainians represent 11.4% of the population of Manitoba, and thus constitute a language group second to English. In the neighbouring province of Saskatchewan the "others" constitute 53.1% (Ukrainians 8.5%) and in Alberta 48.5% (Ukrainians 8%). Canada is actually a Commonwealth of many nationalities, not of two "founding races." It is definitely multicultural, not bicultural.

Despite our reservations to the Terms of Reference, the Ukrainian Canadian Committee is nonetheless vitally interested in the work of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism and considers itself obligated to express the views of the Ukrainian community in Canada regarding this matter.

## 2. THE UKRAINIAN CANADIAN COMMITTEE

Promoting good Canadian citizenship and democracy

The Ukrainian Canadian Committee (U.C.C.) acts as a coordinating and representative body for all Ukrainians in Canada, with the exception of a small communist group which is not a member of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee. Its

member-organizations represent various religious denominations and political views. During the past 25 years the Ukrainian Canadian Committee has operated solely through voluntary financial support by its member-organizations and publicly spirited individuals. Since its inception, the Ukrainian Canadian Committee has devoted its efforts in fostering and developing good Canadian citizenship within the Ukrainian community in Canada. Because of this work the Ukrainian organizations have achieved a firm basis for co-operation among themselves, as well as with other ethnic groups in Canada.

Ukrainians in war services

During the Second World War, 1940-1945, the Ukrainian Canadian Committee assisted in recruiting volunteers for the armed services with great success. In comparison to other ethnic groups the percentage of Ukrainian volunteers stood out significantly. The Ukrainian Canadian Committee established and maintained a hostel in London, England, that served as a recreation centre during the war and as a demobilization and a rehabilitation centre immediately after the war.

Education and culture

At the same time, the Ukrainian Canadian Committee had devoted much of its work and energy in educational and cultural fields. It also arranged mass public meetings in vatious parts of Canada, at which members of the executive lectured on the importance of education and cultural activities. The publications, including the press printed in Ukrainian, have also served the same purpose. The same is continued at the present time.

## Organization

The Ukrainian Canadian Committee, a chartered Canadian institution has its branches in six provinces: Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta, British Columbia, Ontario, and Quebec. Provincial headquarters are maintained in Winnipeg, Regina, Edmonton, Vancouver, Toronto and Montreal. Ukrainian Canadian Congresses, which constitute the highest authority for the Ukrainian Canadian Committee, are held every three years. These are attended by delegates from all parts of Canada. The Congresses provide directives and adopt the budget for the activities of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee.

The operations of the corporation may be carried on throughout Canada and elsewhere.

In 1963, the Parliament of Canada passed a bill sponsored by the Ukrainian Canadian Foundation of Taras Shevchenko to promote Ukrainian culture in Canada.

## Objects

According to the Charter the objects of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee are:

(a) To act as an authoritative spokesman for the Ukrainian Canadian community before the people and Government of Canada;

(b) To strengthen and co-ordinate the participation of Ukrainian Canadians in the Canadian social and cultural life based on Christian and democratic principles, for justice, freedom and independence;

(c) To support the justifiable aspirations of the Ukrainian people in Europe for independence and sovereignty on its ethnographic territories;

(d) To sponsor and maintain among its member-organizations mutual respect and tolerance, and to co-ordinate the work in all matters that are of common interest to them;

(e) To plan and develop among the Ukrainian Canadians sound community life in all its aspects:

## 3. THE SETTLEMENT OF UKRAINIANS IN CANADA

There is evidence that the Ukrainians arrived here long before the mass immigration at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century. Most probably, these were only individuals coming to Canada from Ukraine with the Mennonite and German settlers, who left their homes because of religious persecutions in the Russian Empire. Many of the Ukrainians assumed foreign names with which it was easier to escape to the free world. There is also evidence that some Ukrainians came to Canada through the United States, and perhaps Alaska.

### Settlers from Western Ukraine

The Ukrainian immigration to Canada assumed a different character in 1891 when in September of that year, the first group of Ukrainians arrived in Canada from Western Ukraine. At that time Western Ukraine was a part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and was ruled by a semi-feudal system of government controlled by foreign landlords. Many of the Ukrainian peasants, with low economic standards, deprived of basic political rights with a great desire to become part of this democratic country of ours on an equal basis with others and hungry for land became ideal pioneers required

for the building of Canada. Their economic fate was not different from the Scots and Irish who also left their homelands in search of a new and happier land.

Government planned mass immigration

In 1896 Clifford Sifton, Minister of the Interior in the Cabinet of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, promoted an intensive colonization of the Western provinces. The Canadian Government discovered the great potential value of Ukrainian settlers and in many ways directed their movement to Canada.

> "The Ukrainian settlers cleared millions of acres of land, developed new varieties of grain, built roads, worked in mines, and integrated into Canadian society. Their children attended schools and many of them became leaders in municipalities, members of provincial legislatures, several were Federal members of Parliament and senators. Thousands of Ukrainians responded to the call of their adopted homeland in the two World Wars by joining Canadian armed forces. Many of them paid the supreme sacrifice for this country of ours." *

Not by bread alone

The Ukrainian settlers, along with the cultivation of land at the very outset began their organized community life. These pioneers knew that men live not by bread alone, they also yearned for spiritual values. Full of energy and optimism, they cleared Canadian virgin lands for cultivation, at the same time establishing cultural and educational associations, amateur theatres, choirs, churches, schools, etc., and thus they laid the foundation for the progress and development of the Western provinces. This is the Ukrainian

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* This is a summary of Hon. Senator P. Yuzyk's speech in the Senate of Canada. For a full text see appendix (1)

Fact which cannot and should not be obliterated from our Canadian chronicle.

Wish to keep identity

From the very beginning, the Ukrainian pioneers had demonstrated their attachment to their language, culture and traditions. They worked hard to preserve their linguistic and cultural resources. At the same time these people, oppressed in their homeland, had shown a very high degree of respect and understanding for their co-citizens of other ethnic origins. The attitude of the Ukrainians in Canada crystallized after the two world wars when the Ukrainian boys and girls serving in the Canadian armed forces had a chance to see Europe. There they met people of different cultures who spoke many different languages. This made them see the advantages of knowing more languages. Consequently they began to understand their role and place in this multilingual country of ours. They realized that they should be proud of their origin, that assimilation is only for the weak. They did not want to be known as people without kin and origin. They thought of the need to preserve their mother tongue, the Ukrainian culture and thus their self respect.

Neglected Cultural Treasures

It is now up to our compatriots to re-evaluate the importance of languages and cultures other than English or French. Why cannot the domes of Ukrainian churches and their interior beauty become an integral part of Canadian architecture? What is wrong with teaching Ukrainian embroidery, culinary art, folk dancing in our public schools and adopting

them as an element of Canadian culture? Why not adopt Ukrainian Easter eggs as our own, giving credit to the people who brought them to Canada? The Ukrainians have such Christmas carols that cannot be found anywhere in the world. Some are thousands of years old and their origin can be traced even to pre-Christian times. Why cannot these become genuinely Canadian as the one called "Schedryk," which has been known in Canada and the United States as "Carol of the Bells?" Isn't that fine epic of Illia Kyriak "Sons of the Soil," a genuine Canadian novel? Hundreds of Ukrainian songs, proverbs, and works of literature await public recognition and adoption. Unfortunately, when Canadianism is being discussed by our writers and cultural leaders, the emphasis is being placed almost exclusively on the predominant races: the English and French. The various other ethnic groups with their cultures are relegated either to comparative oblivion or are classified as foreign or "new" Canadian.

## 4. EQUALITY OF ALL CANADIANS

### Protest

The Ukrainian Canadian Committee is aware of the important problem to which the Royal Commission has to find a solution. However, the Ukrainian Canadian Committee strongly protests against the categorization of Canadian citizens as revealed in the Terms of Reference. It is done in an undemocratic spirit and underlines the still existing vestiges of the past colonial rule. Referring to the "founding races" the task of the Commission is "to recommend what steps are

to be taken to develop the Canadian Confederation on the basis of an equal partnership" between the French and the English only and not among all Canadians. Canadian citizens of other origins are referred to as "other ethnic groups," who are mentioned only in connection with "their contribution to the cultural enrichment of Canada." Nothing is mentioned of their equality with the "founding races" and nothing of the privileges to which they are entitled as Canadian citizens. Their present and future role in building a Canadian nation has been omitted.

For equal partnership

These Terms of Reference implicate for the "founding races" a status of a feudalistic nature. A special place is reserved for them not only in Canadian history, but this dualism of "equal partnership" is meant to be carried over into the future. Consequently, the English and the French coming to Canada at any time would have the status of two "founding races", whereas the early Ukrainian settlers and all other non-English and non-French people would be excluded from that "equal partnership." In the opinion of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee the Canada of today and of tomorrow demands a different approach. Only equal partnership of all citizens, irrespective of their race, color, or creed could solve the crisis of Confederation and preserve the unity of Canada. Canadians of Ukrainian origin do not want to be placed in the role of second class citizens. They settled here with the understanding that their individuality would be respected and their cultural heritage woven into Canada's nationhood. In addition, categorization of Canadian citizens

is contrary to the Declaration of Human Rights of the United Nations, which Canada signed in 1948. Article No. 2 of that Declaration reads:

> "Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status."

Article 26: (3)

> "Parents have a prior right to choose the kind of education that shall be given to their children."

It is also in discord with the Canadian Citizenship Act of 1947 and the Canadian Bill of Rights of 1960, which guarantee equal treatment of all Canadian citizens without discrimination by "reason of race, national origin, colour, religion or sex." (P. 1, 1, b, Can. Bill of Rights).

In his Encyclical "Pacem in Terris," Pope John XXIII expressed his sorrow due to various hardships experienced by the minorities in different countries.

> "In the first place it must be made clear that justice is seriously violated by whatever is done to limit the strength and numerical increase of these minority peoples. The injustice is even more serious if such sinful projects are aimed at the very extinction of these groups."

Further, His Holiness gives the following advice:

> "On the other hand, the demands of justice are admirably observed by those civil authorities who promote the natural betterment of those citizens belonging to a smaller ethnic group, particularly when that betterment concerns their language, the development of their natural gifts, their ancestral customs, and their accomplishments and endeavors in the economic order." (p. 31).

Not recognized founders and builders of Canada

Not only the English and French but Germans, Poles, Icelanders, Ukrainians and others are also founders and builders of Canada. They transformed Canadian Western provinces from a wilderness into the breadbasket of the world. Contributions to the founding of Canada, whether on the shores of the St. Lawrence, the shores of Lake Ontario, the Canadian West, or in our Northern frontier are all of equal importance. The principle of prior historic rights is no longer seriously accepted in the present world as it is in conflict with the concept of democracy. Equality of all citizens of a nation is imperative if that nation wishes to live and prosper.

## 5. CANADIAN LANGUAGES

The fallacious premises of Bilingualism and Biculturalism on which the Terms of Reference are constructed seem to be a "fait accompli." They are misleading and might have different interpretations by different people. Referring to the linguistic problem in Canada they accept the term "Bilingualism" only the French and English as Canadian languages. However, the list of Canadian languages of today cannot be limited to two. It is one thing to decide what language or languages shall be used for administrative purposes in this country or in parliament and courts, but it is quite different to decide the fate of other languages which form this multilingual society. With regard to the place of the English and French languages in Canadian life a Canadian language is any language which is understood and spoken in Canada by a larger

number of people. It need not be spoken by all Canadians to become a Canadian language. The Ukrainian language being spoken by hundreds of thousand of Canadian citizens, is a Canadian language.

The problem of teaching

We quote the Laurier-Greenway Agreement of 1897 regarding the teaching in the Province of Manitoba:

> "When ten of the pupils in any school speak the French language or any other language other than English, as their native language, the teaching of such pupils shall be conducted in French, or such other language, and English, upon the bilingual system."

Everyone must agree that the term "bilingual" in this quotation has a broader meaning than in the "Terms of Reference." While the Terms of Reference look back into the history of Canada, the Laurier-Greenway Agreement tried to look into the future. By this agreement between the Dominion and Manitoba Governments, bilingual schools were established in Manitoba. These schools were French-English, German-English, Polish-English, and Ukrainian-English. To a Ukrainian in the prairie provinces, bilingualism means the use of Ukrainian and the dominant language, English. Most bilingual Ukrainians in Quebec, however, use Ukrainian and French.

In our opinion, the learning of a people's mother tongue should come first before any other language. In Canadian schools it should be taught from the primary grades. Having excluded the idea of a melting pot from Canada's image, it is necessary to go with the spirit of our times. It is quite natural that parents should give their mother tongue priority over other languages. The mother tongue is most effective in communicating with the members of the same linguistic

group. It also helps a person to understand their mentality and feelings, worries and aspirations.

A look abroad

Let us have a look at some other countries having problems similar to those of Canada. The information below is a translation from "Le Devoir," of August 15, 1963.

> "In Belgium, in the multi-language sections, the language used for teaching is the local language, according to the circumstances, Dutch, French, or German. Children whose maternal language or customary language is not the language of the locality, have the right, in certain cases to be taught in their mother tongue."
>
> "In Finland, teaching in the elementary and secondary schools is given both in Finnish and in Swedish."
>
> "In Switzerland, German, French, Italian, and Romansh (Raeto-Romance) are the national languages."

It is interesting to add that following a plebiscite in 1938, Raeto-Romance, though representing only 1% of the population was declared one of the four national languages of the Swiss Confederation.

> "In certain regions where the linguistic structure is complex, many schools of different languages have been established."
>
> "In the U.S.S.R., Article 121 of the constitution guarantees school instruction in their mother tongue to all citizens of the Union. In the 16 national autonomic republics of the U.S.S.R. the 9 autonomous regions, and the 10 national territories, teaching is given in the national language and the program inspires national traditions (it is I who stress this). A considerable number of languages, about 200 are acknowledged and used in teaching....."
>
> "Distinct schools are provided where the pupils of a definite nationality are of a sufficient number to justify the formation of a class (minimum: 25 pupils belonging to the same group). These schools are, as the others, founded and supported by the State."

"In Yugoslavia, the schools of the six federated republics use the language of the region, from the elementary teaching to the higher teaching. In addition, the 15 linguistic minorities receive elementary and secondary instruction in their language."

"In certain countries, among which are Albania, Austria, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, India, Poland and Rumania, two or more languages benefit from the equality of status in the matter of teaching, even though they are not considered as official languages."

"In Hungary the present policy permits to open a school for the national minority (Germans, Slovaks, Serbs, Slovenes , Croatians, Rumanians) in any locality expecting at least 15 students belonging to this category. If this number isn't reached, such a school should be established for a group of 15 pupils living in two neighbouring localities. In 1953-54 the University of Budapest included a Rumanian section, a German section and a Slavic institute. At that time they began to organize secondary German schools."

"In India, the Constitution gurantees to all the linguistic minorities the right of conserving their language and their culture and to found schools of their choice.... Arrangements were made so that teaching was given in the mother language, on condition that there were not less than 40 pupils speaking the same language in the school or 10 pupils in the same class.

"And one is able to continue with Afganistan, Algeria, Denmark, Iran, Italy, the Federal Republic of Germany, Portugal, Turkey, and the United States of America. (In Puerto-Rico, for example the basic language is Spanish)."

"A bilingual and nulti-cultural Canada is then not a Utopia. A fairer approach is practiced in all the countries that we have enumerated. In addition we find support for a multilingual approach clearly expressed in the Bible. He (Assuerus) sent letters to all the provinces of the empire, to each province according to its writing and to each people according to their language." (Estherl: 22)

In our opinion every good Canadian can heartily agree with the above quotations and cannot deny that which is a fact. We must strive to maintain Canada multilingual in which all languages spoken by Canadians will be equally guarded and

respected. We hope that consequently our youth will become more interested in the study of languages which at the present time is a condition very much desired everywhere in the world. (App. 2)

## 6. LINGUISTIC OPPORTUNITIES IN CANADA

The Ukrainian language is recognized by linguists to be in a central position among the Slavic languages. It serves as a bridge between the northern and southern Slavic peoples. Morphologically it has many similarities to the Russian language: in the formation of its sounds it is close to the Serbian and Croatian; in the formation of its vocabulary, it bears resemblance to the Polish language. Because of these characteristics the Ukrainian language is understood by practically all Slavic groups and for that reason is frequently used as a common medium of communication among them. Historically, Ukrainian is one of the oldest Slavic languages. It is now the language of over 40 million people in Ukraine, the second largest Slavic nation in Europe

### Ukrainians across Canada

The Ukrainian language is the language of the two major Ukrainian churches in Canada. All the services and rituals would lose their charm and beauty if conducted in anything else but Ukrainian. Ukrainians across Canada should be familiar with Ukrainian literature, songs and folklore.

### Decline

Between 1951 and 1961 approximately 13 percent of Canadians of Ukrainian origin lost command of their language, in most cases switching to English. The percentage of loss in

other groups is even higher. This decline in language cultivation is due to a lack of official interest and encouragement which could be achieved once the language received some form of legal recognition and formal status.

Another obstacle is the negative attitude generally prevailing in the Canadian mentality as far as studying languages is concerned. Such linguistic inertia does not create a conducive atmosphere for the study and mastery of languages. The culture of a people is based on and is tightly woven with their language.

Use of linguistic resources

It is time to realize the importance of studying and speaking more than one language. In this shrinking world of ours, knowing more languages brings people closer together, makes them understand each other better, and facilitates solving mutual problems. Everyone who had a chance to travel must admit that people of other countries know and speak more languages than the people of Canada, - a country with a population representing almost all races and languages. Wouldn't it be logical to expect that the Government of Canada and the Provincial ministers of education should encourage the study of languages? Why not make use of these great linguistic resources available in Canada? Unfortunately, the Government statistics show a steady decline in the use of Canadian languages other than English.

Dr. Watson Kirkconnell, a noted Canadian scholar, in a preface to his "Canadian Overtones," writes:

> "Prophetic hopes would envisage a future of Canada in which every individual would be thus inspired to fuller citizenship by his realization

> of his origin, whatever that might be. There is already, however, grave danger of the third and even second generation of Swedish, Ukrainian and other immigrant groups turning their backs on the language and history of their own people in a hasty act of renunciation..."

To stave off this danger, Professor Kirkconnell proposes that certain remedial steps be taken. He says:

> "Our constitution is founded on the federative principle. Our nation could do no better than to take "confederation" as its motto in culture and education. Our national holidays might well be given over to such pageantry (including, perhaps, festivals of drama, poetry, and music) as would emphasize the co-operative existence of the distinct racial groups in our population. Our schools might give ample recognition to their history and culture. Our universities might foster their languages and literature, or even set up an Institute of Cultural Traditions to preserve and encourage all that may contribute to the diversity of our cultural life."

Other confirmations

It might be also appropriate, at this juncture, to quote the views of a French-Canadian. Speaking of the other ethnic groups during the discussion period at the conference of the Canadian Centennial Council, held in Winnipeg on October 28, 1963, Mr. Vincent Prince, of the Montreal "La Presse," had this to say:

> "We, French-speaking as well as English-speaking Canadians, have often declared that we consider the presence of these ethnic groups among us as a cultural enrichment. If we are not pure hypocrites, we must give a meaning to our statements. A cultural tradition cannot be maintained long without the maintenance of the language on which it is based. Therefore if we want them to preserve their culture we must help them keep their language."

Because the University of Manitoba is the oldest of universities in Western Canada, the views expressed at the Great Debate "Canada, One Nation or Two?" during the Seventh Alumni Conference in March 1964, may be taken to represent

the general public opinion in the prairie provinces.

On page 4 of the pamphlet prepared by the Alumni Association, the University of Manitoba has a paragraph, "The Unofficial Languages." It reads:

> (a) "These languages are spoken or "used" in so many areas in Canada that it would be unrealistic to refer to them as foreign languages. They are the "mother tongues" of 14% of the population. On the basis of ethnic origin about 26% of the people of Canada are of non-British, non-French origin. They are at various stages in the selection of English or French as their Canadian mother tongue. Hence it is reasonably fair to say that these people are factually bilingual, English or French being their Canadian tongue and the language of origin their second language.
>
> (b) These languages have a status in Canada and in some way recognition must be given to them. As the cultures and the languages of those groups are so closely intertwined, the only practical way to give expression to that status is to provide that these languages be taught, on a voluntary basis, at the stage of development of the child when it should have the option of selecting a language for study other than the language of instruction in that particular province, or school district. The high school level obviously suggests itself but in areas of heavy concentrations of ethnic groups the commencement of the instruction might be at the elementary level.
>
> Obviously successful examinations in such languages in grades immediately preceding entrance to a university should be given recognition at the university level."

## 7. ADVANTAGES OF CANADIAN MULTI-LINGUALISM AND MULTI-CULTURALISM

The Ukrainian Canadian Committee holds that linguistic as well as cultural pluralism in Canada is a positive and desirable fact and requires the recognition and support of the Federal and Provincial governments, as it:

(a) essentially contributes to a distinctive national character of Canada;

(b) allows for the mutual enrichment of several cultural strains in the evolvement of a common Canadian culture;

(c) creates conditions for a wider and more direct participation of Canadians in cultural activities;

(d) helps to exploit the unique linguistic wealth inherent in the multiethnic population of Canada, for the sake of the special role of Canada in international affairs, as an interpreter, mediator, and peacemaker;

(e) contributes to the development among Canadians of a more universal and more tolerant attitude towards other countries, nations and in better understanding and interpreting of international problems.

(f) it also makes Canada to be regarded, by other countries of the world, as a microcosmos of United Nations, a model country in which people of different origins, with different languages and cultures co-operate in building a strong and prosperous nation.

## 8. PUBLIC MEDIA OF COMMUNICATION

The goals mentioned in the previous paragraph can be achieved more easily by promotion and encouragement, through the facilities of the C.B.C., Radio, Television, Film, etc. For more extensive information see App. 3.

## 9. CONCEPT OF THE CANADIAN NATION

The building of Canada as a nation has undergone considerable major and minor changes during the last hundred years. Tremendous work is to be done in all directions before it is completed. It would not be amiss to note the various stages

of this growth in order to establish clearly the fundamental aspects of the Canadian statehood.

After the Seven Year War and the American Revolutionary War, there was a very large influx of settlers to Canada from the new republic to the South of us and a very substantial immigration from the British Isles.

By 1796 the following colonies had been established: Lower and Upper Canada, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island. Each colony was granted a colonial status including the governmental agencies, the colonial privileges of trade and defence, and the obligation implied in the allegiance to the British Empire.

In North America the colonial governments consisted of a Governor, appointed by the British Parliament, an Advisory Council and an Executive Council appointed by the "Crown" on the advice of the Governor. By 1791 each colony, with the exception of Prince Edward Island, had an elective Legislative Assembly, which had only a very limited control over the decisions of the Governor and the Executive Council.

In order to attain the first stage of self-government, the colonies had to wage a long struggle for a responsible form of government; that is, a government in which the minister of the crown would be responsible to an elective Legislative Assembly. By 1850 the victory was theirs. The British Parliament gave explicit instructions to the Governor General to institute a Cabinet system of government in which the members of the Executive Council (the ministers of Crown) were chosen from among the elected representatives, and that the government was to remain in power so long as it had the support of the Legislature. The granting of Responsible Government

became the cornerstone of confederation of the British North America colonies in 1867. It is unlikely that Upper and Lower Canada and the Maritime colonies would have been able to work the terms of Confederation if a very considerable measure of self-government had not been granted to them.

We should emphasize the role played by the Canadian statesmen in bringing about Confederation. The Charlottetown Conference, the Quebec Conference and the Seventy Two Resolutions drafted at Quebec was the work of the Fathers of Confederation. Even the London Conference was wholly dominated by the Canadian delegates and the final draft of the bill passed by the Parliament as the B.N.A. Act was almost identical to Resolutions drafted by the Canadian statesmen; so the glory and the blame, if any, was all theirs.

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, the status of the British colonies was rapidly changing. In 1871, all the British soldiers, with the exception of the naval garrisons at Halifax and Esquimalt, were withdrawn. In 1910, the Canadian Government took over the control of the remaining naval bases, and thus Canada became fully autonomous in matters of self-defence.

In 1887, the Colonial Conference, well-attended by the top-ranking statesmen from the far flung colonies, discussed the problems of trade and defence on par with the representatives of Great Britain. It was the first of a long series of conferences which played such an important part in the development of commonwealth concept founded on the principle - equality of the Dominion and Britain.

In 1909 a Department of External Affairs was established in Ottawa. During the next decade, treaties with foreign

powers had to be ratified by the British Parliament. This practice ended in 1923, when Canada was allowed to negotiate on her own the treaties with the U.S. and other foreign powers.

The first World War tested the independence of Canada as a state and a nation. The Canadian Parliament declared war on Germany. This grave national commitment was not made with the intent to protect the interest of Great Britain or of any other European nation but to safeguard her own dominion and her institutions of freedom against the possibility of an outright aggression on the part of the powerful dictatorships that began to rear their heads in Europe.

During the War, Canada grew in stature as an independent state not only within the realm of the British Empire but also in the eyes of other nations. She was given a seat in the Imperial War Cabinet and responsible command of her forces and a voice in the strategic counsels of the War.

At the Peace Conference, 1919, Canada won recognition as a separate state and her representatives at the Conference had an equal status with Belgium and other smaller nations. She was also included as a member of the newly formed League of Nations and given a seat in the Assembly of the League.

The Imperial Conference of 1926 issued a Declaration of Equality stating that "Britain and the Dominions are autonomous communities within the British Commonwealth of Nations."

The next Imperial Conference gave Canada an undisputed right of an independent self-governing nation; for the Statute of Westminister in 1931 declared: "That no laws of the British Parliament should apply to any Dominion unless the Dominion laws should be declared void on the ground that it was

contrary to the law of the British Parliament."

In 1947 the Canadian Citizenship Act recognized only one class of citizenship for all Canadians. Finally the Bill of Rights of 1961 further defined and consolidated the rights of the Canadian people.

This brief summary of the historic mileposts of the evolution of Canada from its colonial status into an independent and wholly self-governing nation, has one outstanding characteristic. All the constitutional and political changes during the last century as evidenced above were made on the axiomatic assumption that Canada is a single state, a national entity within the framework of its constitution. This uninational aspect of Canada has at all times been emphasized within the country and abroad, and has been accepted by all other states and parties concerned.

It is true that the provinces of Canada have had some very serious differences on certain controversial issues but the concept of Canada as a single nation has never been challenged.

Unless the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism takes cognizance of two distinct connotations of the word "nation" as used to designate the "Canadian National state" and the "French Canadian nation," the best and the most lucid briefs to the Commission, and ultimately the Report of the Commission, are likely to be clouded and confused by the terminology that lacks clarity of definition and meaning.

## 10. THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE

The Ukrainian Canadian Committee considers the English language to be the most practical common medium of communica-

tion between all the citizens of Canada. First, due to the fact that the majority of Ukrainian settlements and people are concentrated in Western Canada and Ontario, it is obvious that English has become their medium of communication, not only with their English-speaking compatriots, but also with Canadians belonging to all other groups. It is important to remember that English is not only the language spoken by those of British origin who constitute the largest ethnic group in Canada - 43.8% in all of Canada and 58.5% in the nine provinces outside of Quebec, English is also the common denominator of 5 million Canadians who, while preserving their mother tongue as a vehicle of their ethnic culture, use English in most of their spheres of activity as Canadian citizens. It is also important to remember that English is the language of more than 200 million people of the North American continent. In addition, English is the language of commerce, industry, communication, travel for virtually the entire continent. Finally, English is now in use by more people on earth everywhere, than any other language.

## 11. THE BRITISH SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT

The British parliamentary system of government with its common law and system of courts should be considered as another important link of unity among the ten provinces and their people. Regardless of their ethnic origin, all Canadian citizens are indebted to the genius of British people for their centuries-old efforts in developing this democratic and representative system of government based on the ideals of human dignity and personal freedom. The same ideals have become the cornerstones of social and political life for the majority of the countries on earth.

## 12. PRESENT CRISIS IN CANADA

### Dialogue

It is interesting to observe in the present crisis of Canada the three distinct attitudes which are peculiar to each of the three elements of our population. The French Canadians complain about their lot, demand an equal partnership with the British Canadians, and some of them threaten separation. The Canadians of British origin seem to be hardly interested in the so-called "dialogue" as they have nothing to gain. The Canadians of origins other than British or French, practically being excluded from that dialogue, sense a danger, and even a threat to their very existence.

Everyone in Canada speaks about the unity of our country, prays for it while hoping to sustain it on his own terms. There are Canadians, both of British and French origin, who with Bernard Bissonette, a justice of the Quebec Court of Appeal, try to divert the public attention from the core of the problem towards a scapegoat -- the "Neo-Canadiens." The calls for unity of the British and French because the "Neo-Canadiens," as he calls the Canadians other than British and French, might become dangerous rivals to both "shareholders" of Canada. Mr. Bissonette's discovery is just another symptom of xenophobia so deeply entrenched in our politics, in journalism, and on university faculties.

One extremo proposes a separate state of Quebec and even the "moderates" seem to be no more attracted by "Co-operative Federalism," but demand complete autonomy for Quebec. On the other hand, many voices from the British group deny the province of Quebec any right to a different status than the other provinces have. In recent weeks suggestions have

been made to use force to keep Quebec, if necessary, in the Federation.

Some would like to solve the crisis of Confederation with pseudo-remedies of economics, lingual, and cultural nature. The problem could become dangerously implicated benefitting no one except those who want to make trouble in this country.

Solution by the people

Being vitally interested in the unity of Canada, the Ukrainian Canadian Committee suggests some ways which might help in finding a solution.

1. The Government should proceed cautiously and avoid rash decisions.
2. Act on present constitutional basis only.
3. In special cases a referendum should be used by which the people of Canada or of Quebec only, be allowed to express their opinion.
4. The final decision about the fate of Quebec be reserved for the people of Quebec who should have the right to express their will in a general plebiscite.

Since we believe in democratic principles we must also apply them properly in the crisis of Confederation.

## 13. RESOLUTIONS OF THE SIXTH UKRAINIAN ALL-CANADA CONGRESS IN 1959 ON MULTICULTURALISM

(Full text)

In the multicultural Canadian society it is very important to establish a harmonious relationship, respect and tolerance. Assimilation is destructive and should be eliminated from the Canadian life. Scorn for origin, language and

religion places unsurpassable difficulties in the healthy development of every society. Having this in mind the Sixth Ukrainian Congress adopts the following resolutions:

1. To urge the Ukrainian Canadians to foster their Ukrainian traditions and to apply them in the development of their cultural life.
2. To preserve their Ukrainian identity and continue further efforts to strengthen their Canadian citizenship through the unity of the Canadian community within the various talents of her mosaic of cultures, with special attention given to the preservation of the mother language. This constructive platform is in full agreement with the developing tendencies in the world, and they should at the proper time find suitable expression in the Canadian constitution --- B.N.A. Act.
3. To acknowledge the fact that every ethnic group in Canada should produce its own cultural elements and that that work is the privilege for all Canadians irrespective of their origin and the most desirable for the benefit of the whole Canadian nation.
4. To realize the fundamental claim that the Ukrainian churches, schools, cultural and educational institutions, press, societies and organizations constitute part of the Canadian life and that they are, therefore, entitled to recognition and privileges including moral and material support and worthy to be recognized and treated accordingly

## 14. RESOLUTIONS OF THE UKRAINIAN NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE U.C.C. ON BICULTURALISM AND BILINGUALISM Sept. 27-28, 1963

With the establishment of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, the Ukrainian Canadian Committee, as a co-ordinating and representative body of all Ukrainians for that purpose called a special Convention of the National Council in Winnipeg, September 27 and 28, 1963.

Representatives from the six provinces, -- British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba, Ontario and Quebec and invited members of Provincial Legislatures of Ukrainian origin adopted the following resolutions:

1. Canadians of Ukrainian origin believe in unity and indivisibility of Canada based on the principles of equality of all Canadian citizens and on equal treatment of all irrespective of their national origin or the time of their or their forebearers' arrival in Canada.
2. Acknowledging and respecting the rights and privileges that are enjoyed by the English and French, guaranteed them by the British North America Act, the National Council at the same time points to the equal necessity of constitutional guarantees for all other ethnic groups in Canada to retain and develop their cultural values including their mother languages which should have unlimited government support.
3. To obligate the Executive of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee to prepare a Brief to the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism based on the above statement and the opinion on specific questions raised by the dele-

gates, as well as those that may come to the Ukrainian Canadian Committee Headquarters from Ukrainian organizations and individual citizens.

## 15. CULTURE AND "BICULTURALISM"

While the term "Bilingualism" is meaningful, though it could be understood differently by different people, the term "Biculturalism" is vague, confusing and even ridiculous. It is easy to understand that a person can be bilingual but he cannot be bicultural.

Mathew Arnold, in "Culture and Anarchy" defined culture as

> "a pursuit of our total perfection by means of knowledge of the best which has been thought and said in the world and the development thereby of all sides of our humanity."

This definition can be applied to the entire history of mankind or history of particular nations. There has been much talk about Canadian culture. In the Terms of Reference we learn about the cultures of two groups, while the overwhelming opinion is that in Canada there are many group-cultures.

In our opinion culture is the way of life of a people, the sum of their beliefs, achievements, both physical and spiritual, including science, folklore, and art. In Canada we can speak of the culture of the Indians, Eskimos, French, Irish, Poles, Ukrainians etc. Therefore it would be appropriate that the Commission devote more time on how to assist in preserving the cultural treasures of all ethnic groups in Canada as they, all combined, form Canadian culture. To say that on one side Canada has only two cultures, or on the other, no culture at all, is contrary to reality. As the Canadian nation is composed of many different ethnic groups so is Canadian culture made up of segments of their cultures.

## 16. FRENCH CANADIANS

First of all the French Canadians rightly deserve deep appreciation from other ethnic groups for their contribution made in all fields of the Canadian life. Especially they set a good example for other ethnic groups in being so tenaciously attached to their language, religion and culture and thus they laid a foundation for the Canadian cultural mosaic. Our French Canadians came to Canada as the first settlers and their pioneer work was beneficial to all Canadians.

The Ukrainian Canadian Committee considers that in the field of education the French will understand the Ukrainian position more than any one else. The French realize the bitter feelings which arose from the creation of privileged positions for selected groups in one country. More bitterness could arise by legislating such privileges. A great mistake is made to pupils in some grades of our schools in Western-Canada where French has been established as a compulsory subject. Experience has shown that this is not a proper way to learn any language and the result is never satisfactory. In our pluralistic society it is imperative to encourage the study of languages on a voluntary basis and the mother language should be taught first and at an early stage. This would save many students from frustration and prepare them for learning other languages.

This attitude is, in our opinion, in full agreement with the official view of French Canada as it was expressed by Mr. Georges-Emile Lapalme, Attorney-General and Minister of Cultural Affairs:

> "If French Canadians have persisted in keeping their traditions, then they could hardly do otherwise than to ask the minorities to keep theirs, and their language."

## 17. CONSTITUTION

The Ukrainian Canadian Committee does not reject the possibility of constitutional changes if the unity of Canada requires such changes. In such an event the rights for the linguistic and cultural opportunities for all Canadian cultural groups should be guaranteed on the same basis as the two major groups - English and French.

The people of Canada must be prepared for both alternatives: Canada with Quebec, or Canada without Quebec. In the opinion of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee political settlement of the present crisis must precede all other experiments with bilingualism and biculturalism.

The Ukrainian community in Canada looks with great apprehension at the present tendencies of some Canadian statesmen. It might be that some ethnic groups do not wish to preserve their identity. Some feel too weak to do so. But there are those who can and will undertake the task; they do not want to be sacrificed on the altar of French-English reconciliation. An ethnic group that wants to survive deserves encouragement and assistance from any democratic government. Otherwise, in practice, there would be little or no difference between the treatment of minorities by the totalitarian regimes and by the democratic governments. The only difference would be in the method used. Any attempt to amend the B.N.A. Act or to adopt a new constitution in order to remedy the present crisis of Confederation at the cost of one or more ethnic groups will benefit no one and, in the long run, will become detrimental to the whole of Canada.

## RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Strengthen the unity of Canada by extending the fundamental principles of democracy in which the most vital one is absolute equality of all citizens without exception.
2. A thorough study of the current crisis of Confederation be conducted in order to find new and more justifiable means for the present life on which ethnic identity of Canadian citizens should be recognized and treated as equal co-partners on the same basis of partnership with the English and French.
3. A climate of respect and understanding for the culture and mother tongue of all Canadian ethnic groups should be created on the principle that they are the Canadian pattern of culture, a treasury that should be preserved for the benefit of the entire nation.
4. If the B.N.A. Act should be amended or a new constitution drafted, constitutional guarantees should be included to safeguard the Canadian multicultural society, and secure its existence through moral and financial support of the government and governmental institutions.
5. The people of Quebec should be given the right to decide their future by general plebiscite. In case it decides to remain in unity - . Canada, it should be granted maximum autonomy to live free as far as possible in one democratic statehood with Canada, without moral and economic loss to the rest of the Canadian people. If the people of Quebec decide to withdraw, the problems which will arise from this fact should be decided by a suitable agreement depending on the situation. In both cases the

rights of the cultural minorities should be safeguarded.

6. Until the final decision regarding Quebec will be known, the legal state of the affairs based on the B.N.A. Act should be respected. Nothing should be done which could violate the rules of this act.

7. The English language in the multilingual and multicultural Canada should be treated by all Canadians as their common denominator for mutual understanding and it should be the language of instruction in public schools, except in the Province of Quebec where the French should have this status. Elsewhere, where another language of instruction in schools is used it should be parallel with English.

8. An extensive revision of school textbooks for public schools should take place in which the Ministers of Citizenship and Immigration together with provincial Ministers of Education examine their contents and exclude discriminatory material and give the students an unbiased social studies material, referring to the different ethnic groups, their origin, history, culture, literature and their accomplishments for the benefit of this country.

9. A Federal Ministry of Culture should be set up which, not interfering with the competencies of the provincial authorities would recognize and give unlimited support to all the cultures of the Canadian multicultural society and its ethnic groups, care for preservation and growth of the Canadian languages and multilingual literature, which up to the present was treated as non-Canadian, making immense damage to this country.

10. The public media crown corporations of communication, C.B.C., Radio, Television networks and the National Film Board should foster unity, cohesion and co-operation among various segments of Canadian population. They should meet this situation and resolve it for the benefit of the entire Canadian community:

(a) In the C.B.C. programs an appropriate place should be given to the language, music, literature, history, theatre and art of different ethnic groups of Canadian citizens. Those programs should also show the achievements of these people in Canada, thus giving the rest of the Canadian people an opportunity to learn more about their co-citizens.

(b) The C.B.C. broadcasting media should include regular programs in other languages besides the English and French, reflecting the ethnic composition of the Canadian population. These programs should include news, comments, and the best works of their cultural heritage.

(c) Consideration might be given to the establishment in Western Canada of a second multilingual C.B.C. radio-television network to serve ethnic groups in that area.

(d) Privately-owned radio and television stations in Canada should be encouraged by the Board of Broadcast Governors to also include programs relating to Canadian ethnic groups. This will create an organic unity of the Canadian nation with a bright future.

11. A permanent voluntary non-governmental inter-ethnic advisory body be established on the basis of the different Dominion-wide ethnic representations with the object to provide the governmental and semi-governmental agencies as well as all others who could be interested in understanding the problems of the different ethnic groups with reliable information to localize the difficulties and solve them in the best way possible for all concerned.

12. The Federal and provincial Civil Services should appoint personnel from qualified persons of all Canadians regardless of their ethnic origin or the time of their arrival in Canada.

13. Special attention of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism should be given to establishing also a clear meaning of some terms of fundamental importance which are often misleading - for example Canadianism, nation, state, culture, etc.

14. The Ukrainian Canadian Committee in preparing the above recommendations is fully aware that they apply to all ethnic groups in Canada, Ukrainian included. In addition it wishes to draw particular attention to matters specifically urgent to the Ukrainian community:

    (a) All existing discrimination in the form of categorization of languages in schools and universities should be removed and the Ukrainian language be taught beginning with the primary grades in public schools and in universities on equal basis with the same credit as all other modern languages.

    (b) Schools and universities in Western Canada should grant full matriculation status to the Ukrainian

language and develop a comprehensive program of Ukrainian studies, including the study of Ukrainian language, literature, culture and history, as well as the contributions of the Ukrainian group in the building of Canada.

(c) Government scholarships and bursaries for the study of languages and student exchange programs should extend equally to the study of Ukrainian.

(d) The Ukrainian Canadian cultural and educational institutions and their efforts, which are now left entirely to the generosity of the Ukrainian community, should receive financial support from the Canada Council and other similar institutions and they should be treated on the same level as other Canadian cultural institutions.

(e) Qualified Ukrainian Canadians should not be left, as practiced presently, without attention in appointments to senior policy making boards, senior administrative posts, Canadian civil service and governing bodies of such institutions as the Canada Council, Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, radio and television networks, National Film Board and other institutions, acting permanently or on a temporary basis. The old and fundamental principle of British democracy "No taxation without representation," would apply here with great advantage to our society.

(f) The Federal as well as Provincial Government bodies in Western Canada should adopt a policy whereby included within their offices would be employees who could also communicate in Ukrainian.

15. The Ukrainian Canadian Committee, being the representative of the Ukrainian community in Canada coordinates simultaneously all the work of the Ukrainian organizations and cultural institutions, is ready and willing to give consultation and assistance in all matters concerning the Ukrainian community life in Canada. All agencies interested are invited to turn this fact to their advantage.

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DEBATES OF THE SENATE

Official Report

# CANADA

# A MULTICULTURAL NATION

by

The Hon. PAUL YUZYK

Senator

In the Senate of Canada, Ottawa,

on Tuesday, March 3, 1964

Appendix I.

Honourable senators, as I rise to deliver my maiden speech, which in reality is a virgin speech since this is the first time that I have ever spoken in Parliament, it is with humility as well as with pride that I stand before so august a body as the Canadian Senate. I had planned to make my debut at the last session, but I was away in New York serving my country in the Canadian delegation to the Eighteenth General Assembly of the United Nations.

The warm welcome that I had received at the last session from His Honour the Speaker, the honourable former Leader of the Government, the honourable Leader of the Opposition and many other honourable senators, made me immediately feel at home in the Senate, and for this I am immeasurably grateful. Since there has been so much expressed concern for my happiness, I would like to assure the honourable senators that certainly they have launched me in that direction. My one year's experience here has convinced me that the Senate is paramountly nonpartisan in character and, therefore, my happiness is assured, as I had become accustomed to such a nonpolitical and nonpartisan institution as the university. Consequently, I do not regret the transfer and am looking forward to an increasingly useful life, with the objective of making some small contribution through the Senate to the welfare of the people of Canada.

I gladly join all those who have congratulated His Honour the Speaker, the honourable Leader of the Government (Hon. Mr. Connolly), and the honourable Leader of the Opposition (Hon. Mr. Brooks). Their positions are indeed responsible. I wish them well in the performance of their duties. A special and warm word of thanks I would like to convey to Senator Connolly, who was chairman of the Internal Economy and Contingent Accounts Committee, and to other members of the

committee, for their support of my request for a stenographer who could type and correspond in Ukrainian. A trilingual stenographer, who could handle Ukrainian, English and French was found, making it possible for me and for other senators to expedite correspondence readily in three languages. My congratulations go to Senator White for the great honour that he received by his appointment to the Privy Council; I shall always fondly remember him as the Speaker of the Senate when I was sworn in to this chamber.

I have also learned to appreciate the role of the Whips and wish them success and satisfaction in the fulfilment of what is not always a grateful function. It is a pleasure to welcome the newest senators who have joined us recently.

At the outset I would like to pay tribute to the Right Honourable John George Diefenbaker, whom history will record, I am sure, as one of the great Canadian Prime Ministers. His championing the cause of the liberty of nations against Russian communist colonialism at NATO and the United Nations, his efforts to strengthen the Commonwealth, based upon the principles of freedom, justice and democracy, his advocacy for many years of the Canadian Bill of Rights, and his defence of Canadian sovereignty, have brought great prestige to Canada throughout the world. His roots go deep in Canadian history, for on his mother's side he is a distinguished descendant of George Bannerman and his wife, who arrived with the courageous band of Selkirk settlers 150 years ago to establish the Red River Colony, the precursor of Winnipeg, the "Gateway to the West". To this great Canadian, who has always had the interests of all segments of our diverse population at heart, I owe an everlasting debt of gratitude, for it was he who first interested me in political life during the election of 1935--although I did not actively participate for a long time--and who finally involved me permanently in political affairs by

nominating me to the Senate last year.

I also would like to offer my congratulations to the mover, Senator Cook, and the seconder, Senator Denis, of the motion for an address in reply to the Speech from the Throne. Their contributions to the debate, despite brevity, were interesting, worthwhile and stimulating.

Honourable senators, there are certain references in the Speech from the Throne that are of particular interest to me and that part of the Canadian population into which I was born; I take it upon myself to voice their feelings. These are the references dealing with Canadian unity and citizenship, "which will ensure full equality of rights for all Canadian citizens wherever they were born". I hope that this will eliminate second-class citizenship.

Canada has undergone tremendous changes in all walks of national life since the proclamation of the British North America Act in 1867. The original four provinces have increased to ten, while the population has increased from 3½ million to over 19 million, the complexion having changed from paramountly British-French, with a substratum of Indian and Eskimo cultures, to multicultural, with the immigration of many European and some Asiatic peoples.

During that time, Canada has developed from a colony to an independent democratic state, from a relatively unknown country to a leader of the middle nations of the world, from an exploited territory to a leading trading nation and a champion of the freedom of nations of the world. Few countries in the world have paralleled the peaceful progress of our country. Canada today is a vastly different country and our approach to her problems must be in keeping with the new situation and the new times.

It is regrettable that Canadian historians have consistently neglected to take into account population statistics, and have thus failed to bring into perspective the variety of the contributions of the many ethnic groups to the building of Canada. Even a casual examination of the figures of the past seven Canadian censuses reveals significant trends in our population. I will read briefly the percentage distribution of the three elements--British, French, and the third element consisting of all other ethnic groups--of the population, taken from catalogue 92-545 of the 1961 census, Dominion Bureau of Statistics:

| | 1901 | 1911 | 1921 | 1931 | 1941 | 1951 | 1961 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| British | 57 | 56 | 55 | 52 | 50 | 48 | 44 |
| French | 31 | 29 | 28 | 28 | 30 | 31 | 30 |
| Third Element | 12 | 15 | 17 | 20 | 20 | 21 | 26 |

From these percentages it will readily be noted that the British element--English, Scots, Irish and Welsh--during the past 60 years has steadily decreased, not in number but in proportion, from 57 per cent to 44 per cent; today it is a minority group. The French element has constantly held its own proportion, about 30 per cent. On the other hand, the third element has steadily increased from 12 per cent to 26 per cent, more than doubling itself, and is quickly approaching the numerical and proportional position of the French Canadians. Present-day Canada is a country of minorities, and this fact should not be ignored.

For purpose of information, the following are the eight largest ethnic groups of the third element, according to the 1961 census:

| | | | Canadian-born | Canadian Citizenship |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| German | 1,049,599 | (5.8%) | 73% | 87% |
| Ukrainian | 473,377 | (2.6 ) | 77 | 97 |
| Italian | 450,351 | (2.5 ) | 41 | 61 |
| Netherlander | 429,679 | (2.4 ) | 64 | 81 |
| Scandinavian | 386,534 | (2.1 ) | 73 | 93 |
| Polish | 323,517 | (1.8 ) | 60 | 90 |
| Indian | 208,286 | (1.1 ) | 100 | |
| Jewish | 173,344 | (1.0 ) | 62 | 93 |

I should add that there are 254,368 of Judaic faith.

It is interesting and revealing to examine the present composition of the population of the provinces according to the three elements. The British element predominates in Newfoundland with 94 per cent; Prince Edward Island, 80 per cent; Nova Scotia, 71 per cent; British Columbia, 61 per cent; Ontario, 60 per cent; and New Brunswick, 55 per cent. The French element predominates only in Quebec with 81 per cent; the largest minority is in New Brunswick, 40 per cent. The third element predominates in Saskatchewan with 53 per cent, exceeding the British, 40 per cent, and French, 7 per cent. It forms the largest element in Alberta, 49 per cent, followed by the British, 45 per cent, and the French, 6 per cent. In Manitoba it forms 48 per cent, followed by the British, 43 per cent, and the French, 9 per cent. It has the considerable proportion in British Columbia of 35 per cent; Ontario, 30 per cent; and Nova Scotia, 17 per cent. In general, the third element, composed overwhelmingly of Canadian-born, forms about 50 per cent of the population of the three prairie provinces.

By what right did the non-British, non-French peoples come to Canada? First of all, the Indians and the Eskimos are

indigenous peoples, being natives of this land long before the coming of the French and the British. The other European peoples were invited to this country by the Canadian Government to settle the vast wilderness. The settling of the West began shortly after Confederation, and brought into being the province of Manitoba, and later Saskatchewan and Alberta. Large-scale government-sponsored and government-directed immigration was initiated by Sir Clifford Sifton of Manitoba, Minister of the Interior, in 1896 under the Government of Sir Wilfrid Laurier. In less than two decades before World War 1, most of the arable land in the prairie provinces was settled by a considerable number of several European peoples, a very large proportion of whom were neither of British nor French origin. They fully accepted the laws of Canada, brought civilization to vast areas hitherto uninhabited, greatly aided the expansion of Canadian economy and prosperity, loyally and fully participated in the Canadian armed forces of the two world wars, and conscientiously performed their duties as citizens in every respect, even though there was some discrimination against them for quite a long time. The third element, ethnic groups, now numbering approximately five million persons, are co-builders of the West and other parts of Canada, along with the British and French Canadians, and are just as permanent a part of the Canadian scene.

Allow me, in a very brief summary, to present an example of the contribution to Canada of one of the non-British, non-French groups, namely, the Ukrainian Canadians, from whom I spring and about whom I have some knowledge as a result of my researches, which have been published in a book and several articles. In response to the appeals, the propaganda, and agents of the Canadian Government, the Ukrainians began coming to this country in large numbers commencing in 1896, from the

Austrian provinces of Galicia and Bukovina, now designated as Western Ukraine. Mostly of peasant origin, they took up homesteads and farms throughout the prairies and brought under cultivation millions of acres of land, thus establishing civilization in large areas, many of which bear witness in over 130 Ukrainian place names. Consequently, their greatest contribution to Canada has been in agriculture. Ukrainian Canadians have been frequent winners of world and Canadian championships of wheat, oats and vegetables. The best varieties of grains are either of Ukrainian origin or hybrids of Ukrainian grains. This should not be surprising, for Ukraine has always been known as the "black earth region" and "the granary of Europe". Railroad construction, large building and housing construction, mining, various kinds of manufacturing, etc., have benefited from the labour, inventiveness and management of Ukrainians. They are found in large numbers in the teaching profession, including the universities, and play a fairly significant role in many other professions.

Perhaps the most important criterion of the integration of any group into Canadian society and life is its participation in public affairs. The Ukrainians have produced hundreds of reeves of municipalities, many aldermen of towns and cities, several mayors of large cities: Winnipeg, Edmonton, Windsor, Kenora; many members of provincial legislatures: Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta and Ontario; several provincial cabinet ministers: Saskatchewan, Manitoba, Ontario and Alberta; several federal members of Parliament of all parties, one federal cabinet minister and three senators--altogether at least 74 parliamentarians. About 10,000 Ukrainians were in the Canadian armed forces during the First World War, one of whom, Philip Konowal, received the Victoria Cross, the highest award for bravery in the British Commonwealth; and about

40,000 voluntarily served in the Canadian military forces of the Second World War, many as officers, and many of whom paid the supreme sacrifice for this country. Ukrainians cherish Canadian freedom and democracy, as they are conscious of Ukraine's subjugation and bondage.

Their cultural contribution is known in most parts of Canada. Ukrainian folk dancing in colourful costumes, choirs, embroidery and woodwork have been winning the enthusiastic applause and praise of audiences, leaders, and monarchs, at local and national celebrations, since the Diamond Jubilee of Canada in 1927 and will be featured in greater magnitude at the Centennial celebrations in 1967. The Ukrainian language and literature is taught at the Universities of Saskatchewan, Manitoba, Alberta, Toronto, Montreal and Ottawa, and as an elective subject in the high schools of Saskatchewan, Manitoba and Alberta. These general cultural activities are directed by the Ukrainian Canadian Committee, with headquarters in Winnipeg, which co-ordinates the work of 27 dominion-wide Ukrainian organizations, exclusive of the small communist associations.

At the last session of Parliament the committee sponsored a bill, which was passed in both houses, to establish the Ukrainian Canadian Foundation of Taras Shevchenko, to promote Ukrainian culture in Canada. This year Ukrainians throughout the world are celebrating the 150th anniversary of the birth of Taras Shevchenko, the great poet of Ukrainian and universal freedom, justice, truth and brotherhood. Prime Minister Diefenbaker unveiled a large monument of Shevchenko on the grounds of the Legislative buildings of Manitoba in 1961, on which occasion he spoke some Ukrainian, as did Premier Duff Roblin. A monument of the great poet will be unveiled this June on the grounds of the federal Capitol of the United States, in Washington, D. C. To commemorate this great anniversary, I have selected brief excerpts from Shevchenko's poetry, inspired

with the divine spirit of liberty, which I would like to read for your appreciation in Ukrainian, followed by an English translation.

From "The Caucasus"--the poet's indictment of Russian Tsarist oppression and a mighty protest against the brutal subjugation of the peoples of the Caucasus, translated by Professors Watson Kirkconnell of Acadia University, and C. H. Andrusyshen of the University of Saskatchewan. Their poetic translation of the complete works of Shevchenko is due to be published shortly by the University of Toronto Press.

Ne vmyraye dusha nasha,
Ne vmyraye volya,
I nesyty ne vyore
Na dni morya polya.
Ne skuye dushi zhyvoyi
I slova zhyvoho.
Boritesya--poboryte!
Vam Boh pomahaye!
Za vas pravda za vas slava
I volya svyataya.

Translated:

So likewise shall our spirit never die
Nor our dear freedom wholly vanquished lie.
Sooner may foemen hope to plough with glee
A meadow at the bottom of the sea
As chain the living soul with force uncouth
Or choke to death the vital word of Truth
Struggle and ye shall overcome the foe:
For God shall succour you in battle's throe;
His strength is on your side, and freedom stands
With justice on the threshold of your lands.

The poet, who himself had been a serf, fought for the abolition of the abominable system of serfdom in Russia and for the emancipation of these exploited human beings, as well as peoples. Here are his stirring and noble words:

Vozvelychu
Malykh otykh rabiv nimykh!
Ya na storozhi kolo yikh
Postavlyu slovo.

I shall make great
These insignificant mute slaves!
On their behalf in their defence
Shall speak the word.

The word is the living human spirit of truth, justice and liberty, which ultimately must prevail for Ukraine and all oppressed peoples who are still struggling for their freedom against Russian communist imperialism. The free countries of the world, including Canada, must mobilize world opinion against the largest existing totalitarian empire, the Soviet Union, to compel it to grant self-determination and freedom to the many nations under Russian domination, in accordance with the principles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and the principles of the United Nations.

The contributions and place of the third element ethnic groups are very little known to the Canadian public and to the leaders of our country. To my knowledge, only the province of Manitoba has made an effort to learn objectively about the prominent groups in that province. The Manitoba Government has been subsidizing these studies through the Manitoba Historical Society since 1946, which to date has received manuscripts on the Mennonites, Ukrainians, Icelanders, Poles, Jews,

early French, and Hutterites, of which the social histories of the Ukrainians, Mennonites and Jews have been published. We sorely lack authentic studies of these groups on a Canada-wide basis. Certainly, on the eve of the centennial celebrations an effort should be made to fill in this gap in Canadian history. With adequate financial support from the Canada Council, such a project should be sponsored immediately under the guidance of prominent Canadian historians, who should subsequently incorporate the important material in Canadian histories.

In the light of the above figures and information it will be easily understood why I am viewing critically the Royal Commission on Biculturalism and Bilingualism. First of all, the word "bicultural," which I could not find in any dictionary, is a misnomer. In reality Canada never was bicultural; the Indians and Eskomos have been with us throughout our history; the British group is multicultural - English, Scots, Irish, Welsh; and with the settling of other ethnic groups, which now make up almost one-third of the population, Canada has become multicultural in fact. Furthermore, the projecting of the idea that Canada is bicultural not only excludes the non-British and non-French groups, but denies the multicultural character of the British group, which can only lead to disunity. What we need is a firm basis of our nationhood which will unite all elements in our society. It is found in the paragraph quoted in the Speech from the Throne of May 16, 1963:

The character and strength of our nation are drawn from the diverse cultures of people who came from many lands to create the Canada that is ours today. The greater Canada that is in our power to make will be built not on uniformity but on continuing diversity.

If biculturalism were carried to its logical conclusion--a virtual two-nation co-existence--then all Canadians would be required to become either English or French. This is an impossibility, and I believe that is not the desired objective of our people. It would not be consistent with full democracy and equality of all citizens. I was glad to note in the debate on the reply to the Speech from the Throne the other day, the honourable Leader of the Opposition (Hon. Mr. Brooks) stated:

...no matter what we try to do, we cannot make an Englishman of a Frenchman, and we cannot make a Frenchman of an Englishman, but we can make good Canadians of both...so far as the other ethnic groups are concerned, we cannot change their ethnic group except to make good Canadians of them.

In his remarks in the debate on the reply to the Throne Speech, the honourable Leader of the Government (Hon. Mr. Connolly, Ottawa West), expressed a similar view when he appraised the cultural contributions of various peoples from many countries of the world "as a boon to a new country" and made the exhortation, "each element shall continue to develop its own ideals and achieve its own aspirations alongside the other". It is my belief that our citizens desire an all-embracing Canadian identity which will include all the elements of our population and emphasize unity.

Let us first evaluate briefly the general distinctive contributions of each of the three elements of our population and then assess their place in the establishment of the Canadian identity which should meet with the approval of the vast majority of our citizens.

The great permanent British gift to the Canadian way of life is the establishment of the parliamentary system of government, an evolutionary democracy under the Crown,

which has continually adjusted itself to the new situations, while upholding the authority of and equality before the law, liberty, justice, fair play, equal opportunity for all and the dignity of the individual. Under the British Crown through the Quebec Act, the Constitutional Act, the British North America Act, and the Statute of Westminster, Canada has evolved from colonial status to an independent state and a leader among the middle nations of the world. In this process, Canada has become an equal partner in the Commonwealth of Nations, the great bulwark of freedom and democratic evolution. The British system of democracy has become firmly rooted in Canada and has been accepted by all Canadians as fundamental in our society.

The great French contribution to the Canadian way of life is of a conservative character, the preservation and perpetuation of the culture of a people. Their love of Canada, their pride in their language and their traditions, and their devotion to their religion give depth to the meaning of life. These qualities of the French-Canadian character have built up their resistance to the pressure of the United States and have made possible the development of Canada to independence and greatness.

A tous mes confrères canadiens d'origine française au Sénat, je veux transmettre mes salutations chaleureuses en français. J'ai appris à lire le français à Saskatoon, mais, malheureusement pas, à le parler.

Les autres groupes ethniques, qui ont aidé à construire le Canada, admirent les Canadiens français pour l'amour de leur pays, pour la défense de son indépendance et pour la préservation de leur belle culture. Continuons de travailler ensemble avec un respect mutuel les uns envers les autres, afin de construire un Canada fort et unifié pour la gloire de

Dieu, pour la prospérité de nos citoyens et pour la paix et le progrès de l'humanité.

The joint contribution of the various ethnic groups of the third element to the Canadian way of life is like that of the French, in the cultural sphere with political and constitutional implications. By their perpetuation of the best of their cultural heritages, these groups have made Canadians more conscious of cultural values out of which there has emerged the principle of "unity in diversity," or, stated in another way, "unity with variety," as a rule of governance. This principle, in keeping with the democratic way, encourages citizens of all ethnic origins to make their best contributions to the development of a general Canadian culture as essential ingredients in the nation-building process.

The contributions of the three elements side by side in our society provides the sound materials for the building of a strong Canadian nation. They provide us with the Canadian identity, a pattern which has been developing in a different way from that of our neighbour to the south. This is brought out clearly in the address delivered last year to the sixth conference of the Canadian Council of Christians and Jews in Winnipeg by Dr. Charles Hobart, of California, now sociology professor at the University of Alberta. Here are some of his statements:

Search of identity? You are almost THE multicultural society of the world and this is your identity. It is the contribution you as Canadians have to make to the world. This system of multiculturalism has now worked for almost 100 years and you should be missionaries in this type of a cause.

In his opinion the Canadian system of multiculturalism has obvious advantages over the American melting-pot concept which produces,

A mixture in which there is loss of identity and peculiar genius. In the long run multiculturalism beats the melting-pot idea all to hell.

A more emphatic statement could not be made by any American.

Canadian leaders have also expressed the same idea. Here is a statement of the late Dr. Sidney Smith, former president of the University of Manitoba and the University of Toronto, when he was Secretary of State for External Affairs:

The present population of Canada is roughly, one-third of Anglo-Saxon stock, one-third of French stock and one-third of many other racial groups. There is no Canadian race. We have never had a melting-pot policy toward newcomers. We have never tried to fashion them into one, and only one, mould. Rather we have rejoiced in and we have been strengthened by their special contributions.

There were also leaders in the past who could foresee the shape of things to come. A great architect of Canada, Prime Minister Sir Wilfrid Laurier, under whose administration the Prairies were peopled by various groups of the third element, left, some 60 years ago, the following message for future generations:

I have visited in England one of those models of Gothic architecture which the hand of genius, guided by an unerring faith has moulded into a harmonious whole. This cathedral is made of marble, oak and granite. It is the image of the nation I would like to see Canada become. For here, I want the marble to remain the marble; the granite to remain the granite; the oak to remain the oak; and out of all these elements I would build a nation great among the nations of the world.

At this stage, I would like to state it is gratifying to learn that the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism has recognized the potentiality and vitality of multiculturalism. I would like to quote from its working paper, for the use of those preparing briefs:

The mainspring (l'idee-force) of the terms of reference is the question of bilingualism and biculturalism (i.e. English and French) adding immediately that this mainspring is working in a situation where there is the fact of multiculturalism--multiculturalism that must not be suppressed as quickly as possible (the proverbial melting-pot) but on the contrary, respected and safeguarded, despite not being given official recognition.

It should be borne in mind that a form of official recognition has been given to this principle, since the languages and cultures of some of the non-British, non-French ethnic groups are taught in the public high schools of the three Prairie provinces and in many of the universities. This could easily be extended to the other provinces. I think that the time has arrived for the third element ethnic groups to send their representatives to a national conference in Ottawa and make their common views known to the federal and provincial governments and not only to the Royal Commission.

The recognition of the multicultural character of our population has evolved the unique principle of unity in continuing diversity, which Prince Philip at the Commonwealth Study Conference in Vancouver two years ago identified as the Canadian way. This, of course, is the principle of Confederation which originally had been applied in the political sphere, and now has been extended to the cultural sphere of Canada. To achieve the integration of the rich cultures in our midst into a harmonious entity, Canadian leaders have invoked such

sensory symbols as the beauty of the mosaic, the flower garden, the rainbow, the symphony orchestra and the choir, each of which expresses harmonious variety.

In keeping with the ideals of democracy and the spirit of Confederation, Canada should accept and guarantee the principle of the partnership of all peoples who have contributed to her development and progress. As the founding peoples of our country, the British and the French should be regarded as the senior partners whose special rights include the recognition of English and French as the official languages in accordance with the British North America Act; Canadians would have the choice, but not compulsion, of one or the other language as the means of instruction in our schools. The third element ethnic or cultural groups should receive the status of co-partners, who would be guaranteed the right to perpetuate their mother tongues and cultures, which should be offered as optional subjects in the public and high school systems and the separate schools of the provinces, and the universities, wherever there would be a sufficient number of students to warrant the maintenance of such classes, as is practised in England. The teaching of languages should commence at the grade one level, when children learn without much effort. This I know from my own teaching experience of many years in the public schools of Saskatchewan.

For the evolution of a multicultural Canadian nation, a firm basis has been established by Canadian governments since the last war. The Canadian Citizenship Act of 1947 recognizes the equality of all Canadian citizens and the Canadian Bill of Rights of 1960 elaborates the specific rights of all citizens and condemns discrimination.

Honourable senators, I would like to convey to both Houses of Parliament and to all Canadians how deeply shocked

I was when I read in the House of Commons Debates of February 27, 1964, the following two paragraphs of the speech of the Minister of Citizenship and Immigration:

There is a tradition of long standing in this Parliament, that the Speaker's function in the House of Commons and in the other place is entrusted in turn to representatives of the two most important ethnic groups in this country.

According to another tradition, the mover and the seconder of the address in reply to the Speech from the Throne are chosen among representatives of the two most important racial groups in Canada.

The minister stated that he respected this tradition, which can be interpreted that he recognizes these rights only for the French and the English. He has gone so far as to make all the "English-speaking" one ethnic group, thus denying the existence of the Scots, Irish and Welsh, and soon after he calls them a racial group. Such confusion in the thinking of a minister of citizenship is not pardonable. What is worse is the policy, which he calls tradition, that he upholds. In his opinion, the speaker of each house and the movers and the seconders of addresses in reply to the Speech from the Throne must alternate between the English and the French. This would deny the right for Senators Thorvaldson, Croll, Hnatyshyn, Gladstone, Basha, just to mention a few, to become the speaker or the mover or seconder of the Throne Speech addresses in the Senate. This would deny many members of Parliament in the other house such rights also.

Obviously, this is a discriminatory attitude against which I protest most emphatically, as will many Canadians, I am sure. If this is adhered to, it will be a mockery of the Canadian Bill of Rights, the existing Citizenship Act, and the prospective--and I quote from the Speech from the Throne--

"amendments to the Citizenship Act which will ensure full equality of rights for all Canadian citizens wherever they were born".

Notwithstanding this, however, the Department of Citizenship and Immigration has been doing a wonderful job not only of aiding immigrants in their happy adjustment to Canadian life but also of promoting good Canadian citizenship through citizenship conferences publications and publicity, et cetera. The essence of Canadianism is most appropriately expressed in the message of a Citizenship Court Judge on the occasion of the granting of citizenship to new citizens:

This nation has been enriched by the loyalty and sacrifice of persons who have come from many lands and traditions. To each this nation has given a chance to live and grow and share in the common wealth. From each Canada has accepted the gifts of different cultures and made them into an enduring heritage. From sea to sea, this rich heritage is yours, as it is mine, because we are Canadian.

Other departments of federal and provincial governments, public bodies and our schools, are slow in following the lead of the Department of Citizenship and Immigration. School textbooks should contain the story of the contributions of all elements of our society to the development of Canada, in order to break down the barriers of prejudice and stimulate positive citizenship. Equality of citizenship should mean that appointments to high offices, commissions, the Canada Council, et cetera, should also be made from the third element, as has already been partially put into practice.

For example, I believe that the time has come for someone of the third element to grace the office of Governor General and of Lieutenant Governors in some of the provinces. The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, the worst offender,

should have representatives from the third element on the Board of Broadcast Governors and should promote the harmony and unity of all segments of our multicultural society by sponsoring regular weekly programs of the music, songs, dances, dramas, handicrafts and literature of the ethnic groups of the third element on television and radio systems.

The issuance last year of a stamp commemorating Sir Casimir Gzowski, a great Canadian of Polish origin, an outstanding engineer, soldier and educator, should be the beginning of others to follow in the same vein. The multicultural image of Canada should be conveyed in external affairs throughout the multicultural world; exhibits of Canada, embassies, consulates and delegations should have illustrations of the cultural contributions of some of the leading third element groups. I believe it would greatly enhance Canada's prestige in the world if a native Indian, educated in a Canadian university, became a member of a Canadian diplomatic mission. Cultural exchanges between the various groups should be promoted. These are only a few suggestions.

Canada's future and greatness will depend not so much upon the exploitation of her natural resources as upon the proper development of her human resources, both of which we have in variety. If we succeed, and we are well on the road to succeeding, to evolve the pattern of unity in continuing diversity through the application of the principle of Confederation and compromise, this will serve as precedent for other states in the world having similar population and cultural problems. It will be Canada's contribution to the world. I shall venture to go farther. In Canada we have the world in miniature. World peace and order could be achieved if the principles of unity in continuing diversity, brotherhood, compromise and the recognition of the freedom and dignity of in-

dividuals and nations are honestly applied.

So, on the eve of the celebration of the centennial of the Confederation of Canada, let us honour the memory and the deed of the Founding Fathers of our nation. The bronze tablet in the Confederation Chamber of the Legislative building in Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island, most appropriately assesses their immortal work of one hundred years ago in the following words:

> Providence being their guide
> They builded better than they knew.

In these days when our nation is subjected to various stresses and strains, when some express doubts and fears about Canada's future, let us strengthen the moral fibre of our nation by rededicating ourselves to the principles of the Canadian Bill of Rights. Let us always bear in mind the pledge appended to this bill, which was read by Prime Minister John G. Diefenbaker, in the House of Commons, on July 1, 1960:

" I am a Canadian, a free Canadian, free to speak without fear, free to worship God in my own way, free to stand for what I think right, free to oppose what I believe wrong, free to choose those who shall govern my country. This heritage of freedom I pledge to uphold for myself and all mankind."

Fundamentally, we are a Christian and democratic nation. Let us therefore not forget that all men are born in the image of God. Believing in the Fatherhood of God, we also believe in the brotherhood of man and the brotherhood of peoples and nations. Our faith in freedom, equality, justice, co-operation, truth and love as the antidote to tyranny, hate, fear, bigotry, prejudice and discrimination has been the strength that has brought about the maintained Canadian unity, which has produced

peace, progress, prosperity and happiness for Canadian citizens. This faith and work has built a great and dynamic Canada. With continuing mutual understanding and goodwill and adherence to these high principles we will build a greater and more dynamic country. Let us look to Canada's future with faith of our Founding Fathers, of our pioneers of various origins, and of our great leaders.

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# ON LANGUAGE AND CULTURE

Published in connection with the Second Canadian

Conference on Education, Montreal, March 4 - 8

1962

UKRAINIAN CANADIAN COMMITTEE

Winnipeg -- Manitoba

Appendix 2

# ON LANGUAGE AND CULTURE

Published in connection with the Second Canadian Conference on Education, Montreal, March 4-8

UKRAINIAN CANADIAN COMMITTEE
WINNIPEG - MANITOBA
March 1962

## IMPORTANCE OF MOTHER LANGUAGES

It is not uncommon to find people in continental Europe who have a command of several languages. The learning of languages in continental Europe is widely encouraged and to be able to speak with ease in more languages than one is considered a mark of a well-rounded education.

While the learning of languages has lagged on the North American continent it is encouraging to note that of late there has been an increasing awareness of the importance of this medium of human communication and the need of salvaging our language resources from eventual disappearance.

The necessity of preserving the languages of the various ethnic groups is beginning to receive wider recognition.

Important as these practical considerations are, there are, of course, other no less weighty reasons why the knowledge of mother languages is important. These reasons are stated in a convincing and lucid manner by Dr. Geo. W. Simpson, Professor Emeritus of the University of Saskatchewan, in his article on "Why Learn Ukrainian". Taking this language, for example, it is the Liturgical language of the Ukrainian Catholic and the Ukrainian Orthodox Churches, whose adherents comprise 95% of the entire Ukrainian Canadian

community. Similar use may no doubt be claimed by mother languages of many other ethnic groups.

Canada is a multi-cultural nation. In addition to the two major races a sizeable segment of Canada's population is made up of people who came from many lands. They brought with them a priceless treasure of cultural heritage, rich in variety and expressive in its outward manifestations.

This cultural variety which adds to the richness of the Canadian society should be preserved and the most important key to its preservation are the languages. The multi-cultural character of our society was recognized many decades ago by a great Canadian statesman of French origin, Sir Wilfrid Laurier. On one occasion he compared the Canadian society to a beautiful edifice which impressed him so deeply during his visit to London. He referred to the elements that went into the construction of that edifice, they being of marble, granite and oak, all different yet blending in harmony to produce a thing of majestic beauty. Sir Wilfrid expressed the hope that thus also the different elements forming the Canadian nation will preserve their individuality; marble remaining marble, granite remaining granite and oak remaining oak, blending together to produce a unified and vigorous nation.

Decades later similar sentiments were expressed by the present Prime Minister. Speaking in Winnipeg last year he had this to say:

> "I liken Canada to a garden...A mosaic is a static thing with each element separate and divided from others. Canada is not that kind of a country. Neither is it a "melting-pot" in which the individuality of each element is destroyed in order to produce a new and totally different element. It is rather a garden into which have been

transplanted the hardiest and brightest flowers from many lands, each retaining in its new environment the best of the qualities for which it was loved and prized in its native land."

The concept of Canada as a multi-cultural nation is gaining acceptance among leading and objective Canadian citizens and educators. Dr. Wilder Penfield has on occasions stressed the advisability of teaching languages. Dr. P. H. T. Thorlakson, President of the Manitoba Council on Education, in his fine article on "Learning A Second Language" which appeared as a guest editorial in the latest issue of the MANITOBA TEACHER (January-February, 1962) has this to say:

"A step in the right direction was made recently in Manitoba when the provincial government decided to offer courses in the Ukrainian language in the high schools of this province. It is to be hoped that this opportunity and privilege will be extended to include other languages. A broader official recognition would engender a wholesome respect for the language and literature of the many peoples who have contributed substantially to the cultural and economic life of Manitoba over the past century. It would likely encourage parents to conserve for their children this valuable "language potential"."

As Dr. Penfield has often stated the child has a genius for languages and therefore the study of languages should commence at a very early age, preferably in the elementary grades. Besides the major language, English or French, the child should begin the study of its mother tongue. Having had at least rudimentary knowledge in that language learned on its mother's knee it will be able to master the language with comparative ease. It is highly questionable whether there is any real purpose in teaching

the child a language which it will not be able to utilize and might eventually forget because of environment and lack of its own cultural hinterland. It is far better to acquire the knowledge of one's own mother tongue in addition to one of the major languages as the mother language will in all probability have its own cultural hinterland without which it cannot hope to survive.

Let us strive to master as many languages as our linguistic capabilities will permit. Let us be bilingual and trilingual. But whatever the limitations we should at least be bilingual by mastering either English or French and the mother tongue, which is the basis of the cultural heritages, the legacy of our many ethnic groups, a legacy which is also Canada's, for we are all Canadians.

The Canadian Conference on Education will show commendable foresight by meeting this challenge and by providing leadership in stimulating and promoting interest in the revival of what Dr. Thorlakson rightly calls "this valuable language potential".

## OUR CULTURAL PLURALISM

These are momentous years in the history of the world. Nations, young and old, are fighting for a place under the sun. Benevolent empires, like the British Empire, are changing into Commonwealth states. Submerged and long forgotten nations are coming back to life after years of political and cultural hibernation. New peoples have taken up arms in defiance of the whole world - and are ready to sacrifice all, even their freedom, to attain statehood... Revolutions, cold wars, hot wars are the order of the day... And high above this seething cauldron of peoples and nations circle, in ever-widening spiral, the hungry vultures croaking

our doom. Hungry vultures! The birds of evil-omen personified in the powerful dictatorships and communist empires, so vast that their very presence sends chills down the spine of the Western hemisphere and makes some of our Western statesmen forget the meaning and the value of those basic freedoms that they have pledged so solemnly to defend.

The Western World needs not only great strength in arms but even greater strength in spirit and in cosmopolitan mind... Canada is a young nation, a brave nation, full of life and vitality. It is a free nation and, as such, it can, and it should, set pace by formulating and re-affirming to the whole world the ideology that should form the bases of our democratic institutions and of the many freedoms we enjoy.

With these ponderous thoughts in mind we present the treatise dealing with the place and the role of ethnic cultures in the growth and the development of Canadian culture.

It is the aim of this brief review to discuss some of the fundamental principles on which Canadian culture should be based, and to point out some of the deficiencies.

We consider that the oft-repeated statement that Canada is a young nation and, in consequence, has very little in the realm of culture that can be called its very own and truly Canadian, is not true. On the contrary we believe that Canada has a wonderful store of cultural heritage that she inherited from the many ethnic groups which form our dynamic, although varied, population.

Furthermore we wish to draw attention to the fact that the inherent cultural values brought to Canada by these various groups had been given the status of citizenship when the duties, the rights and the privileges of civic citizenship were bestowed on them through naturalization or birth. For

how can it be otherwise when it is a well known fact that no person or group can be stripped or dissociated from his inherent cultural values and background.

Even those whose ancestry dates back to the early days of the Canadian history have been handed from generation to generation the great educational, literary and traditional values and, by preserving them, have enriched Canada to an extent that is only commensurable by its fine spiritual growth and democratic development.

In consequence, we conclude that an individual and his inherent cultural self are inseparable; hence, each and every cultural value representative of any Canadian group is, an integral part of the Canadian culture.

This leads us to the analysis of the concept of the plurality of cultures. There are those who maintain that cultural pluralism is an unique Canadian national and social phenomenon and that its complexity has an adverse effect on the healthy growth of the distinctive Canadian culture. It is our contention that both of these major premises are not based on fact and, therefore, lead to false conclusions.

Those who take the trouble to study objectively the history and the growth of any so called "distinctive national" culture must admit that every national culture is the sum total of many different cultural addends interrelated with those exponents of the said culture that may be termed truly unique and distinctive.

Hence the plurality of cultures is a common feature, to a lesser or a greater extent, of all national cultures. And Canada is no exception to the rule.

To argue that cultural plurality has an adverse effect on the healthy growth and development of the Canadian culture is detrimental to the best interests of Canada since

such arguments can only be based on the old, out-moded and unrealistic theory of "balkanization" of Canadian culture and on hysterical fear, pride and prejudice.

Our present day system of preserving and disseminating cultural values includes such potent factors as the public and the secondary school systems, the university, the press, the radio and television and the myriad daily labour and social contacts that constitute those powerful integrating forces which bring the cultural values to a common Anglo-Saxon denominator in all of Canada, with the exception of Quebec, where the cultural trends are predominantly French Canadian... However, the other ethnic groups have a veritable treasure-house of literature, music, folklore, dances and many fine traditions. These addends serve them not only spiritually, esthetically and intellectually but also complete to the fullest extent of the cultural needs and bring out the finest and the strongest traits of character that a well-bred, intelligent and a cultured Canadian should have.

There is one other very important point of view that should be taken into serious consideration. Any cultural exponent that has a potential value for instilling, directly or indirectly, an awareness of the virtues of our democratic institutions deserves our whole hearted support. Any cultural exponent, that helps to instill in the mind of a child and of an adult the truism that the concept of our many freedoms must be nurtured, taught, perpetuated and defended against the insidious subversion, deserves the support of those Canadian institutions that have been given the responsibility for the development of the Canadian culture. In our composite society, with its rich but diverse cultural background, we should not only allow the existence

of the so called ethnic cultures but give them the needed aid and opportunity for a healthy effective growth.

For we should ever keep in mind that the ultimate educational value of any cultural exponent can only be measured by the extent of the service it renders our Canadian community. And finally let us recall the following excerpt from an inaugural address made by a Citizenship Court Judge to new citizens:

> "This nation has been enriched by the loyalty and sacrifice of persons who have come from many lands and traditions. To each, this nation has given a chance to live and grow and share in the common wealth. From each, Canada has accepted the gifts of different cultures and made them into an enduring heritage. From sea to sea, this rich inheritance is yours, as it is mine, because we are Canadian."

# B R I E F

on

Radio Television and Films

in

C A N A D A

Presented by the official representatives
of the ethnic groups in Canada

O T T A W A, 1 9 6 2

A p p e n d i x Z

Brief on Radio, Television and Film in Canada

I N D E X

# P r e a m b l e

A group of Canadian Poles,

The Ukrainian Canadian Committee,

A group of German-Canadian Associations,

A group of Italian-Canadian Associations,

The national committees of Estonians, Hungarians, Lithuanians, Netherlanders, Portuguese, Rumanians, Slovaks

in Canada, respectfully submit for the attention of the Prime Minister of Canada, members of the Federal Government, Senators, Members of the House of Commons, the Canada Council, the Board of Broadcast Governors, the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, the National Film Board and the Association of private radio and television broadcasters, the following brief:

There live in Canada, in a total population of more than 18 millions, more than four million citizens who belong to the minority ethnic groups, and who are commonly though incorrectly called New Canadians. This is an improper term because it refers to citizens possessing the same individual rights under the law, either through naturalization or by birth - as their fellow citizens of English or French origin.

These four million Canadians have found their true country in the free land that is Canada. They widely enjoy the privileges granted by law, they are jealous of their civil liberties, but at the same time they assume and are ready to assume at all times all the duties flowing from their citizenship, their patriotism and their deep attachement to the Canadian nation. These Canadians have cleared the prairie lands, they have sown the pure gold that gives the prairies their beauty and glory, they have helped transform the Niagara peninsula into a fragrant orchard, they have built from scratch magnificent ranches, they have contributed in the discovery and exploitation of our underground wealth, they have worked hard in the building of roads and railways, they have founded industries, developed commerce, and given their country scholars, specialists and professionals, they have helped raise the standards of teaching and education, they have helped found and develop many Canadian towns and cities. These Canadians pay taxes to the federal, provincial and municipal governments of Canada; in war time they have served - proportionately more than the other Canadians - and are always ready to serve in the vanguard of danger to protect a great, free, and independent Canadian nation.

When these Canadians came to Canada, they found a Confederation built upon an agreement between the two founding groups - the Anglo-Saxon and the French. They were happy to come to a free country where, for the common good, there co-existed two great and noble cultures, two glorious historical traditions, two languages - which are the languages of universal civilizations.

These Canadians have grown their roots in Canada. They have adopted both the official languages, or at least one of the two. They have made the two cultures their own, while keeping and enriching their own national cultures. They have been able to develop in a quite unique climate of liberty and respect for human dignity.

These Canadians did not come to Canada with empty hands, and they have the legitimate desire to share what they have with other Canadians. They wish indeed, to enrich their country with their own spiritual values, their own precious national traditions, their culture and experience, which already in the past made for the greatness and glory of old Europe.

These Canadians see Canada - bi-cultural, bilingual, but basically multi ethnic - as something of a magic garden, in which each flower can bloom in harmony, so as to make of this country the most fertile ground for human collaboration. They hope with all their heart that Canada could realize this extraordinary destiny, uniquely hers, which has been dictated by a combination of migrations and traditional generosity. This extraordinary destiny, however, can only be fulfilled by a continuing collaboration of all the citizens of the Confederation, Anglo-Saxon, French and Canadians of all other origins.

The existence of over four million Canadians of non-British or French origin poses a number of problems. There are a great number of obstacles to their natural integration. Often enough their attempts to contribute something from their national traditions is hindered by the misunderstanding or fear of their Anglo-French co-citizens. On the other hand, there is the danger that too rigid and narrow a conservation of national characteristics will keep certain groups apart from the main flow of Canadian life and create artificial ghettos. The difficulties some of the newcomers experience in adapting themselves to Canadian life are compounded by the problems created by their relations with their own Canadian born children.

Dialogue between these four million Canadians and their Anglo-French fellow citizens is never very easy. The former are not always properly informed about Canadian problems, and the latter are sometimes totally ignorant about the origin and worth of these people whom they nevertheless invited, through their government, to share a Canadian life.

This situation, however, is paradoxical in a century in which so many of the means of mass communication are in the hands of public authorities, of private interests, and available to the mass of people who are ever more eager to know, to learn, and to understand.

So it is that the representatives of the undersigned, who represent the vast majority of Canadians of Dutch, Estonian, German, Hungarian, Polish, Portuguese, Rumanian, Slovak and Ukrainian extraction request that in the very interests of Canada as well as the ethnic groups, there be created a system in which they can fully participate in the activities of the public and private organs of Radio, Television and Film. This brief has been prepared to demonstrate the need for such a contribution by the ethnic groups to Canadian life, and to specify the terms of such a participation in Radio, Television and Films.

## Chapter 1.

## Official Policy Directed Towards the Integration of the Ethnic Groups with Canadian Life

In their many statements to ethnic groups over the years, two Canadian Prime Ministers, Mr. John Diefenbaker and Mr. Louis St. Laurent, and the late Governor-General of Canada, Lord Tweedsmuir said this is substance: "Be yourselves, and you will be good Canadians". In putting it this way, these distinguished statesmen perhaps wanted to point out their distaste for those who wished to deny their ancestry; above all, however, it seems that they were encouraging all those who would develop their national qualities so as to contribute to Canada not only the fruit of their labors but also the fruit of their spirit and traditions.

Those two distinguished Canadians who were first to become their country's Governors-General, Mr. Vincent Massey and Mr. George Vanier have also underlined the equality before the law of all Canadians, whatever their origin.

All Canadian parties, federal and provincial, subscribe to this view, as in the past year they have stressed over and again. It is enough to recall statements by Mr. Paul Martin in Windsor, Mr. Lester Pearson in Toronto, Mr. T. D. Douglas in Ottawa, and Mr. R. N. Thompson, also in Ottawa. The views of Prime Minister Diefenbaker are similar and they also express clearly the official government attitude. In a speech given in Winnipeg the Prime Minister stated:

"I liken Canada to a garden...A mosaic is a static thing with each element separate and divided from others. Canada is not that kind of a country. Neither is it a 'melting-pot' in which the individuality of each element is destroyed in order to produce a new and totally different element. It is rather a garden into which have been transplanted the hardiest and brightest flowers from many lands, each retaining in its new environment the best of the qualities for which it was loved and prized in its native land."

And then, expressing the official attitude of French Canada, as a member of the Province of Quebec government, Mr. Georges-Emile Lapalme, Attorney-General and Minister for Cultural Affairs, stated the following in Montreal, in January, 1962:

"If French Canadians have persisted in keeping their traditions, then they could hardly do otherwise than to ask the minorities to keep theirs, and their language... French Canadians have been reproached for closing themselves within their boundaries" the Attorney-General continued, in his speech to one of the ethnic groups. "Well, I invite you to mingle even more with the Quebec population; you are welcome. In keeping your traditions, you will be at the same time perfect Canadians."

Commenting on this speech by Mr. Lapalme, an editorial writer for America's greatest French language paper, Mr. Alfred Ayotte, wrote: "In the past, we have kept too much apart from New Canadians; today, we have a long time and a long road to make up".

Distinguished Canadians such as Dr. Watson Kirkconnell, Dr. Wilder Penfield, Dr. G. W. Simpson, Dr. P. H. Thorlakson, have often spoken in the same way. Once again we will quote, now from the inaugural address made by a judge of the Citizenship Court, following the distribution of certificates to new Canadian citizens:

"This nation has been enriched by the loyalty and sacrifice of persons who have come from many lands and traditions. To each, this nation has given a chance to live and grow and share in the common wealth. From each, Canada has accepted the gifts of different cultures and made them into an enduring heritage. From sea to sea, this rich inheritance is yours, as it is mine, because we are Canadians".

Coming from Canadians who are leaders in their fields, these statements constitute a basic doctrine aiming at the creation or unity through diversity. It is a marvellous program, rich in its consequences, and the Canadian ethnic groups have accepted it with enthusiasm. Against the policy of the American melting pot, which is even weakening in the United States to judge from recent statements in Washington, Canada has happily adopted the more profitable policy of national integration.

In everyday life, in the economic and labour fields, the ethnic groups have become totally integrated; but we cannot acknowledge the same of Canadian social and cultural life, where integration has been far slower and much more difficult.

Given Canada's population of 18 millions, and the fact that the problem of integration concerns nearly a quarter of this figure, it will be readily seen that we have here a problem of national scope which no Canadian can afford to ignore.

This being so, generalities will no longer do. The ethnic groups will not be the playthings of rival political parties. Human problems must be dealt with on the human level. To resolve the problem of spiritual and cultural integration there must be wide debate and discussion.

Radio, Television and the Film are the modern means of mass communication; it is these organs which must be used as platforms for discussion, as vehicles for exchanges that are essential to the unification of the Canadian people.

As the Prime Minister has said: "History will judge each nation according to the efforts it will have made to eradicate all injustices and all discrimination in the relations between human beings, as much between fellow citizens as with foreigners".

## Chapter 2.

## The Public Sector of Radio and Television Broadcasting Belongs to all Canadian Citizens and Tax-payers

First of all, contact between Canadian citizens of all origins must be made by means of public radio and television broadcasting, that is through the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. The CBC is, indeed, a Crown Corporation, and as such belongs to all citizens and tax payers. It is, then, wholly fair and reasonable to claim that the CBC must also serve the interests of the ethnic quarter of the Canadian population by exclusive means, of course, of the two official languages.

The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation currently operates six radio and television networks:

Two English Radio networks (Soon to be merged),
One French Radio network,
One English Television network,
One French Television network,
One English-French FM Radio network,
as well as the private local affiliated stations.

According to the rules laid down by the Board of Broadcast Governors, programs in the public sector must be 55% Canadian in content, and must address themselves to the whole body of listeners and viewers.

The President of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, Mr. Alphonse Ouimet, has on several occasions explained the principle that while the totality of Corporation programming must be directed to all listeners and viewers, naturally each individual broadcast is directed towards only a certain portion of the public. This is certainly a perfectly logical maxim since the whole population does not belong to one social group, does not share the same opinions, the same intellectual levels or have the same tastes and interests. Hence the diversity of transmissions which in general are carefully prepared, and adequately adapted to the mentality of Canadian of Anglo-Saxon and French origin.

However, the interests and preoccupations of almost a quarter of Canada's population are almost totally ignored by the C. B. C. program organizers. Arguments to support this unconcern can be summed up in the following way:

1. All cultural broadcasts (music, dance, plays and conferences); almost all educational programs (for children, youth and adults); all entertainment (variety shows, movies and sports); anything concerning information; all these have so universal a character that they are directed to the whole listening public and not to any particular sector of it.

In this area, it is said, the interests of the ethnic groups coincide exactly with all others.

2. Ethnic groups are divided into so many individual nationalities that any program devoted to one of them would reach only a fractional portion of the listening public.

3. Ethnic groups, most of them from old Europe, are wracked by controversial problems which, if touched on in radio or television broadcasts would likely provoke unnecessary and damaging quarrels harming not only peace in the country but the interests of the C. B. C. as well,

4. Finally, members of the ethnic groups, who are actual or potential Canadian citizens, should not dwell with the past but turn resolutely towards the future, and occupy themselves exclusively with purely Canadian problems, rather than the problems of their own national ghetto.

So, according to this argument, listeners and viewers from an ethnic group should content themselves with a passive absorption of Canada, to live in tune with the times and their new country.

On first sight, these arguments appear to be perfectly pertinent, but a closer analysis will show them to be specious.

First of all, they go against the very provisions and declarations of the Board of Broadcast Governors and the President of the C. B. C., since the programs prepared by this Crown Corporation totally ignore the immediate interests of the Canadian population.

Neither do these arguments correspond with the doctrine of natural integration within the Canadian state, since the delicate business of developing co-existence between the ethnic groups with one or both of the founding groups of Confederation should not be a one way affair. Indeed, to feel truly at home in this country, the candidate for integration needs as much to receive as to give.

As we have already said, the immigrant who establishes himself in Canada, does not come with empty hands. He has a country of origin, and he belongs to an ethnic community that is sharply defined. So he brings with himself not only his knowledge, his capacity to work and sometimes his capital, but also a cultural tradition which in many cases is of priceless value to his new country. Should Canada reject this contribution, or remain perfectly indifferent to it, then the immigrant will tend to turn on himself and live in a vaccum to no profit either to himself or to society in general.

The Canadian coming from a non-British or French country has to face a mass of problems springing from adaptation to his environment, including above all the question of education and the consequent problem of maintaining family cohesion. In all fairness, his Anglo-Saxon and French fellow citizens can hardly impose on him a ready made solution without having even tried to take stock of his grievances.

A recent arrival, when he adapts quickly, may well want to marry into an English or French Canadian family - and this is quite frequent. Then again, on the level of schools or work, the minority group Canadian is not isolated from his Anglo-French fellow citizens. Friendships are made and fruitful exchanges are established on the personal and human level. So the number of Canadians interested in the ethnic groups must be close to half the population.

This being the case, the arguments invoked above excluding the ethnic groups in radio and television programming fall to the ground.

In the area of broadcasts of a universal character, much more could be done in music, literature, the arts, theatre and variety shows to give a wider view of the contributions and activities of the ethnic groups. Even in sports more attention could be given to the achievements of new Canadian teams, or to the extraordinary integration of certain ethnic athletes in some of the great national sports. Finally in the area of general information, more attention could be given to the activities of ethnic groups, and to events in their countries of origin; at the same time radio-television panels and programs of comment could certainly reflect from time to time the opinions of Canadians on national and international questions which concern them particularly deeply and directly.

The problem posed by the scattered nature of the ethnic groups boils down to a simple choice. It is evident that the C. B. C. should firmly put aside any material dealing with demonstrations or events concerning ethnic groups that occur on a purely local level, just as C. B. C. programs ignore Anglo-French activities taking place before small crowds in small localities.

As for the notion that broadcasts concerning ethnic groups could provoke controversies damaging to public peace, we have here an argument that cannot stand up; it could be just as easy to set groups of Anglo-French listeners against each other by broadcasting tendentious material on historical or religious subjects or in reporting on current events. And then again, the world knows that there are useful controversies which are mentally and emotionally stimulating, and which certainly lead to a development of cultural values; there are also useless controversies which would without purpose or spitefully hurt the national pride of an ethnic group, and harm individuals belonging to such a group.

The last argument concerning the tendency of new citizens to turn back to the past is no stronger. It is surely quite natural that a human being should go through a period of self-examination - whether personal or national - before settling down to living in the present and tackling the future. Neither of the two Canadian founding groups can escape this rule; what is good for them must be even better for their fellow citizens from other origins. It can be noted again that all Canadians, whatever their origin, can only profit from sharing their rich historical experience.

So to sum up, the fact that the C. B. C. ignores the interest of a quarter - and sometimes even a half - of the Canadian population, with only a few rare episodic broadcasts goes not only against official stated policy, but also against the logic of life itself.

Canadians belonging to ethnic groups are citizens on par, they pay their taxes like everyone else, and they feel that their claims should be taken into consideration particularly in the case of the public sector of radio and television broadcasting, which depends for its existence on public moneys.

## Chapter 3.

## Adaptation of Radio and Television Programmes in the Public Sector to the Needs of the Ethnic Groups

The considerations contained in the previous chapter lead us now to face the need for including in C. B. C. English and French network programming broadcasts that take account of the existence and needs of the Canadian ethnic groups and which would encourage contacts and cultural exchanges between all Canadian citizens.

This is an imperative for Canada. However odd it may seem, cultural exchanges with foreign countries are carried on easily, whereas within Canada there is no cultural cohesion and the ethnic groups remain foreign or even hostile to each other.

If in certain cases we can look forward to completely special programs devoted to the ethnic groups, a spirit of enlightened Canadianism would require them to be a reflection of Canadian life in its entirety, never detached from a general cultural context, and always designed to evoke an essentially human interest.

The adaptation of C. B. C. programs to the needs of a quarter of the Canadian population should not be understood to mean any upheaval in the present system. It is rather a question of extending, rationalizing and enriching programming along the following lines.

1. The Area of General Culture - In the general cultural programs of the C. B. C., an important place should be given to the music, literature, history, theatre, and art of the peoples who provided Canada with the immigrants who formed the present ethnic groups. Thus an immense source of new ideas would be at the disposal of program planners. Such programs would also help raise the prestige of the ethnic groups, permitting them to show something of their true character to their Anglo-French fellow citizens.

In many cases the spiritual treasures of the ethnic groups are badly or not at all known; programs designed to reflect them would be revelations which would at the same time enrich the cultural heritage of Canada as a whole. There is absolutely no good reason limiting theatrical programs, for example, to the works of Dostoievsky, Checkov, or Pirandello, when there are hundreds of classics and authors of great merit, German, Spanish, Hungarian, Italian, Polish, Rumanian, Russian, Scandinavian, Czech and Ukrainian, that remain wholly unknown. It is the same in the realm of music, art, and literature. And why not at the same time raise the horizons of the Canadian people by designing radio and television programs on the history of culture, devoted to the minority groups of Canada who are not foreigners but Canadians? We have here an inexhaustible fund of subjects. In this way Canada could become the first country in the world to fulfill a grandiose program of human collaboration and understanding, based on a truly universal culture. Canadian broadcasting would thus differ radically

from that of our American neighbors. The danger of Americanisation would be greatly lessened by such a forward looking and progressive policy.

2. Every-day Life - Canadians from the ethnic groups live the same day-to-day life as other Canadians. They participate in all the same activities, they have an important place in the labor world, in business and finance; they play their role in the running of industry and trade, in Canadian political, economic and social life. Their children attend primary and secondary schools, technical institutions and universities. So, in all its levels, they live the life of Canada. Consequently their problems, even when they are sometimes special ones, are problems of the Canadian community in general. So these Canadians should play an ever greater part in public affairs broadcasts devoted to current Canadian problems. To resolve their many problems, they should be known to the general public. Their opinions on the great problems of international affairs should be considered - because they are based on a real, and often unhappy, experience. True democracy should always adjust itself so that all groups of citizens should at all times be able to give voice to their thoughts. The Canadian minorities will not become true partners in everyday life if they are excluded. At the same time, listening to them does not mean adopting their point of view. Canada being a free country, the rights of the majority remain inalienable, so long, that is, as the minority retains its right to make its objections.

3. Educational broadcasts for children and youth - Special attention has to be given to the working out of programs for children and adolescents. Indeed it is a question of inculcating a real sense of collaboration between men and peoples, while entertaining them. This applies to all young Canadians whatever their origin. For children of the minority groups, it is a question of reinforcing a feeling of pride for the country of origin of their parents, which would help strengthen family ties. Stories, legends, heroic tales drawn from the great heritage of the ethnic groups could be marvellous subjects for all the youth of the country. Care should also be taken that this type of program never becomes propaganda for regimes condemned by the vast majority of the Canadian population. These programs should be positive, educational; they should avoid all political controversy which children would have difficulty in interpreting.

4. The Canada of tomorrow - Canada is still evolving; it is a country still searching for itself, still forming itself. Many radio and television programs are devoted to these thorny questions, but how can we sincerely hope to find the answers by excluding the voice of a quarter of the Canadian population.

5. Publicizing information about Canada - In the context of world history Canada remains a young country. It is relatively unknown abroad, and it is just as unknown to its own people. Special programs should be devoted by the CBC to what is in fact a pressing current problem. These programs would profit not only the newer Canadians but also those who have been in Canada for several generations. General history, political history, the history of our institutions, our geography, and potential natural wealth: all these subjects should be methodically presented over the national radio and television networks.

6. Special programs for the ethnic groups - C. B. C. programming should also envisage two or three half-hour weekly programs on all the networks directly to the ethnic groups as such. These programs should contain news, comment and even variety shows concerning the minorities. This would stimulate the minorities and encourage them to participate more directly in CBC broadcasts.

So it is that there is a great need to undertake a deep reform in C. B. C. programming so as to bring into active participation in the life of Canada a quarter of its population which up to now has been ignored or even deliberately kept aside.

## Chapter 4.

## Adaptation of Radio and Television Programmes in the Private Sector to the Needs of the Ethnic Groups

The private sector of Canadian radio and television is operated by a considerable number of private companies, grouped together in the Canadian Association of Broadcasters, under the control of the Board of Broadcast Governors. The latter issues licenses to the private stations and makes rules and recommendations on program content. Here again the aim is 55% of Canadian content.

The private stations depend to a great extent on the normal Canadian market, that is to say, on the law of demand and supply, as much in the choice of programs as in their business relations with the advertisers. The latter, to be sure, have their word to say since they require, according to the products advertised, such and such a program. Hence the importance of surveys of listening habits and the classification of listeners according to age, sex, occupation and even nationality.

This being so programming of private broadcasters must still satisfy the requirements laid down by the Board of Broadcast Governors. So, despite the fact that these stations depend on the local market, they cannot repudiate their responsibility to provide a public service. Hence, they must adapt their programs in such a way as to give satisfaction to the population they serve.

Now it is a fact that private broadcasters, like the public system, have so it seems ignored the existence of the minority groups, and this even in localities and regions in which these groups are in the majority.

Consequently it is perfectly logical that the reforms suggested in the previous chapters for the CBC be studied and considered by the owners of the private stations. The latter could even extend the scope of the recommendations by preparing programs reflecting the purely local activities of the ethnic groups.

The views put forward in this brief should also be considered by the advertising officials of the large corporations which sponsor programs in both the private sector and in the C. B. C.

It should be recalled that members of the ethnic groups are far from being economically weak. They are consumers like other Canadians. Most ethnic group families have a house and car, and most have a good credit record. Most of them buy the same food and other household products as other Canadians; they buy the same clothes, use the same services, and amuse and develop themselves in the same way.

The large Canadian companies which place German, Italian, Polish or Ukrainian language advertisements in English or French language papers do so for a good reason. It would be perfectly logical to extend this policy and adapt it to radio and television; they could do so by sponsoring these programs which try to promote among the ethnic groups a more enlightened Canadianism, which will lead them towards a greater involvement in the daily life of the country.

Owners of the private stations should consider this special market and adapt their programs accordingly.

Here again, as in the great majority of cases, only the two official languages should be used in these programs.

Still, in this matter of the use of ethnic group languages to recall that the Board of Broadcast Governors took a decision in January, 1962 which envisaged the granting of special licenses for broadcasting in foreign languages by private stations located in areas in which ethnic groups had a population of 150 to 200 thousand persons.

By virtue of this decision, a multi-lingual radio station will soon be opened in Montreal. Another will probably be set up soon in Toronto, as well as stations in the Canadian west, conforming to B. B. G. regulations.

This new policy will certainly give satisfaction to the ethnic groups which would like to hear their own languages in this country. This policy also ties in with a growing tendency, and excellent one too, to take advantage of the linguistic reserves in Canada. It would allow the newly arrived immigrant, who may understand no French or English, to pass over more easily the early steps of adaptation.

This development will, when all is said and done, facilitate the integration of the immigrant in his environment, and for this alone deserves high praise.

However, the decision of the Board of Broadcast Governors does not solve the problem of cultural exchange and contacts, which can only be carried out in the two languages of the majority of the population. The solution of this problem remains the basic condition for the successful integration of the minority groups in Canadian life.

It is to facilitate this aim that we have made our recommendations to the private stations and sponsors. In carrying them out they have a magnificently wide opportunity, and difficult task to fulfill, but one which will give them the satisfaction of helping build a greater nation.

## Chapter 5.

## Adaptation of National Film Board Activities to the Needs of the Ethnic Groups

In a brief devoted to the participation of the ethnic groups in the work of radio and television, it is impossible to omit the question of the state film industry.

The National Film Board (NFB) has as its main task the production of films to be screened throughout the country in movie theatres, religious, social and school auditoriums as well as for television; these films are exported as well and they become, whether presented in foreign theatres or television, witnesses to the Canada of today.

The NFB's films reflect all aspects of the country and the life that is lived in it; they reflect the development of industry, trade, science, art and culture in Canada; they are a faithful record of great national and international current events for future generations; they are documentaries on different parts of the world as seen by Canadians.

The National Film Board, as a publicly owned organization, belongs to all Canadian citizens and tax payers.

To take up the arguments already put forward in the preceeding chapters of this brief, we believe it to be fair and logical that Canadians belonging to the ethnic groups should not be excluded from the activities and production of the NFB.

In as much as the programming is similar to the C. B. C's, the suggestions made in the preceeding chapters apply as well to the NFB, which would not fail to profit from the inventive talents, traditions and experience of competent persons belonging to the ethnic groups.

Film production has a more durable nature than radio and television production. Film libraries are established, since like the book, the disk and the magnetic tape, film is a precious record of our times.

It would be a pity if the minority groups, who are making a contribution enriching Canadian life and culture, should be kept to one side in the matter of film production. Without their participation, the picture of Canada today can only be imperfect and false.

It should certainly be recognized that NFB has already produced a number of films devoted to the ethnic groups. Some of these films have been interesting successes. Their fault is a tendency to linger on the folklore, the exotic and curious side of the minorities.

The latter, however, are something else; they would want their memories of their beginnings in Canada to have to do with the work, the daily life, to the trials and joys which marked the early days of their settling in Canada. These minorities would want film also to open up the necessary dialogue with their fellow citizens; they would want film to be a witness to their active contribution in the building of the Canada of tomorrow.

Through film, the ethnic groups want to be presented to the world as Canadians, proud of their origins but proud also of their new country, which is a magnificent example of human solidarity and co-operation.

## Chapter 6.

## The Board of Broadcast Governors

The Board of Broadcast Governors is the supreme governing body of Canadian Radio and Television, both public and private.

This body, established by the broadcasting act, sets general program policy, enacts the regulations, issues broadcast permits, settles disputes and oversees the strict carrying out of the principles and articles of the law.

It is an independent body, free from government control, which serves no party, no economic, national, social or religious group; it is, in the realm of radio and television, a court and a legislature.

This body is nevertheless one that represents the great Canadian family. As such, it is strange that about a quarter of the population is without representation on this body which is of such great importance to the spiritual and cultural development of Canada. And still such representatives, while remaining as independent and free as the other governors, would have the required knowledge and necessary experience to help give Canadian radio and television a truly pan-Canadian character.

We are quite aware of the fact that it will not be easy to promote this pan-Canadian view. There are a number of obstacles, and they will have to be smoothed over, constructive solutions will have to be found to put in effect the doctrine of "unity in diversity" which was discussed in Chapter 1 of this brief.

The presence of representatives of the ethnic groups in the Board of Broadcast Governors will not only be valuable but also indispensable. These representatives should be chosen from among persons known for their objectivity, their humanity, and their capacity to rise above selfish and narrow interests of their own minority group.

## Chapter 7.

## The Ethnic Groups Subscribe to the Fundamental Principles of Canadian Broadcasting

In most countries belonging to the British Commonwealth, official broadcasting is objective, impartial, prudent and completely free from political parties as well as economic, national, social or religious groupings. In its wisdom, the Canadian people have completely taken over these basic principles.

In theory, these principles govern the whole public sector of Canadian broadcasting. The C. B. C. observes the rule of balance, and gives the established political parties and large groups 'equal time' and fair treatment.

As a corollary to these principles, the parties and other groupings exercise no kind of influence or pressure on the Crown Corporation, appealing disputes and problems of competition to the Board of Broadcast Governors for arbitration.

The administration of the CBC submits itself to the broadcasting act and to the general directives of the BBG in determining its program policy. Finally, the CBC is responsible to the whole of the Canadian people, and consequently to its legal representatives, the Parliament of Canada.

In practice, this ideal system does not always work out ideally. This failure is a function of the weaknesses of those charged with carrying out their duties, a function of their own particular tendencies; but the system is, nevertheless, a brake and a safeguard protecting public broadcasting from all sorts of pitfalls.

The ethnic groups attach considerable importance to the maintenance of the fundamental principles of independence, impartiality, objectivity and prudence governing Canadian radio and television broadcasting.

First of all they believe that these principles justify their claims. For how is it possible for radio and television broadcasting to conserve its independence, its objectivity, its impartiality and its prudence if a quarter of the total population of the country is completely excluded from the factors to be placed in balance?

The ethnic groups believe also that the broadcasting principles make it possible to avoid many misunderstandings and no fewer conflicts. Indeed, the very existence of these principles provide an opportunity to refute in advance any major objections which will certainly be raised against the participation of ethnic groups by their adversaries.

The first objection - which we have already noted, concerns the possibility of conflicts provoked by differing opinions or by the raising of old controversies which divided the old countries of the parents or ancestors of established minority Canadians. However, the strict observance of the above mentioned principles would completely rule out the hatching of such conflicts. As for the second objection, we have to do here with possible pressures exercised by certain bodies on the internal affairs of the Corporation. Here again, the principles laid down would intervene to protect the Crown Corporation from outside influences, be they good or evil.

The ethnic groups subscribe wholeheartedly to these broadcast principles. Their undersigned representatives are not the least interested in upsetting the existing system of radio and television. They simply ask that justice be done, and that a quarter of the Canadian population be associated to the life and development of radio broadcasting.

The ethnic representatives are resolved that the suggested broadcasts, like those that already are put on the air, be protected by the wisdom of a system which has already shown its worth.

## Chapter 8.

## Concrete Plan of the Ethnic Groups on their Participation in Radio, Television and Film Industry of Canada

### - General Points -

The undersigned representatives of the Canadian minority groups claim the part is theirs in the work of radio and television broadcasting and in the National Film Board.

The participation in the expansion of an essential area of our national life should not be merely a passive one. By this we mean that the ethnic groups should not merely be an object of concern by broadcasters and the NFB. They should, indeed, be called to take part in the responsibilities, the working out and production of programs.

A concrete plan should be established. It can be gradually applied, but it must clearly associate a quarter of the country's population to the work of radio and television broadcasting and the National Film Board.

### A. Key Positions.

In the first place, the undersigned representatives of the ethnic groups believe it their duty to claim key positions for their groups. They do not expect to succeed in their objectives by outside pressures on a broadcasting system and a film board that are independent by definition. It is in participating within the system that they hope to extend and improve it.

Citizens belonging to the minorities are citizens with full rights like other Canadians, who can and should occupy responsible positions controlling official broadcasting and film making in Canada. It is in the controlling bodies themselves that decisions have to be taken to lead the ethnic groups to take an active part in the programs mentioned in the preceeding chapters of this brief.

Hence, the first concrete measure that could be taken by the authorities would be to name personalities belonging to the ethnic groups to the Board of Broadcast Governors, to the administration of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation and to the administration of the National Film Board.

Board of Broadcast Governors - Three new Governors should be associated with the work of this body, according, for instance, to the following divisions: a member each from German, Latin and Slav groups.

Their presence in the BBG would enlarge the view of this supreme broadcast body. Their advice would be invaluable in establishing a policy of general programming, for the working out of regulations relating to the interests of the whole population of the country and for the issuing of licenses to private stations. They would also have the necessary competence to define the standards to be observed by the private stations serving ethnic groups.

Board of Directors of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation -

At least two representatives of the ethnic groups should be represented as directors of the CBC. The Crown Corporation is a creature of Canadian taxpayers, and it is quite natural the minorities should also have their say in an area concerning the use of public moneys.

Administration of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation - Two persons from the ethnic groups should take part in the running of the CBC. The first, with the title of vice-president and director, should direct the general programming concerning the minority groups, carry out such programming over one or the other of the two language networks, English or French, and to supervise the services created by the new policy. The second, a director only, should carry out the programming in the other language network and supervise the new service.

These two directors should be chosen from among persons competent to discharge their duties. It is a question here of two key positions required to put in effect plans proposed by the undersigned representatives of the ethnic groups.

These directors will first have to find a middle ground in co-ordinating the needs of the minorities with the requirements of the majority. They will have to recruit and supervise new competent and specialized personnel and inform certain already existing services about the presentation of programs directly or indirectly concerning the ethnic groups.

The basic task of these directors would be to direct the dialogue and guide the exchanges between the minority groups and their fellow citizens from the two major peoples of Canada.

Administration of the National Film Board - Finally, two directors belonging to the minority groups should also be appointed to the administration of the National Film Board. Their functions would generally resemble those outlined in the preceeding paragraph.

B. Main Phases of the Plan

The progressive application of the plan proposed by the undersigned representatives of the ethnic groups would require an increase in personnel. This would call for a detailed special study which is beyond the scope of this brief. This brief will simply give a cursory view of the problem.

In the first step of putting the plan into effect, programs devoted to the minorities, concerned with cultural exchanges and finally those concerned with beginning a dialogue with the majority groups, can be produced completely within the context of present programming and with the present personnel of the CBC, without any additions to staff other than supervisors familiar with ethnic problems in Canada.

In the second step, special producers attached to existing services could be appointed, particularly those to be concerned with radio and television theatre and musical and educational programs.

In the third step, new autonomous services would be created for the ethnic groups for each language network. These services would naturally collaborate with existing ones.

In this last phase of implementing the plan, there will be a call on the artistic resources of the minorities, to encourage the formation of authentic Canadian artists of ethnic origin.

Naturally, the participation of the ethnic groups should not be limited only to the production of programs. The minority elements should play a part in the general services of the CBC, such as the administrative, commercial, information services, etc.

At the same time on no account should there be water-tight compartments as between the services. It would be desirable for English and French Canadians to participate in the broadcasts directed towards the ethnic groups, just as it would be desirable for"neo-Canadian"producers to participate in programs for the general public. Indeed it is only on this condition that the cultural exchanges and the dialogue sought after will be able to fulfill their objective of a Canada which is harmoniously united in its diversity.

We should mention in passing that the International Service of the CBC could contribute competent and truly invaluable personnel for carrying out such a service.

The same scheme could be applied in the same way in the National Film Board.

C. Budgetary Questions

The undersigned representatives of the ethnic groups are perfectly aware that the implementation of this plan would lead to greater, perhaps even considerable expenses. On this matter, the brief has raised only a matter of principle, since only specialists in financial matters could determine an approximate estimate and give the necessary details in a special study devoted to this subject.

The ethnic groups, who represent about a quarter of Canadian taxpayers, believe that the budget for broadcasting and the National Film Board should take account of their claims.

Up to the present, whenever the CBC or the NFB produced a program or a film on a certain national day or ethnic folklore event, the ethnic group concerned often enough had the painful impression that an act of charity had been done them.

Minority Canadian tax payers do not wish to be humiliated with their own money. They are presenting a plan which would certainly result in a significent increase in the broadcast and NFB budget, but they believe that they are fully justified in so doing.

Ethnic groups ask therefore that this difficult problem now be settled in principle.

## Chapter 9.

## A Royal Commission on Public Radio and Television Broadcasting in Canada

This brief has raised problems of Canadian life as a whole that are as important as they are complex. These problems exist even if no one to date has faced them. The progressive implementation of the plan outlined in the preceeding chapter would necessarily bring about modifications in the programming of the public sector of radio and television broadcasting. It is necessary to make the necessary adjustments and to adapt broadcasting to the real needs of the Canadian population.

To do this, it is necessary to sound Canadian public opinion, and gather testimony from interested parties.

A few years ago, a Royal Commission on Broadcasting (the Fowler Commission) made recommendations on the réorganization of the administration of broadcasting in Canada. The government made wide use of the recommendations in asking Parliament to amend the Broadcasting Act.

The undersigned representatives of the ethnic groups believe that a new Royal Commission should be appointed to devote greater attention to program content and the policy of programming. The members of this commission should to a greater or lesser extent reflect the ethnic composition of Canada so as to study in depth the problem of broadcasting in this country.

So that the work of this Commission be as profitable as possible, it would be advisable that it be formed after several pilot programs will have been broadcast concerning the dialogue between minority and majority groups.

Even if they have occasionally criticized the attitudes of broadcast directors, the writers of this brief have refrained from criticism the content of actual programs. They have not raised certain tendencies towards partiality, particularlyin the realm of information, commentary, education and general culture. They have not raised either certain acts of discrimination which do exist.

The authors of this brief believe, indeed, that these questions should properly be investigated by a Royal Commission. They therefore recommend the appointment of such a Royal Commission. In their view, this is the proper way to proceed in a democratic country.

## CONCLUSIONS

Since in a country of 18 million inhabitants, four million citizens belong to the minority ethnic groups, it is natural that the latter should wish to take an increasingly active part in Canada's national life.

For a number of reasons, an invisible barrier has been raised between this quarter of the population and the two founding groups of Canada. A certain mistrust exists between the two.

The authorities and the great political parties have on a great many occasions praised the considerable cultural contribution of the ethnic groups. These latter do not however have every opportunity they wish to share their spiritual wealth with their fellow citizens.

Indeed, there are no cultural exchanges and there is no dialogue between the newcomers and the traditional inhabitants in the country.

The aim of the present brief has been to point out this situation which could have disastrous results for the whole of Canada. The brief at the same time points to a solution of this problem. It explains how exchanges and a long deferred dialogue can be started by means of radio, television and film, in a concerted attempt to abolish the invisible barrier and dissipate distrust.

The ethnic groups are convinced that these human problems can be resolved on a human level. They are sure that through its public broadcasting system, Canada could become the first country to implement a marvellous program of collaboration and human understanding. They also believe that this is the only means by which Canada can preserve its integrity and its uniqueness in a North American world which is tending every day towards uniformity.

The Canadian ethnic groups are deeply attached to their great and beautiful Canadian country. They have freely chosen to live in this land of liberty. They have established homes and families in this country. They are raising their children with a love for Canada and in respect for human dignity.

The undersigned representatives of the ethnic groups hope that their initiative will be crowned with success. Their claims are, they feel, just and in conformity with the democratic Canadian spirit.

It is with confidence that they await the verdict of the authorities, since they know that they are working for the greatness and progress of their country, Canada.

Presented in Ottawa,
October, 1962

For the Ethnic Groups
The Editorial Committee:

R. Choulguine

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# BRIEF

*PRESENTED TO THE*

## ROYAL COMMISSION ON BILINGUALISM AND BICULTURALISM

*by the*

## UKRAINIAN CANADIAN COMMITTEE

*HEADQUARTERS*

**456 Main Street, Winnipeg, Manitoba**

**October 1st, 1964**

B R I E F

to

the ROYAL COMMISSION on BILINGUALISM and BICULTURALISM

presented by

the Ukrainian Canadian Committee,
H e a d q u a r t e r s

456 Main Street,
Winnipeg, Manitoba

September
1964

The Secretaries
Royal Commission on
Bilingualism and Biculturalism,
Ottawa, Canada.

Dear Sirs;

The contents of the enclosed Brief are based mainly on two fundamental decisions made by the Sixth All-Canada Congress of the Ukrainian Canadians in 1959 (Text on page 26), and Resolutions of the Ukrainian National Council (Text on page 28). These have been confirmed by the National Pre-Congress conference in Winnipeg on September 7, 1964.

We tried our best not to overload our Brief with statistics and quotations but are aware that the result is not without dificiencies. Please honour the main desire running through the entire Brief which is that Canada should be one united entity based on equality for all who were, are, and will be her builders, with the understanding that by the word builders we also mean "founders." Let us all look more into the future and not be lost in conjectures of the past which belong to history. This was an expression of one of the delegates of the convention, and we feel is very true. By united efforts, looking into the future, we can make Canada one of the most prosperous nations on this planet - materially and spiritually. We must call on the vital forces in our midst which were up to the present time without recognition. We trust that in this direction our Brief supplies an answer.

The work of the Royal Commission is not easy and the Executive takes this opportunity to wish you the very best results. Please accept the assurance of our sincere respect, and willingness to co-operate with you at all times.

UKRAINIAN CANADIAN COMMITTEE
H e a d q u a r t e r s

Rev. Dr. B. Kushnir,
President

W.J. Sarchuk,
Gen. Secretary

# I N D E X

## 1. TERMS OF REFERENCE

On July 19, 1963, the Government of Canada appointed a Royal Commission whose principal terms of reference are as follows:

> "To inquire into and report upon the existing state of bilingualism and biculturalism in Canada and to recommend what steps should be taken to develop the Canadian Confederation on the basis of equal partnership between the two founding races, taking into account the contribution made by other ethnic groups to the cultural enrichment of Canada, and the measures that should be taken to safeguard that contribution."

History tells us that the nations of the Old World were developed through a process of gradual historical evolution during many centuries. Canada, on the other hand, was built in a relatively short period of time, by the nations of the Old World through a process of colonization and immigration. It has thus become the home of peoples of various national origins and cultural backgrounds.

Besides their technical and vocational skills these peoples brought with them a wealth of their traditions and cultural heritage which formed the basis for the development of our Canadian cultural pattern reflecting the multiethnic contributions to the mosaic of the Canadian nation. Canada has undergone tremendous changes in all walks of national life since the proclamation of the British North America Act in 1867. The original four provinces have increased to ten, while the population has increased from 3½ million to approximately 20 million.

### Few statistics

According to the 1961 census those of British Isles origin comprised 43.9% of the total population of Canada,

French origin 30.4% and other (the third element) 25.7%. The French population is heavily concentrated in the province of Quebec. Statistically it is interesting to take a look at the population of the rest of Canada. If we omit Quebec from the calculations, we find that the rest of Canada has 58.5% people of British origin, 10.2% of French origin, and 31.3% others.

In the three prairie provinces others than English and French form about 50% of the population. Of these, Ukrainians represent 11.4% of the population of Manitoba, and thus constitute a language group second to English. In the neighbouring province of Saskatchewan the "others" constitute 53.1% (Ukrainians 8.5%) and in Alberta 48.5% (Ukrainians 8%). Canada is actually a Commonwealth of many nationalities, not of two "founding races." It is definitely multicultural, not bicultural.

Despite our reservations to the Terms of Reference, the Ukrainian Canadian Committee is nonetheless vitally interested in the work of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism and considers itself obligated to express the views of the Ukrainian community in Canada regarding this matter.

## 2. THE UKRAINIAN CANADIAN COMMITTEE

### Promoting good Canadian citizenship and democracy

The Ukrainian Canadian Committee (U.C.C.) acts as a coordinating and representative body for all Ukrainians in Canada, with the exception of a small communist group which is not a member of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee. Its

member-organizations represent various religious denominations and political views. During the past 25 years the Ukrainian Canadian Committee has operated solely through voluntary financial support by its member-organizations and publicly spirited individuals. Since its inception, the Ukrainian Canadian Committee has devoted its efforts in fostering and developing good Canadian citizenship within the Ukrainian community in Canada. Because of this work the Ukrainian organizations have achieved a firm basis for cooperation among themselves, as well as with other ethnic groups in Canada.

Ukrainians in war services

During the Second World War, 1940-1945, the Ukrainian Canadian Committee assisted in recruiting volunteers for the armed services with great success. In comparison to other ethnic groups the percentage of Ukrainian volunteers stood out significantly. The Ukrainian Canadian Committee established and maintained a hostel in London, England, that served as a recreation centre during the war and as a demobilization and a rehabilitation centre immediately after the war.

Education and culture

At the same time, the Ukrainian Canadian Committee had devoted much of its work and energy in educational and cultural fields. It also arranged mass public meetings in vatious parts of Canada, at which members of the executive lectured on the importance of education and cultural activities. The publications, including the press printed in Ukrainian, have also served the same purpose. The same is continued at the present time.

## Organization

The Ukrainian Canadian Committee, a chartered Canadian institution has its branches in six provinces: Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta, British Columbia, Ontario, and Quebec. Provincial headquarters are maintained in Winnipeg, Regina, Edmonton, Vancouver, Toronto and Montreal. Ukrainian Canadian Congresses, which constitute the highest authority for the Ukrainian Canadian Committee, are held every three years. These are attended by delegates from all parts of Canada. The Congresses provide directives and adopt the budget for the activities of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee.

The operations of the corporation may be carried on throughout Canada and elsewhere.

In 1963, the Parliament of Canada passed a bill sponsored by the Ukrainian Canadian Foundation of Taras Shevchenko to promote Ukrainian culture in Canada.

## Objects

According to the Charter the objects of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee are:

(a) To act as an authoritative spokesman for the Ukrainian Canadian community before the people and Government of Canada;

(b) To strengthen and co-ordinate the participation of Ukrainian Canadians in the Canadian social and cultural life based on Christian and democratic principles, for justice, freedom and independence;

(c) To support the justifiable aspirations of the Ukrainian people in Europe for independence and sovereignty on its ethnographic territories;

(d) To sponsor and maintain among its member-organizations mutual respect and tolerance, and to co-ordinate the work in all matters that are of common interest to them;

(e) To plan and develop among the Ukrainian Canadians sound community life in all its aspects:

## 3. THE SETTLEMENT OF UKRAINIANS IN CANADA

There is evidence that the Ukrainians arrived here long before the mass immigration at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century. Most probably, these were only individuals coming to Canada from Ukraine with the Mennonite and German settlers, who left their homes because of religious persecutions in the Russian Empire. Many of the Ukrainians assumed foreign names with which it was easier to escape to the free world. There is also evidence that some Ukrainians came to Canada through the United States, and perhaps Alaska.

### Settlers from Western Ukraine

The Ukrainian immigration to Canada assumed a different character in 1891 when in September of that year, the first group of Ukrainians arrived in Canada from Western Ukraine. At that time Western Ukraine was a part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and was ruled by a semi-feudal system of government controlled by foreign landlords. Many of the Ukrainian peasants, with low economic standards, deprived of basic political rights with a great desire to become part of this democratic country of ours on an equal basis with others and hungry for land became ideal pioneers required

for the building of Canada. Their economic fate was not different from the Scots and Irish who also left their homelands in search of a new and happier land.

Government planned mass immigration

In 1896 Clifford Sifton, Minister of the Interior in the Cabinet of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, promoted an intensive colonization of the Western provinces. The Canadian Government discovered the great potential value of Ukrainian settlers and in many ways directed their movement to Canada.

> "The Ukrainian settlers cleared millions of acres of land, developed new varieties of grain, built roads, worked in mines, and integrated into Canadian society. Their children attended schools and many of them became leaders in municipalities, members of provincial legislatures, several were Federal members of Parliament and senators. Thousands of Ukrainians responded to the call of their adopted homeland in the two World Wars by joining Canadian armed forces. Many of them paid the supreme sacrifice for this country of ours." *

Not by bread alone

The Ukrainian settlers, along with the cultivation of land at the very outset began their organized community life. These pioneers knew that men live not by bread alone, they also yearned for spiritual values. Full of energy and optimism, they cleared Canadian virgin lands for cultivation, at the same time establishing cultural and educational associations, amateur theatres, choirs, churches, schools, etc., and thus they laid the foundation for the progress and development of the Western provinces. This is the Ukrainian

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* This is a summary of Hon. Senator P. Yuzyk's speech in the Senate of Canada. For a full text see appendix (1)

Fact which cannot and should not be obliterated from our Canadian chronicle.

Wish to keep identity

From the very beginning, the Ukrainian pioneers had demonstrated their attachment to their language, culture and traditions. They worked hard to preserve their linguistic and cultural resources. At the same time these people, oppressed in their homeland, had shown a very high degree of respect and understanding for their co-citizens of other ethnic origins. The attitude of the Ukrainians in Canada crystallized after the two world wars when the Ukrainian boys and girls serving in the Canadian armed forces had a chance to see Europe. There they met people of different cultures who spoke many different languages. This made them see the advantages of knowing more languages. Consequently they began to understand their role and place in this multilingual country of ours. They realized that they should be proud of their origin, that assimilation is only for the weak. They did not want to be known as people without kin and origin. They thought of the need to preserve their mother tongue, the Ukrainian culture and thus their self respect.

Neglected Cultural Treasures

It is now up to our compatriots to re-evaluate the importance of languages and cultures other than English or French. Why cannot the domes of Ukrainian churches and their interior beauty become an integral part of Canadian architecture? What is wrong with teaching Ukrainian embroidery, culinary art, folk dancing in our public schools and adopting

them as an element of Canadian culture? Why not adopt Ukrainian Easter eggs as our own, giving credit to the people who brought them to Canada? The Ukrainians have such Christmas carols that cannot be found anywhere in the world. Some are thousands of years old and their origin can be traced even to pre-Christian times. Why cannot these become genuinely Canadian as the one called "Schedryk," which has been known in Canada and the United States as "Carol of the Bells?" Isn't that fine epic of Illia Kyriak "Sons of the Soil," a genuine Canadian novel? Hundreds of Ukrainian songs, proverbs, and works of literature await public recognition and adoption. Unfortunately, when Canadianism is being discussed by our writers and cultural leaders, the emphasis is being placed almost exclusively on the predominant races: the English and French. The various other ethnic groups with their cultures are relegated either to comparative oblivion or are classified as foreign or "new" Canadian.

## 4. EQUALITY OF ALL CANADIANS

### Protest

The Ukrainian Canadian Committee is aware of the important problem to which the Royal Commission has to find a solution. However, the Ukrainian Canadian Committee strongly protests against the categorization of Canadian citizens as revealed in the Terms of Reference. It is done in an undemocratic spirit and underlines the still existing vestiges of the past colonial rule. Referring to the "founding races" the task of the Commission is "to recommend what steps are

to be taken to develop the Canadian Confederation on the basis of an equal partnership" between the French and the English only and not among all Canadians. Canadian citizens of other origins are referred to as "other ethnic groups," who are mentioned only in connection with "their contribution to the cultural enrichment of Canada." Nothing is mentioned of their equality with the "founding races" and nothing of the privileges to which they are entitled as Canadian citizens. Their present and future role in building a Canadian nation has been omitted.

For equal partnership

These Terms of Reference implicate for the "founding races" a status of a feudalistic nature. A special place is reserved for them not only in Canadian history, but this dualism of "equal partnership" is meant to be carried over into the future. Consequently, the English and the French coming to Canada at any time would have the status of two "founding races", whereas the early Ukrainian settlers and all other non-English and non-French people would be excluded from that "equal partnership." In the opinion of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee the Canada of today and of tomorrow demands a different approach. Only equal partnership of all citizens, irrespective of their race, color, or creed could solve the crisis of Confederation and preserve the unity of Canada. Canadians of Ukrainian origin do not want to be placed in the role of second class citizens. They settled here with the understanding that their individuality would be respected and their cultural heritage woven into Canada's nationhood. In addition, categorization of Canadian citizens

is contrary to the Declaration of Human Rights of the United Nations, which Canada signed in 1948. Article No. 2 of that Declaration reads:

> "Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status."

Article 26: (3)

> "Parents have a prior right to choose the kind of education that shall be given to their children."

It is also in discord with the Canadian Citizenship Act of 1947 and the Canadian Bill of Rights of 1960, which guarantee equal treatment of all Canadian citizens without discrimination by "reason of race, national origin, colour, religion or sex." (P. 1, 1, b, Can. Bill of Rights).

In his Encyclical "Pacem in Terris," Pope John XXIII expressed his sorrow due to various hardships experienced by the minorities in different countries.

> "In the first place it must be made clear that justice is seriously violated by whatever is done to limit the strength and numerical increase of these minority peoples. The injustice is even more serious if such sinful projects are aimed at the very extinction of these groups."

Further, His Holiness gives the following advice:

> "On the other hand, the demands of justice are admirably observed by those civil authorities who promote the natural betterment of those citizens belonging to a smaller ethnic group, particularly when that betterment concerns their language, the development of their natural gifts, their ancestral customs, and their accomplishments and endeavors in the economic order." (p. 31).

Not recognized founders and builders of Canada

Not only the English and French but Germans, Poles, Icelanders, Ukrainians and others are also founders and builders of Canada. They transformed Canadian Western provinces from a wilderness into the breadbasket of the world. Contributions to the founding of Canada, whether on the shores of the St. Lawrence, the shores of Lake Ontario, the Canadian West, or in our Northern frontier are all of equal importance. The principle of prior historic rights is no longer seriously accepted in the present world as it is in conflict with the concept of democracy. Equality of all citizens of a nation is imperative if that nation wishes to live and prosper.

## 5. CANADIAN LANGUAGES

The fallacious premises of Bilingualism and Biculturalism on which the Terms of Reference are constructed seem to be a "fait accompli." They are misleading and might have different interpretations by different people. Referring to the linguistic problem in Canada they accept the term "Bilingualism" only the French and English as Canadian languages. However, the list of Canadian languages of today cannot be limited to two. It is one thing to decide what language or languages shall be used for administrative purposes in this country or in parliament and courts, but it is quite different to decide the fate of other languages which form this multilingual society. With regard to the place of the English and French languages in Canadian life a Canadian language is any language which is understood and spoken in Canada by a larger

number of people. It need not be spoken by all Canadians to become a Canadian language. The Ukrainian language being spoken by hundreds of thousand of Canadian citizens, is a Canadian language.

The problem of teaching

We quote the Laurier-Greenway Agreement of 1897 regarding the teaching in the Province of Manitoba:

> "When ten of the pupils in any school speak the French language or any other language other than English, as their native language, the teaching of such pupils shall be conducted in French, or such other language, and English, upon the bilingual system."

Everyone must agree that the term "bilingual" in this quotation has a broader meaning than in the "Terms of Reference." While the Terms of Reference look back into the history of Canada, the Laurier-Greenway Agreement tried to look into the future. By this agreement between the Dominion and Manitoba Governments, bilingual schools were established in Manitoba. These schools were French-English, German-English, Polish-English, and Ukrainian-English. To a Ukrainian in the prairie provinces, bilingualism means the use of Ukrainian and the dominant language, English. Most bilingual Ukrainians in Quebec, however, use Ukrainian and French.

In our opinion, the learning of a people's mother tongue should come first before any other language. In Canadian schools it should be taught from the primary grades. Having excluded the idea of a melting pot from Canada's image, it is necessary to go with the spirit of our times. It is quite natural that parents should give their mother tongue priority over other languages. The mother tongue is most effective in communicating with the members of the same linguistic

group. It also helps a person to understand their mentality and feelings, worries and aspirations.

A look abroad

Let us have a look at some other countries having problems similar to those of Canada. The information below is a translation from "Le Devoir," of August 15, 1963.

> "In Belgium, in the multi-language sections, the language used for teaching is the local language, according to the circumstances, Dutch, French, or German. Children whose maternal language or customary language is not the language of the locality, have the right, in certain cases to be taught in their mother tongue."
>
> "In Finland, teaching in the elementary and secondary schools is given both in Finnish and in Swedish."
>
> "In Switzerland, German, French, Italian, and Romansh (Raeto-Romance) are the national languages."

It is interesting to add that following a plebiscite in 1938, Raeto-Romance, though representing only 1% of the population was declared one of the four national languages of the Swiss Confederation.

> "In certain regions where the linguistic structure is complex, many schools of different languages have been established."
>
> "In the U.S.S.R., Article 121 of the constitution guarantees school instruction in their mother tongue to all citizens of the Union. In the 16 national autonomic republics of the U.S.S.R. the 9 autonomous regions, and the 10 national territories, teaching is given in the national language and the program inspires national traditions (it is I who stress this). A considerable number of languages, about 200 are acknowledged and used in teaching....."
>
> "Distinct schools are provided where the pupils of a definite nationality are of a sufficient number to justify the formation of a class (minimum: 25 pupils belonging to the same group). These schools are, as the others, founded and supported by the State."

"In Yugoslavia, the schools of the six federated republics use the language of the region, from the elementary teaching to the higher teaching. In addition, the 15 linguistic minorities receive elementary and secondary instruction in their language."

"In certain countries, among which are Albania, Austria, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, India, Poland and Rumania, two or more languages benefit from the equality of status in the matter of teaching, even though they are not considered as official languages."

"In Hungary the present policy permits to open a school for the national minority (Germans, Slovaks, Serbs, Slovenes , Croatians, Rumanians) in any locality expecting at least 15 students belonging to this category. If this number isn't reached, such a school should be established for a group of 15 pupils living in two neighbouring localities. In 1953-54 the University of Budapest included a Rumanian section, a German section and a Slavic institute. At that time they began to organize secondary German schools."

"In India, the Constitution gurantees to all the linguistic minorities the right of conserving their language and their culture and to found schools of their choice.... Arrangements were made so that teaching was given in the mother language, on condition that there were not less than 40 pupils speaking the same language in the school or 10 pupils in the same class.

"And one is able to continue with Afganistan, Algeria, Denmark, Iran, Italy, the Federal Republic of Germany, Portugal, Turkey, and the United States of America. (In Puerto-Rico, for example the basic language is Spanish)."

"A bilingual and nulti-cultural Canada is then not a Utopia. A fairer approach is practiced in all the countries that we have enumerated. In addition we find support for a multilingual approach clearly expressed in the Bible. He (Assuerus) sent letters to all the provinces of the empire, to each province according to its writing and to each people according to their language." (Estherl: 22)

In our opinion every good Canadian can heartily agree with the above quotations and cannot deny that which is a fact. We must strive to maintain Canada multilingual in which all languages spoken by Canadians will be equally guarded and

respected. We hope that consequently our youth will become more interested in the study of languages which at the present time is a condition very much desired everywhere in the world. (App. 2)

## 6. LINGUISTIC OPPORTUNITIES IN CANADA

The Ukrainian language is recognized by linguists to be in a central position among the Slavic languages. It serves as a bridge between the northern and southern Slavic peoples. Morphologically it has many similarities to the Russian language: in the formation of its sounds it is close to the Serbian and Croatian; in the formation of its vocabulary, it bears resemblance to the Polish language. Because of these characteristics the Ukrainian language is understood by practically all Slavic groups and for that reason is frequently used as a common medium of communication among them. Historically, Ukrainian is one of the oldest Slavic languages. It is now the language of over 40 million people in Ukraine, the second largest Slavic nation in Europe

### Ukrainians across Canada

The Ukrainian language is the language of the two major Ukrainian churches in Canada. All the services and rituals would lose their charm and beauty if conducted in anything else but Ukrainian. Ukrainians across Canada should be familiar with Ukrainian literature, songs and folklore.

### Decline

Between 1951 and 1961 approximately 13 percent of Canadians of Ukrainian origin lost command of their language, in most cases switching to English. The percentage of loss in

other groups is even higher. This decline in language cultivation is due to a lack of official interest and encouragement which could be achieved once the language received some form of legal recognition and formal status.

Another obstacle is the negative attitude generally prevailing in the Canadian mentality as far as studying languages is concerned. Such linguistic inertia does not create a conducive atmosphere for the study and mastery of languages. The culture of a people is based on and is tightly woven with their language.

Use of linguistic resources

It is time to realize the importance of studying and speaking more than one language. In this shrinking world of ours, knowing more languages brings people closer together, makes them understand each other better, and facilitates solving mutual problems. Everyone who had a chance to travel must admit that people of other countries know and speak more languages than the people of Canada, - a country with a population representing almost all races and languages. Wouldn't it be logical to expect that the Government of Canada and the Provincial ministers of education should encourage the study of languages? Why not make use of these great linguistic resources available in Canada? Unfortunately, the Government statistics show a steady decline in the use of Canadian languages other than English.

Dr. Watson Kirkconnell, a noted Canadian scholar, in a preface to his "Canadian Overtones," writes:

> "Prophetic hopes would envisage a future of Canada in which every individual would be thus inspired to fuller citizenship by his realization

> of his origin, whatever that might be. There is already, however, grave danger of the third and even second generation of Swedish, Ukrainian and other immigrant groups turning their backs on the language and history of their own people in a hasty act of renunciation..."

To stave off this danger, Professor Kirkconnell proposes that certain remedial steps be taken. He says:

> "Our constitution is founded on the federative principle. Our nation could do no better than to take "confederation" as its motto in culture and education. Our national holidays might well be given over to such pageantry (including, perhaps, festivals of drama, poetry, and music) as would emphasize the co-operative existence of the distinct racial groups in our population. Our schools might give ample recognition to their history and culture. Our universities might foster their languages and literature, or even set up an Institute of Cultural Traditions to preserve and encourage all that may contribute to the diversity of our cultural life."

Other confirmations

It might be also appropriate, at this juncture, to quote the views of a French-Canadian. Speaking of the other ethnic groups during the discussion period at the conference of the Canadian Centennial Council, held in Winnipeg on October 28, 1963, Mr. Vincent Prince, of the Montreal "La Presse," had this to say:

> "We, French-speaking as well as English-speaking Canadians, have often declared that we consider the presence of these ethnic groups among us as a cultural enrichment. If we are not pure hypocrites, we must give a meaning to our statements. A cultural tradition cannot be maintained long without the maintenance of the language on which it is based. Therefore if we want them to preserve their culture we must help them keep their language."

Because the University of Manitoba is the oldest of universities in Western Canada, the views expressed at the Great Debate "Canada, One Nation or Two?" during the Seventh Alumni Conference in March 1964, may be taken to represent

the general public opinion in the prairie provinces.

On page 4 of the pamphlet prepared by the Alumni Association, the University of Manitoba has a paragraph, "The Unofficial Languages." It reads:

> (a) "These languages are spoken or "used" in so many areas in Canada that it would be unrealistic to refer to them as foreign languages. They are the "mother tongues" of 14% of the population. On the basis of ethnic origin about 26% of the people of Canada are of non-British, non-French origin. They are at various stages in the selection of English or French as their Canadian mother tongue. Hence it is reasonably fair to say that these people are factually bilingual, English or French being their Canadian tongue and the language of origin their second language.
>
> (b) These languages have a status in Canada and in some way recognition must be given to them. As the cultures and the languages of those groups are so closely intertwined, the only practical way to give expression to that status is to provide that these languages be taught, on a voluntary basis, at the stage of development of the child when it should have the option of selecting a language for study other than the language of instruction in that particular province, or school district. The high school level obviously suggests itself but in areas of heavy concentrations of ethnic groups the commencement of the instruction might be at the elementary level.
>
> Obviously successful examinations in such languages in grades immediately preceding entrance to a university should be given recognition at the university level."

## 7. ADVANTAGES OF CANADIAN MULTI-LINGUALISM AND MULTI-CULTURALISM

The Ukrainian Canadian Committee holds that linguistic as well as cultural pluralism in Canada is a positive and desirable fact and requires the recognition and support of the Federal and Provincial governments, as it:

(a) essentially contributes to a distinctive national character of Canada;

(b) allows for the mutual enrichment of several cultural strains in the evolvement of a common Canadian culture;

(c) creates conditions for a wider and more direct participation of Canadians in cultural activities;

(d) helps to exploit the unique linguistic wealth inherent in the multiethnic population of Canada, for the sake of the special role of Canada in international affairs, as an interpreter, mediator, and peacemaker;

(e) contributes to the development among Canadians of a more universal and more tolerant attitude towards other countries, nations and in better understanding and interpreting of international problems.

(f) it also makes Canada to be regarded, by other countries of the world, as a microcosmos of United Nations, a model country in which people of different origins, with different languages and cultures co-operate in building a strong and prosperous nation.

## 8. PUBLIC MEDIA OF COMMUNICATION

The goals mentioned in the previous paragraph can be achieved more easily by promotion and encouragement, through the facilities of the C.B.C., Radio, Television, Film, etc. For more extensive information see App. 3.

## 9. CONCEPT OF THE CANADIAN NATION

The building of Canada as a nation has undergone considerable major and minor changes during the last hundred years. Tremendous work is to be done in all directions before it is completed. It would not be amiss to note the various stages

of this growth in order to establish clearly the fundamental aspects of the Canadian statehood.

After the Seven Year War and the American Revolutionary War, there was a very large influx of settlers to Canada from the new republic to the South of us and a very substantial immigration from the British Isles.

By 1796 the following colonies had been established: Lower and Upper Canada, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island. Each colony was granted a colonial status including the governmental agencies, the colonial privileges of trade and defence, and the obligation implied in the allegiance to the British Empire.

In North America the colonial governments consisted of a Governor, appointed by the British Parliament, an Advisory Council and an Executive Council appointed by the "Crown" on the advice of the Governor. By 1791 each colony, with the exception of Prince Edward Island, had an elective Legislative Assembly, which had only a very limited control over the decisions of the Governor and the Executive Council.

In order to attain the first stage of self-government, the colonies had to wage a long struggle for a responsible form of government; that is, a government in which the minister of the crown would be responsible to an elective Legislative Assembly. By 1850 the victory was theirs. The British Parliament gave explicit instructions to the Governor General to institute a Cabinet system of government in which the members of the Executive Council (the ministers of Crown) were chosen from among the elected representatives, and that the government was to remain in power so long as it had the support of the Legislature. The granting of Responsible Government

became the cornerstone of confederation of the British North America colonies in 1867. It is unlikely that Upper and Lower Canada and the Maritime colonies would have been able to work the terms of Confederation if a very considerable measure of self-government had not been granted to them.

We should emphasize the role played by the Canadian statesmen in bringing about Confederation. The Charlottetown Conference, the Quebec Conference and the Seventy Two Resolutions drafted at Quebec was the work of the Fathers of Confederation. Even the London Conference was wholly dominated by the Canadian delegates and the final draft of the bill passed by the Parliament as the B.N.A. Act was almost identical to Resolutions drafted by the Canadian statesmen; so the glory and the blame, if any, was all theirs.

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, the status of the British colonies was rapidly changing. In 1871, all the British soldiers, with the exception of the naval garrisons at Halifax and Esquimalt, were withdrawn. In 1910, the Canadian Government took over the control of the remaining naval bases, and thus Canada became fully autonomous in matters of self-defence.

In 1887, the Colonial Conference, well-attended by the top-ranking statesmen from the far flung colonies, discussed the problems of trade and defence on par with the representatives of Great Britain. It was the first of a long series of conferences which played such an important part in the development of commonwealth concept founded on the principle equality of the Dominion and Britain.

In 1909 a Department of External Affairs was established in Ottawa. During the next decade, treaties with foreign

powers had to be ratified by the British Parliament. This practice ended in 1923, when Canada was allowed to negotiate on her own the treaties with the U.S. and other foreign powers.

The first World War tested the independence of Canada as a state and a nation. The Canadian Parliament declared war on Germany. This grave national commitment was not made with the intent to protect the interest of Great Britain or of any other European nation but to safeguard her own dominion and her institutions of freedom against the possibility of an outright aggression on the part of the powerful dictatorships that began to rear their heads in Europe.

During the War, Canada grew in stature as an independent state not only within the realm of the British Empire but also in the eyes of other nations. She was given a seat in the Imperial War Cabinet and responsible command of her forces and a voice in the strategic counsels of the War.

At the Peace Conference, 1919, Canada won recognition as a separate state and her representatives at the Conference had an equal status with Belgium and other smaller nations. She was also included as a member of the newly formed League of Nations and given a seat in the Assembly of the League.

The Imperial Conference of 1926 issued a Declaration of Equality stating that "Britain and the Dominions are autonomous communities within the British Commonwealth of Nations."

The next Imperial Conference gave Canada an undisputed right of an independent self-governing nation; for the Statute of Westminister in 1931 declared: "That no laws of the British Parliament should apply to any Dominion unless the Dominion laws should be declared void on the ground that it was

contrary to the law of the British Parliament."

In 1947 the Canadian Citizenship Act recognized only one class of citizenship for all Canadians. Finally the Bill of Rights of 1961 further defined and consolidated the rights of the Canadian people.

This brief summary of the historic mileposts of the evolution of Canada from its colonial status into an independent and wholly self-governing nation, has one outstanding characteristic. All the constitutional and political changes during the last century as evidenced above were made on the axiomatic assumption that Canada is a single state, a national entity within the framework of its constitution. This uninational aspect of Canada has at all times been emphasized within the country and abroad, and has been accepted by all other states and parties concerned.

It is true that the provinces of Canada have had some very serious differences on certain controversial issues but the concept of Canada as a single nation has never been challenged.

Unless the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism takes cognizance of two distinct connotations of the word "nation" as used to designate the "Canadian National state" and the "French Canadian nation," the best and the most lucid briefs to the Commission, and ultimately the Report of the Commission, are likely to be clouded and confused by the terminology that lacks clarity of definition and meaning.

## 10. THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE

The Ukrainian Canadian Committee considers the English language to be the most practical common medium of communica-

tion between all the citizens of Canada. First, due to the fact that the majority of Ukrainian settlements and people are concentrated in Western Canada and Ontario, it is obvious that English has become their medium of communication, not only with their English-speaking compatriots, but also with Canadians belonging to all other groups. It is important to remember that English is not only the language spoken by those of British origin who constitute the largest ethnic group in Canada - 43.8% in all of Canada and 58.5% in the nine provinces outside of Quebec, English is also the common denominator of 5 million Canadians who, while preserving their mother tongue as a vehicle of their ethnic culture, use English in most of their spheres of activity as Canadian citizens. It is also important to remember that English is the language of more than 200 million people of the North American continent. In addition, English is the language of commerce, industry, communication, travel for virtually the entire continent. Finally, English is now in use by more people on earth everywhere, than any other language.

## 11. THE BRITISH SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT

The British parliamentary system of government with its common law and system of courts should be considered as another important link of unity among the ten provinces and their people. Regardless of their ethnic origin, all Canadian citizens are indebted to the genius of British people for their centuries-old efforts in developing this democratic and representative system of government based on the ideals of human dignity and personal freedom. The same ideals have become the cornerstones of social and political life for the majority of the countries on earth.

## 12. PRESENT CRISIS IN CANADA

### Dialogue

It is interesting to observe in the present crisis of Canada the three distinct attitudes which are peculiar to each of the three elements of our population. The French Canadians complain about their lot, demand an equal partnership with the British Canadians, and some of them threaten separation. The Canadians of British origin seem to be hardly interested in the so-called "dialogue" as they have nothing to gain. The Canadians of origins other than British or French, practically being excluded from that dialogue, sense a danger, and even a threat to their very existence.

Everyone in Canada speaks about the unity of our country, prays for it while hoping to sustain it on his own terms. There are Canadians, both of British and French origin, who with Bernard Bissonette, a justice of the Quebec Court of Appeal, try to divert the public attention from the core of the problem towards a scapegoat -- the "Neo-Canadiens." The calls for unity of the British and French because the "Neo-Canadiens," as he calls the Canadians other than British and French, might become dangerous rivals to both "shareholders" of Canada. Mr. Bissonette's discovery is just another symptom of xenophobia so deeply entrenched in our politics, in journalism, and on university faculties.

One extreme proposes a separate state of Quebec and even the "moderates" seem to be no more attracted by "Co-operative Federalism," but demand complete autonomy for Quebec. On the other hand, many voices from the British group deny the province of Quebec any right to a different status than the other provinces have. In recent weeks suggestions have

been made to use force to keep Quebec, if necessary, in the Federation.

Some would like to solve the crisis of Confederation with pseudo-remedies of economics, lingual, and cultural nature. The problem could become dangerously implicated benefitting no one except those who want to make trouble in this country.

Solution by the people

Being vitally interested in the unity of Canada, the Ukrainian Canadian Committee suggests some ways which might help in finding a solution.

1. The Government should proceed cautiously and avoid rash decisions.
2. Act on present constitutional basis only.
3. In special cases a referendum should be used by which the people of Canada or of Quebec only, be allowed to express their opinion.
4. The final decision about the fate of Quebec be reserved for the people of Quebec who should have the right to express their will in a general plebiscite.

Since we believe in democratic principles we must also apply them properly in the crisis of Confederation.

## 13. RESOLUTIONS OF THE SIXTH UKRAINIAN ALL-CANADA CONGRESS IN 1959 ON MULTICULTURALISM

(Full text)

In the multicultural Canadian society it is very important to establish a harmonious relationship, respect and tolerance. Assimilation is destructive and should be eliminated from the Canadian life. Scorn for origin, language and

religion places unsurpassable difficulties in the healthy development of every society. Having this in mind the Sixth Ukrainian Congress adopts the following resolutions:

1. To urge the Ukrainian Canadians to foster their Ukrainian traditions and to apply them in the development of their cultural life.
2. To preserve their Ukrainian identity and continue further efforts to strengthen their Canadian citizenship through the unity of the Canadian community within the various talents of her mosaic of cultures, with special attention given to the preservation of the mother language. This constructive platform is in full agreement with the developing tendencies in the world, and they should at the proper time find suitable expression in the Canadian constitution --- B.N.A. Act.
3. To acknowledge the fact that every ethnic group in Canada should produce its own cultural elements and that that work is the privilege for all Canadians irrespective of their origin and the most desirable for the benefit of the whole Canadian nation.
4. To realize the fundamental claim that the Ukrainian churches, schools, cultural and educational institutions, press, societies and organizations constitute part of the Canadian life and that they are, therefore, entitled to recognition and privileges including moral and material support and worthy to be recognized and treated accordingly.

## 14. RESOLUTIONS OF THE UKRAINIAN NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE U.C.C. ON BICULTURALISM AND BILINGUALISM Sept. 27-28, 1963

With the establishment of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, the Ukrainian Canadian Committee, as a co-ordinating and representative body of all Ukrainians for that purpose called a special Convention of the National Council in Winnipeg, September 27 and 28, 1963.

Representatives from the six provinces, -- British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba, Ontario and Quebec and invited members of Provincial Legislatures of Ukrainian origin adopted the following resolutions:

1. Canadians of Ukrainian origin believe in unity and indivisibility of Canada based on the principles of equality of all Canadian citizens and on equal treatment of all irrespective of their national origin or the time of their or their forebearers' arrival in Canada.
2. Acknowledging and respecting the rights and privileges that are enjoyed by the English and French, guaranteed them by the British North America Act, the National Council at the same time points to the equal necessity of constitutional guarantees for all other ethnic groups in Canada to retain and develop their cultural values including their mother languages which should have unlimited government support.
3. To obligate the Executive of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee to prepare a Brief to the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism based on the above statement and the opinion on specific questions raised by the dele-

gates, as well as those that may come to the Ukrainian Canadian Committee Headquarters from Ukrainian organizations and individual citizens.

## 15. CULTURE AND "BICULTURALISM"

While the term "Bilingualism" is meaningful, though it could be understood differently by different people, the term "Biculturalism" is vague, confusing and even ridiculous. It is easy to understand that a person can be bilingual but he cannot be bicultural.

Mathew Arnold, in "Culture and Anarchy" defined culture as

> "a pursuit of our total perfection by means of knowledge of the best which has been thought and said in the world and the development thereby of all sides of our humanity."

This definition can be applied to the entire history of mankind or history of particular nations. There has been much talk about Canadian culture. In the Terms of Reference we learn about the cultures of two groups, while the overwhelming opinion is that in Canada there are many group-cultures.

In our opinion culture is the way of life of a people, the sum of their beliefs, achievements, both physical and spiritual, including science, folklore, and art. In Canada we can speak of the culture of the Indians, Eskimos, French, Irish, Poles, Ukrainians etc. Therefore it would be appropriate that the Commission devote more time on how to assist in preserving the cultural treasures of all ethnic groups in Canada as they, all combined, form Canadian culture. To say that on one side Canada has only two cultures, or on the other, no culture at all, is contrary to reality. As the Canadian nation is composed of many different ethnic groups so is Canadian culture made up of segments of their cultures.

## 16. FRENCH CANADIANS

First of all the French Canadians rightly deserve deep appreciation from other ethnic groups for their contribution made in all fields of the Canadian life. Especially they set a good example for other ethnic groups in being so tenaciously attached to their language, religion and culture and thus they laid a foundation for the Canadian cultural mosaic. Our French Canadians came to Canada as the first settlers and their pioneer work was beneficial to all Canadians.

The Ukrainian Canadian Committee considers that in the field of education the French will understand the Ukrainian position more than any one else. The French realize the bitter feelings which arose from the creation of privileged positions for selected groups in one country. More bitterness could arise by legislating such privileges. A great mistake is made to pupils in some grades of our schools in Western-Canada where French has been established as a compulsory subject. Experience has shown that this is not a proper way to learn any language and the result is never satisfactory. In our pluralistic society it is imperative to encourage the study of languages on a voluntary basis and the mother language should be taught first and at an early stage. This would save many students from frustration and prepare them for learning other languages.

This attitude is, in our opinion, in full agreement with the official view of French Canada as it was expressed by Mr. Georges-Emile Lapalme, Attorney-General and Minister of Cultural Affairs:

> "If French Canadians have persisted in keeping their traditions, then they could hardly do otherwise than to ask the minorities to keep theirs, and their language."

## 17. CONSTITUTION

The Ukrainian Canadian Committee does not reject the possibility of constitutional changes if the unity of Canada requires such changes. In such an event the rights for the linguistic and cultural opportunities for all Canadian cultural groups should be guaranteed on the same basis as the two major groups - English and French.

The people of Canada must be prepared for both alternatives: Canada with Quebec, or Canada without Quebec. In the opinion of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee political settlement of the present crisis must precede all other experiments with bilingualism and biculturalism.

The Ukrainian community in Canada looks with great apprehension at the present tendencies of some Canadian statesmen. It might be that some ethnic groups do not wish to preserve their identity. Some feel too weak to do so. But there are those who can and will undertake the task; they do not want to be sacrificed on the altar of French-English reconciliation. An ethnic group that wants to survive deserves encouragement and assistance from any democratic government. Otherwise, in practice, there would be little or no difference between the treatment of minorities by the totalitarian regimes and by the democratic governments. The only difference would be in the method used. Any attempt to amend the B.N.A. Act or to adopt a new constitution in order to remedy the present crisis of Confederation at the cost of one or more ethnic groups will benefit no one and, in the long run, will become detrimental to the whole of Canada.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Strengthen the unity of Canada by extending the fundamental principles of democracy in which the most vital one is absolute equality of all citizens without exception.
2. A thorough study of the current crisis of Confederation be conducted in order to find new and more justifiable means for the present life on which ethnic identity of Canadian citizens should be recognized and treated as equal co-partners on the same basis of partnership with the English and French.
3. A climate of respect and understanding for the culture and mother tongue of all Canadian ethnic groups should be created on the principle that they are the Canadian pattern of culture, a treasury that should be preserved for the benefit of the entire nation.
4. If the B.N.A. Act should be amended or a new constitution drafted, constitutional guarantees should be included to safeguard the Canadian multicultural society, and secure its existence through moral and financial support of the government and governmental institutions.
5. The people of Quebec should be given the right to decide their future by general plebiscite. In case it decides to remain in unity - Canada, it should be granted maximum autonomy to live free as far as possible in one democratic statehood with Canada, without moral and economic loss to the rest of the Canadian people. If the people of Quebec decide to withdraw, the problems which will arise from this fact should be decided by a suitable agreement depending on the situation. In both cases the

rights of the cultural minorities should be safeguarded.

6. Until the final decision regarding Quebec will be known, the legal state of the affairs based on the B.N.A. Act should be respected. Nothing should be done which could violate the rules of this act.

7. The English language in the multilingual and multicultural Canada should be treated by all Canadians as their common denominator for mutual understanding and it should be the language of instruction in public schools, except in the Province of Quebec where the French should have this status. Elsewhere, where another language of instruction in schools is used it should be parallel with English.

8. An extensive revision of school textbooks for public schools should take place in which the Ministers of Citizenship and Immigration together with provincial Ministers of Education examine their contents and exclude discriminatory material and give the students an unbiased social studies material, referring to the different ethnic groups, their origin, history, culture, literature and their accomplishments for the benefit of this country.

9. A Federal Ministry of Culture should be set up which, not interfering with the competencies of the provincial authorities would recognize and give unlimited support to all the cultures of the Canadian multicultural society and its ethnic groups, care for preservation and growth of the Canadian languages and multilingual literature, which up to the present was treated as non-Canadian, making immense damage to this country.

10. The public media crown corporations of communication, C.B.C., Radio, Television networks and the National Film Board should foster unity, cohesion and co-operation among various segments of Canadian population. They should meet this situation and resolve it for the benefit of the entire Canadian community:

(a) In the C.B.C. programs an appropriate place should be given to the language, music, literature, history, theatre and art of different ethnic groups of Canadian citizens. Those programs should also show the achievements of these people in Canada, thus giving the rest of the Canadian people an opportunity to learn more about their co-citizens.

(b) The C.B.C. broadcasting media should include regular programs in other languages besides the English and French, reflecting the ethnic composition of the Canadian population. These programs should include news, comments, and the best works of their cultural heritage.

(c) Consideration might be given to the establishment in Western Canada of a second multilingual C.B.C. radio-television network to serve ethnic groups in that area.

(d) Privately-owned radio and television stations in Canada should be encouraged by the Board of Broadcast Governors to also include programs relating to Canadian ethnic groups. This will create an organic unity of the Canadian nation with a bright future.

11. A permanent voluntary non-governmental inter-ethnic advisory body be established on the basis of the different Dominion-wide ethnic representations with the object to provide the governmental and semi-governmental agencies as well as all others who could be interested in understanding the problems of the different ethnic groups with reliable information to localize the difficulties and solve them in the best way possible for all concerned.

12. The Federal and provincial Civil Services should appoint personnel from qualified persons of all Canadians regardless of their ethnic origin or the time of their arrival in Canada.

13. Special attention of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism should be given to establishing also a clear meaning of some terms of fundamental importance which are often misleading - for example Canadianism, nation, state, culture, etc.

14. The Ukrainian Canadian Committee in preparing the above recommendations is fully aware that they apply to all ethnic groups in Canada, Ukrainian included. In addition it wishes to draw particular attention to matters specifically urgent to the Ukrainian community:

    (a) All existing discrimination in the form of categorization of languages in schools and universities should be removed and the Ukrainian language be taught beginning with the primary grades in public schools and in universities on equal basis with the same credit as all other modern languages.

    (b) Schools and universities in Western Canada should grant full matriculation status to the Ukrainian

language and develop a comprehensive program of Ukrainian studies, including the study of Ukrainian language, literature, culture and history, as well as the contributions of the Ukrainian group in the building of Canada.

(c) Government scholarships and bursaries for the study of languages and student exchange programs should extend equally to the study of Ukrainian.

(d) The Ukrainian Canadian cultural and educational institutions and their efforts, which are now left entirely to the generosity of the Ukrainian community, should receive financial support from the Canada Council and other similar institutions and they should be treated on the same level as other Canadian cultural institutions.

(e) Qualified Ukrainian Canadians should not be left, as practiced presently, without attention in appointments to senior policy making boards, senior administrative posts, Canadian civil service and governing bodies of such institutions as the Canada Council, Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, radio and television networks, National Film Board and other institutions, acting permanently or on a temporary basis. The old and fundamental principle of British democracy "No taxation without representation," would apply here with great advantage to our society.

(f) The Federal as well as Provincial Government bodies in Western Canada should adopt a policy whereby included within their offices would be employees who could also communicate in Ukrainian.

15. The Ukrainian Canadian Committee, being the representative of the Ukrainian community in Canada coordinates simultaneously all the work of the Ukrainian organizations and cultural institutions, is ready and willing to give consultation and assistance in all matters concerning the Ukrainian community life in Canada. All agencies interested are invited to turn this fact to their advantage.

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DEBATES OF THE SENATE

Official Report

# CANADA

# A MULTICULTURAL NATION

by

The Hon. PAUL YUZYK

Senator

In the Senate of Canada, Ottawa,

on Tuesday, March 3, 1964

Appendix I.

Honourable senators, as I rise to deliver my maiden speech, which in reality is a virgin speech since this is the first time that I have ever spoken in Parliament, it is with humility as well as with pride that I stand before so august a body as the Canadian Senate. I had planned to make my debut at the last session, but I was away in New York serving my country in the Canadian delegation to the Eighteenth General Assembly of the United Nations.

The warm welcome that I had received at the last session from His Honour the Speaker, the honourable former Leader of the Government, the honourable Leader of the Opposition and many other honourable senators, made me immediately feel at home in the Senate, and for this I am immeasurably grateful. Since there has been so much expressed concern for my happiness, I would like to assure the honourable senators that certainly they have launched me in that direction. My one year's experience here has convinced me that the Senate is paramountly nonpartisan in character and, therefore, my happiness is assured, as I had become accustomed to such a nonpolitical and nonpartisan institution as the university. Consequently, I do not regret the transfer and am looking forward to an increasingly useful life, with the objective of making some small contribution through the Senate to the welfare of the people of Canada.

I gladly join all those who have congratulated His Honour the Speaker, the honourable Leader of the Government (Hon. Mr. Connolly), and the honourable Leader of the Opposition (Hon. Mr. Brooks). Their positions are indeed responsible. I wish them well in the performance of their duties. A special and warm word of thanks I would like to convey to Senator Connolly, who was chairman of the Internal Economy and Contingent Accounts Committee, and to other members of the

committee, for their support of my request for a stenographer who could type and correspond in Ukrainian. A trilingual stenographer, who could handle Ukrainian, English and French was found, making it possible for me and for other senators to expedite correspondence readily in three languages. My congratulations go to Senator White for the great honour that he received by his appointment to the Privy Council; I shall always fondly remember him as the Speaker of the Senate when I was sworn in to this chamber.

I have also learned to appreciate the role of the Whips and wish them success and satisfaction in the fulfilment of what is not always a grateful function. It is a pleasure to welcome the newest senators who have joined us recently.

At the outset I would like to pay tribute to the Right Honourable John George Diefenbaker, whom history will record, I am sure, as one of the great Canadian Prime Ministers. His championing the cause of the liberty of nations against Russian communist colonialism at NATO and the United Nations, his efforts to strengthen the Commonwealth, based upon the principles of freedom, justice and democracy, his advocacy for many years of the Canadian Bill of Rights, and his defence of Canadian sovereignty, have brought great prestige to Canada throughout the world. His roots go deep in Canadian history, for on his mother's side he is a distinguished descendant of George Bannerman and his wife, who arrived with the courageous band of Selkirk settlers 150 years ago to establish the Red River Colony, the precursor of Winnipeg, the "Gateway to the West". To this great Canadian, who has always had the interests of all segments of our diverse population at heart, I owe an everlasting debt of gratitude, for it was he who first interested me in political life during the election of 1935--although I did not actively participate for a long time--and who finally involved me permanently in political affairs by

nominating me to the Senate last year.

I also would like to offer my congratulations to the mover, Senator Cook, and the seconder, Senator Denis, of the motion for an address in reply to the Speech from the Throne. Their contributions to the debate, despite brevity, were interesting, worthwhile and stimulating.

Honourable senators, there are certain references in the Speech from the Throne that are of particular interest to me and that part of the Canadian population into which I was born; I take it upon myself to voice their feelings. These are the references dealing with Canadian unity and citizenship, "which will ensure full equality of rights for all Canadian citizens wherever they were born". I hope that this will eliminate second-class citizenship.

Canada has undergone tremendous changes in all walks of national life since the proclamation of the British North America Act in 1867. The original four provinces have increased to ten, while the population has increased from 3½ million to over 19 million, the complexion having changed from paramountly British-French, with a substratum of Indian and Eskimo cultures, to multicultural, with the immigration of many European and some Asiatic peoples.

During that time, Canada has developed from a colony to an independent democratic state, from a relatively unknown country to a leader of the middle nations of the world, from an exploited territory to a leading trading nation and a champion of the freedom of nations of the world. Few countries in the world have paralleled the peaceful progress of our country. Canada today is a vastly different country and our approach to her problems must be in keeping with the new situation and the new times.

It is regrettable that Canadian historians have consistently neglected to take into account population statistics, and have thus failed to bring into perspective the variety of the contributions of the many ethnic groups to the building of Canada. Even a casual examination of the figures of the past seven Canadian censuses reveals significant trends in our population. I will read briefly the percentage distribution of the three elements--British, French, and the third element consisting of all other ethnic groups--of the population, taken from catalogue 92-545 of the 1961 census, Dominion Bureau of Statistics:

| | 1901 | 1911 | 1921 | 1931 | 1941 | 1951 | 1961 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| British | 57 | 56 | 55 | 52 | 50 | 48 | 44 |
| French | 31 | 29 | 28 | 28 | 30 | 31 | 30 |
| Third Element | 12 | 15 | 17 | 20 | 20 | 21 | 26 |

From these percentages it will readily be noted that the British element--English, Scots, Irish and Welsh--during the past 60 years has steadily decreased, not in number but in proportion, from 57 per cent to 44 per cent; today it is a minority group. The French element has constantly held its own proportion, about 30 per cent. On the other hand, the third element has steadily increased from 12 per cent to 26 per cent, more than doubling itself, and is quickly approaching the numerical and proportional position of the French Canadians. Present-day Canada is a country of minorities, and this fact should not be ignored.

For purpose of information, the following are the eight largest ethnic groups of the third element, according to the 1961 census:

| | | | Canadian-born | Canadian Citizenship |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| German | 1,049,599 | (5.8%) | 73% | 87% |
| Ukrainian | 473,377 | (2.6 ) | 77 | 97 |
| Italian | 450,351 | (2.5 ) | 41 | 61 |
| Netherlander | 429,679 | (2.4 ) | 64 | 81 |
| Scandinavian | 386,534 | (2.1 ) | 73 | 93 |
| Polish | 323,517 | (1.8 ) | 60 | 90 |
| Indian | 208,286 | (1.1 ) | 100 | |
| Jewish | 173,344 | (1.0 ) | 62 | 93 |

I should add that there are 254,368 of Judaic faith.

It is interesting and revealing to examine the present composition of the population of the provinces according to the three elements. The British element predominates in Newfoundland with 94 per cent; Prince Edward Island, 80 per cent; Nova Scotia, 71 per cent; British Columbia, 61 per cent; Ontario, 60 per cent; and New Brunswick, 55 per cent. The French element predominates only in Quebec with 81 per cent; the largest minority is in New Brunswick, 40 per cent. The third element predominates in Saskatchewan with 53 per cent, exceeding the British, 40 per cent, and French, 7 per cent. It forms the largest element in Alberta, 49 per cent, followed by the British, 45 per cent, and the French, 6 per cent. In Manitoba it forms 48 per cent, followed by the British, 43 per cent, and the French, 9 per cent. It has the considerable proportion in British Columbia of 35 per cent; Ontario, 30 per cent; and Nova Scotia, 17 per cent. In general, the third element, composed overwhelmingly of Canadian-born, forms about 50 per cent of the population of the three prairie provinces.

By what right did the non-British, non-French peoples come to Canada? First of all, the Indians and the Eskimos are

indigenous peoples, being natives of this land long before the coming of the French and the British. The other European peoples were invited to this country by the Canadian Government to settle the vast wilderness. The settling of the West began shortly after Confederation, and brought into being the province of Manitoba, and later Saskatchewan and Alberta. Large-scale government-sponsored and government-directed immigration was initiated by Sir Clifford Sifton of Manitoba, Minister of the Interior, in 1896 under the Government of Sir Wilfrid Laurier. In less than two decades before World War 1, most of the arable land in the prairie provinces was settled by a considerable number of several European peoples, a very large proportion of whom were neither of British nor French origin. They fully accepted the laws of Canada, brought civilization to vast areas hitherto uninhabited, greatly aided the expansion of Canadian economy and prosperity, loyally and fully participated in the Canadian armed forces of the two world wars, and conscientiously performed their duties as citizens in every respect, even though there was some discrimination against them for quite a long time. The third element, ethnic groups, now numbering approximately five million persons, are co-builders of the West and other parts of Canada, along with the British and French Canadians, and are just as permanent a part of the Canadian scene.

Allow me, in a very brief summary, to present an example of the contribution to Canada of one of the non-British, non-French groups, namely, the Ukrainian Canadians, from whom I spring and about whom I have some knowledge as a result of my researches, which have been published in a book and several articles. In response to the appeals, the propaganda, and agents of the Canadian Government, the Ukrainians began coming to this country in large numbers commencing in 1896, from the

Austrian provinces of Galicia and Bukovina, now designated as Western Ukraine. Mostly of peasant origin, they took up homesteads and farms throughout the prairies and brought under cultivation millions of acres of land, thus establishing civilization in large areas, many of which bear witness in over 130 Ukrainian place names. Consequently, their greatest contribution to Canada has been in agriculture. Ukrainian Canadians have been frequent winners of world and Canadian championships of wheat, oats and vegetables. The best varieties of grains are either of Ukrainian origin or hybrids of Ukrainian grains. This should not be surprising, for Ukraine has always been known as the "black earth region" and "the granary of Europe". Railroad construction, large building and housing construction, mining, various kinds of manufacturing, etc., have benefited from the labour, inventiveness and management of Ukrainians. They are found in large numbers in the teaching profession, including the universities, and play a fairly significant role in many other professions.

Perhaps the most important criterion of the integration of any group into Canadian society and life is its participation in public affairs. The Ukrainians have produced hundreds of reeves of municipalities, many aldermen of towns and cities, several mayors of large cities: Winnipeg, Edmonton, Windsor, Kenora; many members of provincial legislatures: Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta and Ontario; several provincial cabinet ministers: Saskatchewan, Manitoba, Ontario and Alberta; several federal members of Parliament of all parties, one federal cabinet minister and three senators--altogether at least 74 parliamentarians. About 10,000 Ukrainians were in the Canadian armed forces during the First World War, one of whom, Philip Konowal, received the Victoria Cross, the highest award for bravery in the British Commonwealth; and about

40,000 voluntarily served in the Canadian military forces of the Second World War, many as officers, and many of whom paid the supreme sacrifice for this country. Ukrainians cherish Canadian freedom and democracy, as they are conscious of Ukraine's subjugation and bondage.

Their cultural contribution is known in most parts of Canada. Ukrainian folk dancing in colourful costumes, choirs, embroidery and woodwork have been winning the enthusiastic applause and praise of audiences, leaders, and monarchs, at local and national celebrations, since the Diamond Jubilee of Canada in 1927 and will be featured in greater magnitude at the Centennial celebrations in 1967. The Ukrainian language and literature is taught at the Universities of Saskatchewan, Manitoba, Alberta, Toronto, Montreal and Ottawa, and as an elective subject in the high schools of Saskatchewan, Manitoba and Alberta. These general cultural activities are directed by the Ukrainian Canadian Committee, with headquarters in Winnipeg, which co-ordinates the work of 27 dominion-wide Ukrainian organizations, exclusive of the small communist associations.

At the last session of Parliament the committee sponsored a bill, which was passed in both houses, to establish the Ukrainian Canadian Foundation of Taras Shevchenko, to promote Ukrainian culture in Canada. This year Ukrainians throughout the world are celebrating the 150th anniversary of the birth of Taras Shevchenko, the great poet of Ukrainian and universal freedom, justice, truth and brotherhood. Prime Minister Diefenbaker unveiled a large monument of Shevchenko on the grounds of the Legislative buildings of Manitoba in 1961, on which occasion he spoke some Ukrainian, as did Premier Duff Roblin. A monument of the great poet will be unveiled this June on the grounds of the federal Capitol of the United States, in Washington, D. C. To commemorate this great anniversary, I have selected brief excerpts from Shevchenko's poetry, inspired

with the divine spirit of liberty, which I would like to read for your appreciation in Ukrainian, followed by an English translation.

From "The Caucasus"--the poet's indictment of Russian Tsarist oppression and a mighty protest against the brutal subjugation of the peoples of the Caucasus, translated by Professors Watson Kirkconnell of Acadia University, and C. H. Andrusyshen of the University of Saskatchewan. Their poetic translation of the complete works of Shevchenko is due to be published shortly by the University of Toronto Press.

Ne vmyraye dusha nasha,
Ne vmyraye volya,
I nesyty ne vyore
Na dni morya polya.
Ne skuye dushi zhyvoyi
I slova zhyvoho.
Boritesya--poboryte!
Vam Boh pomahaye!
Za vas pravda za vas slava
I volya svyataya.

Translated:

So likewise shall our spirit never die
Nor our dear freedom wholly vanquished lie.
Sooner may foemen hope to plough with glee
A meadow at the bottom of the sea
As chain the living soul with force uncouth
Or choke to death the vital word of Truth
Struggle and ye shall overcome the foe:
For God shall succour you in battle's throe;
His strength is on your side, and freedom stands
With justice on the threshold of your lands.

The poet, who himself had been a serf, fought for the abolition of the abominable system of serfdom in Russia and for the emancipation of these exploited human beings, as well as peoples. Here are his stirring and noble words:

Vozvelychu
Malykh otykh rabiv nimykh!
Ya na storozhi kolo yikh
Postavlyu slovo.

I shall make great
These insignificant mute slaves!
On their behalf in their defence
Shall speak the word.

The word is the living human spirit of truth, justice and liberty, which ultimately must prevail for Ukraine and all oppressed peoples who are still struggling for their freedom against Russian communist imperialism. The free countries of the world, including Canada, must mobilize world opinion against the largest existing totalitarian empire, the Soviet Union, to compel it to grant self-determination and freedom to the many nations under Russian domination, in accordance with the principles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and the principles of the United Nations.

The contributions and place of the third element ethnic groups are very little known to the Canadian public and to the leaders of our country. To my knowledge, only the province of Manitoba has made an effort to learn objectively about the prominent groups in that province. The Manitoba Government has been subsidizing these studies through the Manitoba Historical Society since 1946, which to date has received manuscripts on the Mennonites, Ukrainians, Icelanders, Poles, Jews,

early French, and Hutterites, of which the social histories of the Ukrainians, Mennonites and Jews have been published. We sorely lack authentic studies of these groups on a Canada-wide basis. Certainly, on the eve of the centennial celebrations an effort should be made to fill in this gap in Canadian history. With adequate financial support from the Canada Council, such a project should be sponsored immediately under the guidance of prominent Canadian historians, who should subsequently incorporate the important material in Canadian histories.

In the light of the above figures and information it will be easily understood why I am viewing critically the Royal Commission on Biculturalism and Bilingualism. First of all, the word "bicultural," which I could not find in any dictionary, is a misnomer. In reality Canada never was bicultural; the Indians and Eskomos have been with us throughout our history; the British group is multicultural - English, Scots, Irish, Welsh; and with the settling of other ethnic groups, which now make up almost one-third of the population, Canada has become multicultural in fact. Furthermore, the projecting of the idea that Canada is bicultural not only excludes the non-British and non-French groups, but denies the multicultural character of the British group, which can only lead to disunity. What we need is a firm basis of our nationhood which will unite all elements in our society. It is found in the paragraph quoted in the Speech from the Throne of May 16, 1963:

The character and strength of our nation are drawn from the diverse cultures of people who came from many lands to create the Canada that is ours today. The greater Canada that is in our power to make will be built not on uniformity but on continuing diversity.

If biculturalism were carried to its logical conclusion--a virtual two-nation co-existence--then all Canadians would be required to become either English or French. This is an impossibility, and I believe that is not the desired objective of our people. It would not be consistent with full democracy and equality of all citizens. I was glad to note in the debate on the reply to the Speech from the Throne the other day, the honourable Leader of the Opposition (Hon. Mr. Brooks) stated:

...no matter what we try to do, we cannot make an Englishman of a Frenchman, and we cannot make a Frenchman of an Englishman, but we can make good Canadians of both...so far as the other ethnic groups are concerned, we cannot change their ethnic group except to make good Canadians of them.

In his remarks in the debate on the reply to the Throne Speech, the honourable Leader of the Government (Hon. Mr. Connolly, Ottawa West), expressed a similar view when he appraised the cultural contributions of various peoples from many countries of the world "as a boon to a new country" and made the exhortation, "each element shall continue to develop its own ideals and achieve its own aspirations alongside the other". It is my belief that our citizens desire an all-embracing Canadian identity which will include all the elements of our population and emphasize unity.

Let us first evaluate briefly the general distinctive contributions of each of the three elements of our population and then assess their place in the establishment of the Canadian identity which should meet with the approval of the vast majority of our citizens.

The great permanent British gift to the Canadian way of life is the establishment of the parliamentary system of government, an evolutionary democracy under the Crown,

which has continually adjusted itself to the new situations, while upholding the authority of and equality before the law, liberty, justice, fair play, equal opportunity for all and the dignity of the individual. Under the British Crown through the Quebec Act, the Constitutional Act, the British North America Act, and the Statute of Westminster, Canada has evolved from colonial status to an independent state and a leader among the middle nations of the world. In this process, Canada has become an equal partner in the Commonwealth of Nations, the great bulwark of freedom and democratic evolution. The British system of democracy has become firmly rooted in Canada and has been accepted by all Canadians as fundamental in our society.

The great French contribution to the Canadian way of life is of a conservative character, the preservation and perpetuation of the culture of a people. Their love of Canada, their pride in their language and their traditions, and their devotion to their religion give depth to the meaning of life. These qualities of the French-Canadian character have built up their resistance to the pressure of the United States and have made possible the development of Canada to independence and greatness.

A tous mes confrères canadiens d'origine française au Sénat, je veux transmettre mes salutations chaleureuses en français. J'ai appris à lire le français à Saskatoon, mais, malheureusement pas, à le parler.

Les autres groupes ethniques, qui ont aidé à construire le Canada, admirent les Canadiens français pour l'amour de leur pays, pour la défense de son indépendance et pour la préservation de leur belle culture. Continuons de travailler ensemble avec un respect mutuel les uns envers les autres, afin de construire un Canada fort et unifié pour la gloire de

Dieu, pour la prospérité de nos citoyens et pour la paix et le progrès de l'humanité.

The joint contribution of the various ethnic groups of the third element to the Canadian way of life is like that of the French, in the cultural sphere with political and constitutional implications. By their perpetuation of the best of their cultural heritages, these groups have made Canadians more conscious of cultural values out of which there has emerged the principle of "unity in diversity," or, stated in another way, "unity with variety," as a rule of governance. This principle, in keeping with the democratic way, encourages citizens of all ethnic origins to make their best contributions to the development of a general Canadian culture as essential ingredients in the nation-building process.

The contributions of the three elements side by side in our society provides the sound materials for the building of a strong Canadian nation. They provide us with the Canadian identity, a pattern which has been developing in a different way from that of our neighbour to the south. This is brought out clearly in the address delivered last year to the sixth conference of the Canadian Council of Christians and Jews in Winnipeg by Dr. Charles Hobart, of California, now sociology professor at the University of Alberta. Here are some of his statements:

Search of identity? You are almost THE multicultural society of the world and this is your identity. It is the contribution you as Canadians have to make to the world. This system of multiculturalism has now worked for almost 100 years and you should be missionaries in this type of a cause.

In his opinion the Canadian system of multiculturalism has obvious advantages over the American melting-pot concept which produces,

A mixture in which there is loss of identity and peculiar genius. In the long run multiculturalism beats the melting-pot idea all to hell.

A more emphatic statement could not be made by any American.

Canadian leaders have also expressed the same idea. Here is a statement of the late Dr. Sidney Smith, former president of the University of Manitoba and the University of Toronto, when he was Secretary of State for External Affairs:

The present population of Canada is roughly, one-third of Anglo-Saxon stock, one-third of French stock and one-third of many other racial groups. There is no Canadian race. We have never had a melting-pot policy toward newcomers. We have never tried to fashion them into one, and only one, mould. Rather we have rejoiced in and we have been strengthened by their special contributions.

There were also leaders in the past who could foresee the shape of things to come. A great architect of Canada, Prime Minister Sir Wilfrid Laurier, under whose administration the Prairies were peopled by various groups of the third element, left, some 60 years ago, the following message for future generations:

I have visited in England one of those models of Gothic architecture which the hand of genius, guided by an unerring faith has moulded into a harmonious whole. This cathedral is made of marble, oak and granite. It is the image of the nation I would like to see Canada become. For here, I want the marble to remain the marble; the granite to remain the granite; the oak to remain the oak; and out of all these elements I would build a nation great among the nations of the world.

At this stage, I would like to state it is gratifying to learn that the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism has recognized the potentiality and vitality of multiculturalism. I would like to quote from its working paper, for the use of those preparing briefs:

The mainspring (l'idee-force) of the terms of reference is the question of bilingualism and biculturalism (i.e. English and French) adding immediately that this mainspring is working in a situation where there is the fact of multiculturalism--multiculturalism that must not be suppressed as quickly as possible (the proverbial melting-pot) but on the contrary, respected and safeguarded, despite not being given official recognition.

It should be borne in mind that a form of official recognition has been given to this principle, since the languages and cultures of some of the non-British, non-French ethnic groups are taught in the public high schools of the three Prairie provinces and in many of the universities. This could easily be extended to the other provinces. I think that the time has arrived for the third element ethnic groups to send their representatives to a national conference in Ottawa and make their common views known to the federal and provincial governments and not only to the Royal Commission.

The recognition of the multicultural character of our population has evolved the unique principle of unity in continuing diversity, which Prince Philip at the Commonwealth Study Conference in Vancouver two years ago identified as the Canadian way. This, of course, is the principle of Confederation which originally had been applied in the political sphere, and now has been extended to the cultural sphere of Canada. To achieve the integration of the rich cultures in our midst into a harmonious entity, Canadian leaders have invoked such

sensory symbols as the beauty of the mosaic, the flower garden, the rainbow, the symphony orchestra and the choir, each of which expresses harmonious variety.

In keeping with the ideals of democracy and the spirit of Confederation, Canada should accept and guarantee the principle of the partnership of all peoples who have contributed to her development and progress. As the founding peoples of our country, the British and the French should be regarded as the senior partners whose special rights include the recognition of English and French as the official languages in accordance with the British North America Act; Canadians would have the choice, but not compulsion, of one or the other language as the means of instruction in our schools. The third element ethnic or cultural groups should receive the status of co-partners, who would be guaranteed the right to perpetuate their mother tongues and cultures, which should be offered as optional subjects in the public and high school systems and the separate schools of the provinces, and the universities, wherever there would be a sufficient number of students to warrant the maintenance of such classes, as is practised in England. The teaching of languages should commence at the grade one level, when children learn without much effort. This I know from my own teaching experience of many years in the public schools of Saskatchewan.

For the evolution of a multicultural Canadian nation, a firm basis has been established by Canadian governments since the last war. The Canadian Citizenship Act of 1947 recognizes the equality of all Canadian citizens and the Canadian Bill of Rights of 1960 elaborates the specific rights of all citizens and condemns discrimination.

Honourable senators, I would like to convey to both Houses of Parliament and to all Canadians how deeply shocked

I was when I read in the House of Commons Debates of February 27, 1964, the following two paragraphs of the speech of the Minister of Citizenship and Immigration:

There is a tradition of long standing in this Parliament, that the Speaker's function in the House of Commons and in the other place is entrusted in turn to representatives of the two most important ethnic groups in this country.

According to another tradition, the mover and the seconder of the address in reply to the Speech from the Throne are chosen among representatives of the two most important racial groups in Canada.

The minister stated that he respected this tradition, which can be interpreted that he recognizes these rights only for the French and the English. He has gone so far as to make all the "English-speaking" one ethnic group, thus denying the existence of the Scots, Irish and Welsh, and soon after he calls them a racial group. Such confusion in the thinking of a minister of citizenship is not pardonable. What is worse is the policy, which he calls tradition, that he upholds. In his opinion, the speaker of each house and the movers and the seconders of addresses in reply to the Speech from the Throne must alternate between the English and the French. This would deny the right for Senators Thorvaldson, Croll, Hnatyshyn, Gladstone, Basha, just to mention a few, to become the speaker or the mover or seconder of the Throne Speech addresses in the Senate. This would deny many members of Parliament in the other house such rights also.

Obviously, this is a discriminatory attitude against which I protest most emphatically, as will many Canadians, I am sure. If this is adhered to, it will be a mockery of the Canadian Bill of Rights, the existing Citizenship Act, and the prospective--and I quote from the Speech from the Throne--

"amendments to the Citizenship Act which will ensure full equality of rights for all Canadian citizens wherever they were born".

Notwithstanding this, however, the Department of Citizenship and Immigration has been doing a wonderful job not only of aiding immigrants in their happy adjustment to Canadian life but also of promoting good Canadian citizenship through citizenship conferences publications and publicity, et cetera. The essence of Canadianism is most appropriately expressed in the message of a Citizenship Court Judge on the occasion of the granting of citizenship to new citizens:

This nation has been enriched by the loyalty and sacrifice of persons who have come from many lands and traditions. To each this nation has given a chance to live and grow and share in the common wealth. From each Canada has accepted the gifts of different cultures and made them into an enduring heritage. From sea to sea, this rich heritage is yours, as it is mine, because we are Canadian.

Other departments of federal and provincial governments, public bodies and our schools, are slow in following the lead of the Department of Citizenship and Immigration. School textbooks should contain the story of the contributions of all elements of our society to the development of Canada, in order to break down the barriers of prejudice and stimulate positive citizenship. Equality of citizenship should mean that appointments to high offices, commissions, the Canada Council, et cetera, should also be made from the third element, as has already been partially put into practice.

For example, I believe that the time has come for someone of the third element to grace the office of Governor General and of Lieutenant Governors in some of the provinces. The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, the worst offender,

should have representatives from the third element on the Board of Broadcast Governors and should promote the harmony and unity of all segments of our multicultural society by sponsoring regular weekly programs of the music, songs, dances, dramas, handicrafts and literature of the ethnic groups of the third element on television and radio systems.

The issuance last year of a stamp commemorating Sir Casimir Gzowski, a great Canadian of Polish origin, an outstanding engineer, soldier and educator, should be the beginning of others to follow in the same vein. The multicultural image of Canada should be conveyed in external affairs throughout the multicultural world; exhibits of Canada, embassies, consulates and delegations should have illustrations of the cultural contributions of some of the leading third element groups. I believe it would greatly enhance Canada's prestige in the world if a native Indian, educated in a Canadian university, became a member of a Canadian diplomatic mission. Cultural exchanges between the various groups should be promoted. These are only a few suggestions.

Canada's future and greatness will depend not so much upon the exploitation of her natural resources as upon the proper development of her human resources, both of which we have in variety. If we succeed, and we are well on the road to succeeding, to evolve the pattern of unity in continuing diversity through the application of the principle of Confederation and compromise, this will serve as precedent for other states in the world having similar population and cultural problems. It will be Canada's contribution to the world. I shall venture to go farther. In Canada we have the world in miniature. World peace and order could be achieved if the principles of unity in continuing diversity, brotherhood, compromise and the recognition of the freedom and dignity of in-

dividuals and nations are honestly applied.

So, on the eve of the celebration of the centennial of the Confederation of Canada, let us honour the memory and the deed of the Founding Fathers of our nation. The bronze tablet in the Confederation Chamber of the Legislative building in Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island, most appropriately assesses their immortal work of one hundred years ago in the following words:

> Providence being their guide
> They builded better than they knew.

In these days when our nation is subjected to various stresses and strains, when some express doubts and fears about Canada's future, let us strengthen the moral fibre of our nation by rededicating ourselves to the principles of the Canadian Bill of Rights. Let us always bear in mind the pledge appended to this bill, which was read by Prime Minister John G. Diefenbaker, in the House of Commons, on July 1, 1960:

" I am a Canadian, a free Canadian, free to speak without fear, free to worship God in my own way, free to stand for what I think right, free to oppose what I believe wrong, free to choose those who shall govern my country. This heritage of freedom I pledge to uphold for myself and all mankind."

Fundamentally, we are a Christian and democratic nation. Let us therefore not forget that all men are born in the image of God. Believing in the Fatherhood of God, we also believe in the brotherhood of man and the brotherhood of peoples and nations. Our faith in freedom, equality, justice, co-operation, truth and love as the antidote to tyranny, hate, fear, bigotry, prejudice and discrimination has been the strength that has brought about the maintained Canadian unity, which has produced

peace, progress, prosperity and happiness for Canadian citizens. This faith and work has built a great and dynamic Canada. With continuing mutual understanding and goodwill and adherence to these high principles we will build a greater and more dynamic country. Let us look to Canada's future with faith of our Founding Fathers, of our pioneers of various origins, and of our great leaders.

* * * *

# ON LANGUAGE AND CULTURE

Published in connection with the Second Canadian

Conference on Education, Montreal, March 4 - 8

1962

UKRAINIAN CANADIAN COMMITTEE

Winnipeg -- Manitoba

Appendix 2

# ON LANGUAGE AND CULTURE

Published in connection with the Second Canadian
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UKRAINIAN CANADIAN COMMITTEE
WINNIPEG - MANITOBA
March 1962

## IMPORTANCE OF MOTHER LANGUAGES

It is not uncommon to find people in continental Europe who have a command of several languages. The learning of languages in continental Europe is widely encouraged and to be able to speak with ease in more languages than one is considered a mark of a well-rounded education.

While the learning of languages has lagged on the North American continent it is encouraging to note that of late there has been an increasing awareness of the importance of this medium of human communication and the need of salvaging our language resources from eventual disappearance.

The necessity of preserving the languages of the various ethnic groups is beginning to receive wider recognition.

Important as these practical considerations are, there are, of course, other no less weighty reasons why the knowledge of mother languages is important. These reasons are stated in a convincing and lucid manner by Dr. Geo. W. Simpson, Professor Emeritus of the University of Saskatchewan, in his article on "Why Learn Ukrainian". Taking this language, for example, it is the Liturgical language of the Ukrainian Catholic and the Ukrainian Orthodox Churches, whose adherents comprise 95% of the entire Ukrainian Canadian

community. Similar use may no doubt be claimed by mother languages of many other ethnic groups.

Canada is a multi-cultural nation. In addition to the two major races a sizeable segment of Canada's population is made up of people who came from many lands. They brought with them a priceless treasure of cultural heritage, rich in variety and expressive in its outward manifestations.

This cultural variety which adds to the richness of the Canadian society should be preserved and the most important key to its preservation are the languages. The multi-cultural character of our society was recognized many decades ago by a great Canadian statesman of French origin, Sir Wilfrid Laurier. On one occasion he compared the Canadian society to a beautiful edifice which impressed him so deeply during his visit to London. He referred to the elements that went into the construction of that edifice, they being of marble, granite and oak, all different yet blending in harmony to produce a thing of majestic beauty. Sir Wilfrid expressed the hope that thus also the different elements forming the Canadian nation will preserve their individuality; marble remaining marble, granite remaining granite and oak remaining oak, blending together to produce a unified and vigorous nation.

Decades later similar sentiments were expressed by the present Prime Minister. Speaking in Winnipeg last year he had this to say:

> "I liken Canada to a garden...A mosaic is a static thing with each element separate and divided from others. Canada is not that kind of a country. Neither is it a "melting-pot" in which the individuality of each element is destroyed in order to produce a new and totally different element. It is rather a garden into which have been

transplanted the hardiest and brightest flowers from many lands, each retaining in its new environment the best of the qualities for which it was loved and prized in its native land."

The concept of Canada as a multi-cultural nation is gaining acceptance among leading and objective Canadian citizens and educators. Dr. Wilder Penfield has on occasions stressed the advisability of teaching languages. Dr. P. H. T. Thorlakson, President of the Manitoba Council on Education, in his fine article on "Learning A Second Language" which appeared as a guest editorial in the latest issue of the MANITOBA TEACHER (January-February, 1962) has this to say:

"A step in the right direction was made recently in Manitoba when the provincial government decided to offer courses in the Ukrainian language in the high schools of this province. It is to be hoped that this opportunity and privilege will be extended to include other languages. A broader official recognition would engender a wholesome respect for the language and literature of the many peoples who have contributed substantially to the cultural and economic life of Manitoba over the past century. It would likely encourage parents to conserve for their children this valuable "language potential"."

As Dr. Penfield has often stated the child has a genius for languages and therefore the study of languages should commence at a very early age, preferably in the elementary grades. Besides the major language, English or French, the child should begin the study of its mother tongue. Having had at least rudimentary knowledge in that language learned on its mother's knee it will be able to master the language with comparative ease. It is highly questionable whether there is any real purpose in teaching

the child a language which it will not be able to utilize and might eventually forget because of environment and lack of its own cultural hinterland. It is far better to acquire the knowledge of one's own mother tongue in addition to one of the major languages as the mother language will in all probability have its own cultural hinterland without which it cannot hope to survive.

Let us strive to master as many languages as our linguistic capabilities will permit. Let us be bilingual and trilingual. But whatever the limitations we should at least be bilingual by mastering either English or French and the mother tongue, which is the basis of the cultural heritages, the legacy of our many ethnic groups, a legacy which is also Canada's, for we are all Canadians.

The Canadian Conference on Education will show commendable foresight by meeting this challenge and by providing leadership in stimulating and promoting interest in the revival of what Dr. Thorlakson rightly calls "this valuable language potential".

## OUR CULTURAL PLURALISM

These are momentous years in the history of the world. Nations, young and old, are fighting for a place under the sun. Benevolent empires, like the British Empire, are changing into Commonwealth states. Submerged and long forgotten nations are coming back to life after years of political and cultural hibernation. New peoples have taken up arms in defiance of the whole world - and are ready to sacrifice all, even their freedom, to attain statehood... Revolutions, cold wars, hot wars are the order of the day... And high above this seething cauldron of peoples and nations circle, in ever-widening spiral, the hungry vultures croaking

our doom. Hungry vultures! The birds of evil-omen personified in the powerful dictatorships and communist empires, so vast that their very presence sends chills down the spine of the Western hemisphere and makes some of our Western statesmen forget the meaning and the value of those basic freedoms that they have pledged so solemnly to defend.

The Western World needs not only great strength in arms but even greater strength in spirit and in cosmopolitan mind... Canada is a young nation, a brave nation, full of life and vitality. It is a free nation and, as such, it can, and it should, set pace by formulating and re-affirming to the whole world the ideology that should form the bases of our democratic institutions and of the many freedoms we enjoy.

With these ponderous thoughts in mind we present the treatise dealing with the place and the role of ethnic cultures in the growth and the development of Canadian culture.

It is the aim of this brief review to discuss some of the fundamental principles on which Canadian culture should be based, and to point out some of the deficiencies.

We consider that the oft-repeated statement that Canada is a young nation and, in consequence, has very little in the realm of culture that can be called its very own and truly Canadian, is not true. On the contrary we believe that Canada has a wonderful store of cultural heritage that she inherited from the many ethnic groups which form our dynamic, although varied, population.

Furthermore we wish to draw attention to the fact that the inherent cultural values brought to Canada by these various groups had been given the status of citizenship when the duties, the rights and the privileges of civic citizenship were bestowed on them through naturalization or birth. For

how can it be otherwise when it is a well known fact that no person or group can be stripped or dissociated from his inherent cultural values and background.

Even those whose ancestry dates back to the early days of the Canadian history have been handed from generation to generation the great educational, literary and traditional values and, by preserving them, have enriched Canada to an extent that is only commensurable by its fine spiritual growth and democratic development.

In consequence, we conclude that an individual and his inherent cultural self are inseparable; hence, each and every cultural value representative of any Canadian group is, an integral part of the Canadian culture.

This leads us to the analysis of the concept of the plurality of cultures. There are those who maintain that cultural pluralism is an unique Canadian national and social phenomenon and that its complexity has an adverse effect on the healthy growth of the distinctive Canadian culture. It is our contention that both of these major premises are not based on fact and, therefore, lead to false conclusions.

Those who take the trouble to study objectively the history and the growth of any so called "distinctive national" culture must admit that every national culture is the sum total of many different cultural addends interrelated with those exponents of the said culture that may be termed truly unique and distinctive.

Hence the plurality of cultures is a common feature, to a lesser or a greater extent, of all national cultures. And Canada is no exception to the rule.

To argue that cultural plurality has an adverse effect on the healthy growth and development of the Canadian culture is detrimental to the best interests of Canada since

such arguments can only be based on the old, out-moded and unrealistic theory of "balkanization" of Canadian culture and on hysterical fear, pride and prejudice.

Our present day system of preserving and disseminating cultural values includes such potent factors as the public and the secondary school systems, the university, the press, the radio and television and the myriad daily labour and social contacts that constitute those powerful integrating forces which bring the cultural values to a common Anglo-Saxon denominator in all of Canada, with the exception of Quebec, where the cultural trends are predominantly French Canadian... However, the other ethnic groups have a veritable treasure-house of literature, music, folklore, dances and many fine traditions. These addends serve them not only spiritually, esthetically and intellectually but also complete to the fullest extent of the cultural needs and bring out the finest and the strongest traits of character that a well-bred, intelligent and a cultured Canadian should have.

There is one other very important point of view that should be taken into serious consideration. Any cultural exponent that has a potential value for instilling, directly or indirectly, an awareness of the virtues of our democratic institutions deserves our whole hearted support. Any cultural exponent, that helps to instill in the mind of a child and of an adult the truism that the concept of our many freedoms must be nurtured, taught, perpetuated and defended against the insidious subversion, deserves the support of those Canadian institutions that have been given the responsibility for the development of the Canadian culture. In our composite society, with its rich but diverse cultural background, we should not only allow the existence

of the so called ethnic cultures but give them the needed aid and opportunity for a healthy effective growth.

For we should ever keep in mind that the ultimate educational value of any cultural exponent can only be measured by the extent of the service it renders our Canadian community. And finally let us recall the following excerpt from an inaugural address made by a Citizenship Court Judge to new citizens:

> "This nation has been enriched by the loyalty and sacrifice of persons who have come from many lands and traditions. To each, this nation has given a chance to live and grow and share in the common wealth. From each, Canada has accepted the gifts of different cultures and made them into an enduring heritage. From sea to sea, this rich inheritance is yours, as it is mine, because we are Canadian."

# B R I E F

on

Radio Television and Films

in

C A N A D A

Presented by the official representatives
of the ethnic groups in Canada

O T T A W A, 1 9 6 2

A p p e n d i x 3

Brief on Radio, Television and Film in Canada

I N D E X

# P r e a m b l e

A group of Canadian Poles,

The Ukrainian Canadian Committee,

A group of German-Canadian Associations,

A group of Italian-Canadian Associations,

The national committees of Estonians, Hungarians, Lithuanians, Netherlanders, Portuguese, Rumanians, Slovaks

in Canada, respectfully submit for the attention of the Prime Minister of Canada, members of the Federal Government, Senators, Members of the House of Commons, the Canada Council, the Board of Broadcast Governors, the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, the National Film Board and the Association of private radio and television broadcasters, the following brief:

There live in Canada, in a total population of more than 18 millions, more than four million citizens who belong to the minority ethnic groups, and who are commonly though incorrectly called New Canadians. This is an improper term because it refers to citizens possessing the same individual rights under the law, either through naturalization or by birth - as their fellow citizens of English or French origin.

These four million Canadians have found their true country in the free land that is Canada. They widely enjoy the privileges granted by law, they are jealous of their civil liberties, but at the same time they assume and are ready to assume at all times all the duties flowing from their citizenship, their patriotism and their deep attachement to the Canadian nation. These Canadians have cleared the prairie lands, they have sown the pure gold that gives the prairies their beauty and glory, they have helped transform the Niagara peninsula into a fragrant orchard, they have built from scratch magnificent ranches, they have contributed in the discovery and exploitation of our underground wealth, they have worked hard in the building of roads and railways, they have founded industries, developed commerce, and given their country scholars, specialists and professionals, they have helped raise the standards of teaching and education, they have helped found and develop many Canadian towns and cities. These Canadians pay taxes to the federal, provincial and municipal governments of Canada; in war time they have served - proportionately more than the other Canadians - and are always ready to serve in the vanguard of danger to protect a great, free, and independent Canadian nation.

When these Canadians came to Canada, they found a Confederation built upon an agreement between the two founding groups - the Anglo-Saxon and the French. They were happy to come to a free country where, for the common good, there co-existed two great and noble cultures, two glorious historical traditions, two languages - which are the languages of universal civilizations.

These Canadians have grown their roots in Canada. They have adopted both the official languages, or at least one of the two. They have made the two cultures their own, while keeping and enriching their own national cultures. They have been able to develop in a quite unique climate of liberty and respect for human dignity.

These Canadians did not come to Canada with empty hands, and they have the legitimate desire to share what they have with other Canadians. They wish indeed, to enrich their country with their own spiritual values, their own precious national traditions, their culture and experience, which already in the past made for the greatness and glory of old Europe.

These Canadians see Canada - bi-cultural, bilingual, but basically multi ethnic - as something of a magic garden, in which each flower can bloom in harmony, so as to make of this country the most fertile ground for human collaboration. They hope with all their heart that Canada could realize this extraordinary destiny, uniquely hers, which has been dictated by a combination of migrations and traditional generosity. This extraordinary destiny, however, can only be fulfilled by a continuing collaboration of all the citizens of the Confederation, Anglo-Saxon, French and Canadians of all other origins.

The existence of over four million Canadians of non-British or French origin poses a number of problems. There are a great number of obstacles to their natural integration. Often enough their attempts to contribute something from their national traditions is hindered by the misunderstanding or fear of their Anglo-French co-citizens. On the other hand, there is the danger that too rigid and narrow a conservation of national characteristics will keep certain groups apart from the main flow of Canadian life and create artificial ghettos. The difficulties some of the newcomers experience in adapting themselves to Canadian life are compounded by the problems created by their relations with their own Canadian born children.

Dialogue between these four million Canadians and their Anglo-French fellow citizens is never very easy. The former are not always properly informed about Canadian problems, and the latter are sometimes totally ignorant about the origin and worth of these people whom they nevertheless invited, through their government, to share a Canadian life.

This situation, however, is paradoxical in a century in which so many of the means of mass communication are in the hands of public authorities, of private interests, and available to the mass of people who are ever more eager to know, to learn, and to understand.

So it is that the representatives of the undersigned, who represent the vast majority of Canadians of Dutch, Estonian, German, Hungarian, Polish, Portuguese, Rumanian, Slovak and Ukrainian extraction request that in the very interests of Canada as well as the ethnic groups, there be created a system in which they can fully participate in the activities of the public and private organs of Radio, Television and Film. This brief has been prepared to demonstrate the need for such a contribution by the ethnic groups to Canadian life, and to specify the terms of such a participation in Radio, Television and Films.

## Chapter 1.

## Official Policy Directed Towards the Integration of the Ethnic Groups with Canadian Life

In their many statements to ethnic groups over the years, two Canadian Prime Ministers, Mr. John Diefenbaker and Mr. Louis St. Laurent, and the late Governor-General of Canada, Lord Tweedsmuir said this is substance: "Be yourselves, and you will be good Canadians". In putting it this way, these distinguished statesmen perhaps wanted to point out their distaste for those who wished to deny their ancestry; above all, however, it seems that they were encouraging all those who would develop their national qualities so as to contribute to Canada not only the fruit of their labors but also the fruit of their spirit and traditions.

Those two distinguished Canadians who were first to become their country's Governors-General, Mr. Vincent Massey and Mr. George Vanier have also underlined the equality before the law of all Canadians, whatever their origin.

All Canadian parties, federal and provincial, subscribe to this view, as in the past year they have stressed over and again. It is enough to recall statements by Mr. Paul Martin in Windsor, Mr. Lester Pearson in Toronto, Mr. T. D. Douglas in Ottawa, and Mr. R. N. Thompson, also in Ottawa. The views of Prime Minister Diefenbaker are similar and they also express clearly the official government attitude. In a speech given in Winnipeg the Prime Minister stated:

"I liken Canada to a garden...A mosaic is a static thing with each element separate and divided from others. Canada is not that kind of a country. Neither is it a 'melting-pot' in which the individuality of each element is destroyed in order to produce a new and totally different element. It is rather a garden into which have been transplanted the hardiest and brightest flowers from many lands, each retaining in its new environment the best of the qualities for which it was loved and prized in its native land."

And then, expressing the official attitude of French Canada, as a member of the Province of Quebec government, Mr. Georges-Emile Lapalme, Attorney-General and Minister for Cultural Affairs, stated the following in Montreal, in January, 1962:

"If French Canadians have persisted in keeping their traditions, then they could hardly do otherwise than to ask the minorities to keep theirs, and their language... French Canadians have been reproached for closing themselves within their boundaries" the Attorney-General continued, in his speech to one of the ethnic groups. "Well, I invite you to mingle even more with the Quebec population; you are welcome. In keeping your traditions, you will be at the same time perfect Canadians."

Commenting on this speech by Mr. Lapalme, an editorial writer for America's greatest French language paper, Mr. Alfred Ayotte, wrote: "In the past, we have kept too much apart from New Canadians; today, we have a long time and a long road to make up".

Distinguished Canadians such as Dr. Watson Kirkconnell, Dr. Wilder Penfield, Dr. G. W. Simpson, Dr. P. H. Thorlakson, have often spoken in the same way. Once again we will quote, now from the inaugural address made by a judge of the Citizenship Court, following the distribution of certificates to new Canadian citizens:

"This nation has been enriched by the loyalty and sacrifice of persons who have come from many lands and traditions. To each, this nation has given a chance to live and grow and share in the common wealth. From each, Canada has accepted the gifts of different cultures and made them into an enduring heritage. From sea to sea, this rich inheritance is yours, as it is mine, because we are Canadians".

Coming from Canadians who are leaders in their fields, these statements constitute a basic doctrine aiming at the creation or unity through diversity. It is a marvellous program, rich in its consequences, and the Canadian ethnic groups have accepted it with enthusiasm. Against the policy of the American melting pot, which is even weakening in the United States to judge from recent statements in Washington, Canada has happily adopted the more profitable policy of national integration.

In everyday life, in the economic and labour fields, the ethnic groups have become totally integrated; but we cannot acknowledge the same of Canadian social and cultural life, where integration has been far slower and much more difficult.

Given Canada's population of 18 millions, and the fact that the problem of integration concerns nearly a quarter of this figure, it will be readily seen that we have here a problem of national scope which no Canadian can afford to ignore.

This being so, generalities will no longer do. The ethnic groups will not be the playthings of rival political parties. Human problems must be dealt with on the human level. To resolve the problem of spiritual and cultural integration there must be wide debate and discussion.

Radio, Television and the Film are the modern means of mass communication; it is these organs which must be used as platforms for discussion, as vehicles for exchanges that are essential to the unification of the Canadian people.

As the Prime Minister has said: "History will judge each nation according to the efforts it will have made to eradicate all injustices and all discrimination in the relations between human beings, as much between fellow citizens as with foreigners".

## Chapter 2.

## The Public Sector of Radio and Television Broadcasting Belongs to all Canadian Citizens and Tax-payers

First of all, contact between Canadian citizens of all origins must be made by means of public radio and television broadcasting, that is through the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. The CBC is, indeed, a Crown Corporation, and as such belongs to all citizens and tax payers. It is, then, wholly fair and reasonable to claim that the CBC must also serve the interests of the ethnic quarter of the Canadian population by exclusive means, of course, of the two official languages.

The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation currently operates six radio and television networks:

Two English Radio networks (Soon to be merged),
One French Radio network,
One English Television network,
One French Television network,
One English-French FM Radio network,
as well as the private local affiliated stations.

According to the rules laid down by the Board of Broadcast Governors, programs in the public sector must be 55% Canadian in content, and must address themselves to the whole body of listeners and viewers.

The President of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, Mr. Alphonse Ouimet, has on several occasions explained the principle that while the totality of Corporation programming must be directed to all listeners and viewers, naturally each individual broadcast is directed towards only a certain portion of the public. This is certainly a perfectly logical maxim since the whole population does not belong to one social group, does not share the same opinions, the same intellectual levels or have the same tastes and interests. Hence the diversity of transmissions which in general are carefully prepared, and adequately adapted to the mentality of Canadian of Anglo-Saxon and French origin.

However, the interests and preoccupations of almost a quarter of Canada's population are almost totally ignored by the C. B. C. program organizers. Arguments to support this unconcern can be summed up in the following way:

1. All cultural broadcasts (music, dance, plays and conferences); almost all educational programs (for children, youth and adults); all entertainment (variety shows, movies and sports); anything concerning information; all these have so universal a character that they are directed to the whole listening public and not to any particular sector of it.

In this area, it is said, the interests of the ethnic groups coincide exactly with all others.

2. Ethnic groups are divided into so many individual nationalities that any program devoted to one of them would reach only a fractional portion of the listening public.

3. Ethnic groups, most of them from old Europe, are wracked by controversial problems which, if touched on in radio or television broadcasts would likely provoke unnecessary and damaging quarrels harming not only peace in the country but the interests of the C. B. C. as well,

4. Finally, members of the ethnic groups, who are actual or potential Canadian citizens, should not dwell with the past but turn resolutely towards the future, and occupy themselves exclusively with purely Canadian problems, rather than the problems of their own national ghetto.

So, according to this argument, listeners and viewers from an ethnic group should content themselves with a passive absorption of Canada, to live in tune with the times and their new country.

On first sight, these arguments appear to be perfectly pertinent, but a closer analysis will show them to be specious.

First of all, they go against the very provisions and declarations of the Board of Broadcast Governors and the President of the C. B. C., since the programs prepared by this Crown Corporation totally ignore the immediate interests of the Canadian population.

Neither do these arguments correspond with the doctrine of natural integration within the Canadian state, since the delicate business of developing co-existence between the ethnic groups with one or both of the founding groups of Confederation should not be a one way affair. Indeed, to feel truly at home in this country, the candidate for integration needs as much to receive as to give.

As we have already said, the immigrant who establishes himself in Canada, does not come with empty hands. He has a country of origin, and he belongs to an ethnic community that is sharply defined. So he brings with himself not only his knowledge, his capacity to work and sometimes his capital, but also a cultural tradition which in many cases is of priceless value to his new country. Should Canada reject this contribution, or remain perfectly indifferent to it, then the immigrant will tend to turn on himself and live in a vaccum to no profit either to himself or to society in general.

The Canadian coming from a non-British or French country has to face a mass of problems springing from adaptation to his environment, including above all the question of education and the consequent problem of maintaining family cohesion. In all fairness, his Anglo-Saxon and French fellow citizens can hardly impose on him a ready made solution without having even tried to take stock of his grievances.

A recent arrival, when he adapts quickly, may well want to marry into an English or French Canadian family - and this is quite frequent. Then again, on the level of schools or work, the minority group Canadian is not isolated from his Anglo-French fellow citizens. Friendships are made and fruitful exchanges are established on the personal and human level. So the number of Canadians interested in the ethnic groups must be close to half the population.

This being the case, the arguments invoked above excluding the ethnic groups in radio and television programming fall to the ground.

In the area of broadcasts of a universal character, much more could be done in music, literature, the arts, theatre and variety shows to give a wider view of the contributions and activities of the ethnic groups. Even in sports more attention could be given to the achievements of new Canadian teams, or to the extraordinary integration of certain ethnic athletes in some of the great national sports. Finally in the area of general information, more attention could be given to the activities of ethnic groups, and to events in their countries of origin; at the same time radio-television panels and programs of comment could certainly reflect from time to time the opinions of Canadians on national and international questions which concern them particularly deeply and directly.

The problem posed by the scattered nature of the ethnic groups boils down to a simple choice. It is evident that the C. B. C. should firmly put aside any material dealing with demonstrations or events concerning ethnic groups that occur on a purely local level, just as C. B. C. programs ignore Anglo-French activities taking place before small crowds in small localities.

As for the notion that broadcasts concerning ethnic groups could provoke controversies damaging to public peace, we have here an argument that cannot stand up; it could be just as easy to set groups of Anglo-French listeners against each other by broadcasting tendentious material on historical or religious subjects or in reporting on current events. And then again, the world knows that there are useful controversies which are mentally and emotionally stimulating, and which certainly lead to a development of cultural values; there are also useless controversies which would without purpose or spitefully hurt the national pride of an ethnic group, and harm individuals belonging to such a group.

The last argument concerning the tendency of new citizens to turn back to the past is no stronger. It is surely quite natural that a human being should go through a period of self-examination - whether personal or national - before settling down to living in the present and tackling the future. Neither of the two Canadian founding groups can escape this rule; what is good for them must be even better for their fellow citizens from other origins. It can be noted again that all Canadians, whatever their origin, can only profit from sharing their rich historical experience.

So to sum up, the fact that the C. B. C. ignores the interest of a quarter - and sometimes even a half - of the Canadian population, with only a few rare episodic broadcasts goes not only against official stated policy, but also against the logic of life itself.

Canadians belonging to ethnic groups are citizens on par, they pay their taxes like everyone else, and they feel that their claims should be taken into consideration particularly in the case of the public sector of radio and television broadcasting, which depends for its existence on public moneys.

## Chapter 3.

## Adaptation of Radio and Television Programmes in the Public Sector to the Needs of the Ethnic Groups

The considerations contained in the previous chapter lead us now to face the need for including in C. B. C. English and French network programming broadcasts that take account of the existence and needs of the Canadian ethnic groups and which would encourage contacts and cultural exchanges between all Canadian citizens.

This is an imperative for Canada. However odd it may seem, cultural exchanges with foreign countries are carried on easily, whereas within Canada there is no cultural cohesion and the ethnic groups remain foreign or even hostile to each other.

If in certain cases we can look forward to completely special programs devoted to the ethnic groups, a spirit of enlightened Canadianism would require them to be a reflection of Canadian life in its entirety, never detached from a general cultural context, and always designed to evoke an essentially human interest.

The adaptation of C. B. C. programs to the needs of a quarter of the Canadian population should not be understood to mean any upheaval in the present system. It is rather a question of extending, rationalizing and enriching programming along the following lines.

1. The Area of General Culture - In the general cultural programs of the C. B. C., an important place should be given to the music, literature, history, theatre, and art of the peoples who provided Canada with the immigrants who formed the present ethnic groups. Thus an immense source of new ideas would be at the disposal of program planners. Such programs would also help raise the prestige of the ethnic groups, permitting them to show something of their true character to their Anglo-French fellow citizens.

In many cases the spiritual treasures of the ethnic groups are badly or not at all known; programs designed to reflect them would be revelations which would at the same time enrich the cultural heritage of Canada as a whole. There is absolutely no good reason limiting theatrical programs, for example, to the works of Dostoievsky, Checkov, or Pirandello, when there are hundreds of classics and authors of great merit, German, Spanish, Hungarian, Italian, Polish, Rumanian, Russian, Scandinavian, Czech and Ukrainian, that remain wholly unknown. It is the same in the realm of music, art, and literature. And why not at the same time raise the horizons of the Canadian people by designing radio and television programs on the history of culture, devoted to the minority groups of Canada who are not foreigners but Canadians? We have here an inexhaustible fund of subjects. In this way Canada could become the first country in the world to fulfill a grandiose program of human collaboration and understanding, based on a truly universal culture. Canadian broadcasting would thus differ radically

from that of our American neighbors. The danger of Americanisation would be greatly lessened by such a forward looking and progressive policy.

2. Every-day Life - Canadians from the ethnic groups live the same day-to-day life as other Canadians. They participate in all the same activities, they have an important place in the labor world, in business and finance; they play their role in the running of industry and trade, in Canadian political, economic and social life. Their children attend primary and secondary schools, technical institutions and universities. So, in all its levels, they live the life of Canada. Consequently their problems, even when they are sometimes special ones, are problems of the Canadian community in general. So these Canadians should play an ever greater part in public affairs broadcasts devoted to current Canadian problems. To resolve their many problems, they should be known to the general public. Their opinions on the great problems of international affairs should be considered - because they are based on a real, and often unhappy, experience. True democracy should always adjust itself so that all groups of citizens should at all times be able to give voice to their thoughts. The Canadian minorities will not become true partners in everyday life if they are excluded. At the same time, listening to them does not mean adopting their point of view. Canada being a free country, the rights of the majority remain inalienable, so long, that is, as the minority retains its right to make its objections.

3. Educational broadcasts for children and youth - Special attention has to be given to the working out of programs for children and adolescents. Indeed it is a question of inculcating a real sense of collaboration between men and peoples, while entertaining them. This applies to all young Canadians whatever their origin. For children of the minority groups, it is a question of reinforcing a feeling of pride for the country of origin of their parents, which would help strengthen family ties. Stories, legends, heroic tales drawn from the great heritage of the ethnic groups could be marvellous subjects for all the youth of the country. Care should also be taken that this type of program never becomes propaganda for regimes condemned by the vast majority of the Canadian population. These programs should be positive, educational; they should avoid all political controversy which children would have difficulty in interpreting.

4. The Canada of tomorrow - Canada is still evolving; it is a country still searching for itself, still forming itself. Many radio and television programs are devoted to these thorny questions, but how can we sincerely hope to find the answers by excluding the voice of a quarter of the Canadian population.

5. Publicizing information about Canada - In the context of world history Canada remains a young country. It is relatively unknown abroad, and it is just as unknown to its own people. Special programs should be devoted by the CBC to what is in fact a pressing current problem. These programs would profit not only the newer Canadians but also those who have been in Canada for several generations. General history, political history, the history of our institutions, our geography, and potential natural wealth: all these subjects should be methodically presented over the national radio and television networks.

6. Special programs for the ethnic groups - C. B. C. programming should also envisage two or three half-hour weekly programs on all the networks directly to the ethnic groups as such. These programs should contain news, comment and even variety shows concerning the minorities. This would stimulate the minorities and encourage them to participate more directly in CBC broadcasts.

So it is that there is a great need to undertake a deep reform in C. B. C. programming so as to bring into active participation in the life of Canada a quarter of its population which up to now has been ignored or even deliberately kept aside.

## Chapter 4.

## Adaptation of Radio and Television Programmes in the Private Sector to the Needs of the Ethnic Groups

The private sector of Canadian radio and television is operated by a considerable number of private companies, grouped together in the Canadian Association of Broadcasters, under the control of the Board of Broadcast Governors. The latter issues licenses to the private stations and makes rules and recommendations on program content. Here again the aim is 55% of Canadian content.

The private stations depend to a great extent on the normal Canadian market, that is to say, on the law of demand and supply, as much in the choice of programs as in their business relations with the advertisers. The latter, to be sure, have their word to say since they require, according to the products advertised, such and such a program. Hence the importance of surveys of listening habits and the classification of listeners according to age, sex, occupation and even nationality.

This being so programming of private broadcasters must still satisfy the requirements laid down by the Board of Broadcast Governors. So, despite the fact that these stations depend on the local market, they cannot repudiate their responsibility to provide a public service. Hence, they must adapt their programs in such a way as to give satisfaction to the population they serve.

Now it is a fact that private broadcasters, like the public system, have so it seems ignored the existence of the minority groups, and this even in localities and regions in which these groups are in the majority.

Consequently it is perfectly logical that the reforms suggested in the previous chapters for the CBC be studied and considered by the owners of the private stations. The latter could even extend the scope of the recommendations by preparing programs reflecting the purely local activities of the ethnic groups.

The views put forward in this brief should also be considered by the advertising officials of the large corporations which sponsor programs in both the private sector and in the C. B. C.

It should be recalled that members of the ethnic groups are far from being economically weak. They are consumers like other Canadians. Most ethnic group families have a house and car, and most have a good credit record. Most of them buy the same food and other household products as other Canadians; they buy the same clothes, use the same services, and amuse and develop themselves in the same way.

The large Canadian companies which place German, Italian, Polish or Ukrainian language advertisements in English or French language papers do so for a good reason. It would be perfectly logical to extend this policy and adapt it to radio and television; they could do so by sponsoring these programs which try to promote among the ethnic groups a more enlightened Canadianism, which will lead them towards a greater involvement in the daily life of the country.

Owners of the private stations should consider this special market and adapt their programs accordingly.

Here again, as in the great majority of cases, only the two official languages should be used in these programs.

Still, in this matter of the use of ethnic group languages to recall that the Board of Broadcast Governors took a decision in January, 1962 which envisaged the granting of special licenses for broadcasting in foreign languages by private stations located in areas in which ethnic groups had a population of 150 to 200 thousand persons.

By virtue of this decision, a multi-lingual radio station will soon be opened in Montreal. Another will probably be set up soon in Toronto, as well as stations in the Canadian west, conforming to B. B. G. regulations.

This new policy will certainly give satisfaction to the ethnic groups which would like to hear their own languages in this country. This policy also ties in with a growing tendency, and excellent one too, to take advantage of the linguistic reserves in Canada. It would allow the newly arrived immigrant, who may understand no French or English, to pass over more easily the early steps of adaptation.

This development will, when all is said and done, facilitate the integration of the immigrant in his environment, and for this alone deserves high praise.

However, the decision of the Board of Broadcast Governors does not solve the problem of cultural exchange and contacts, which can only be carried out in the two languages of the majority of the population. The solution of this problem remains the basic condition for the successful integration of the minority groups in Canadian life.

It is to facilitate this aim that we have made our recommendations to the private stations and sponsors. In carrying them out they have a magnificently wide opportunity, and difficult task to fulfill, but one which will give them the satisfaction of helping build a greater nation.

## Chapter 5.

## Adaptation of National Film Board Activities to the Needs of the Ethnic Groups

In a brief devoted to the participation of the ethnic groups in the work of radio and television, it is impossible to omit the question of the state film industry.

The National Film Board (NFB) has as its main task the production of films to be screened throughout the country in movie theatres, religious, social and school auditoriums as well as for television; these films are exported as well and they become, whether presented in foreign theatres or television, witnesses to the Canada of today.

The NFB's films reflect all aspects of the country and the life that is lived in it; they reflect the development of industry, trade, science, art and culture in Canada; they are a faithful record of great national and international current events for future generations; they are documentaries on different parts of the world as seen by Canadians.

The National Film Board, as a publicly owned organization, belongs to all Canadian citizens and tax payers.

To take up the arguments already put forward in the preceeding chapters of this brief, we believe it to be fair and logical that Canadians belonging to the ethnic groups should not be excluded from the activities and production of the NFB.

In as much as the programming is similar to the C. B. C's, the suggestions made in the preceeding chapters apply as well to the NFB, which would not fail to profit from the inventive talents, traditions and experience of competent persons belonging to the ethnic groups.

Film production has a more durable nature than radio and television production. Film libraries are established, since like the book, the disk and the magnetic tape, film is a precious record of our times.

It would be a pity if the minority groups, who are making a contribution enriching Canadian life and culture, should be kept to one side in the matter of film production. Without their participation, the picture of Canada today can only be imperfect and false.

It should certainly be recognized that NFB has already produced a number of films devoted to the ethnic groups. Some of these films have been interesting successes. Their fault is a tendency to linger on the folklore, the exotic and curious side of the minorities.

The latter, however, are something else; they would want their memories of their beginnings in Canada to have to do with the work, the daily life, to the trials and joys which marked the early days of their settling in Canada. These minorities would want film also to open up the necessary dialogue with their fellow citizens; they would want film to be a witness to their active contribution in the building of the Canada of tomorrow.

Through film, the ethnic groups want to be presented to the world as Canadians, proud of their origins but proud also of their new country, which is a magnificent example of human solidarity and co-operation.

## Chapter 6.

## The Board of Broadcast Governors

The Board of Broadcast Governors is the supreme governing body of Canadian Radio and Television, both public and private.

This body, established by the broadcasting act, sets general program policy, enacts the regulations, issues broadcast permits, settles disputes and oversees the strict carrying out of the principles and articles of the law.

It is an independent body, free from government control, which serves no party, no economic, national, social or religious group; it is, in the realm of radio and television, a court and a legislature.

This body is nevertheless one that represents the great Canadian family. As such, it is strange that about a quarter of the population is without representation on this body which is of such great importance to the spiritual and cultural development of Canada. And still such representatives, while remaining as independent and free as the other governors, would have the required knowledge and necessary experience to help give Canadian radio and television a truly pan-Canadian character.

We are quite aware of the fact that it will not be easy to promote this pan-Canadian view. There are a number of obstacles, and they will have to be smoothed over, constructive solutions will have to be found to put in effect the doctrine of "unity in diversity" which was discussed in Chapter 1 of this brief.

The presence of representatives of the ethnic groups in the Board of Broadcast Governors will not only be valuable but also indispensable. These representatives should be chosen from among persons known for their objectivity, their humanity, and their capacity to rise above selfish and narrow interests of their own minority group.

## Chapter 7.

## The Ethnic Groups Subscribe to the Fundamental Principles of Canadian Broadcasting

In most countries belonging to the British Commonwealth, official broadcasting is objective, impartial, prudent and completely free from political parties as well as economic, national, social or religious groupings. In its wisdom, the Canadian people have completely taken over these basic principles.

In theory, these principles govern the whole public sector of Canadian broadcasting. The C. B. C. observes the rule of balance, and gives the established political parties and large groups 'equal time' and fair treatment.

As a corollary to these principles, the parties and other groupings exercise no kind of influence or pressure on the Crown Corporation, appealing disputes and problems of competition to the Board of Broadcast Governors for arbitration.

The administration of the CBC submits itself to the broadcasting act and to the general directives of the BBG in determining its program policy. Finally, the CBC is responsible to the whole of the Canadian people, and consequently to its legal representatives, the Parliament of Canada.

In practice, this ideal system does not always work out ideally. This failure is a function of the weaknesses of those charged with carrying out their duties, a function of their own particular tendencies; but the system is, nevertheless, a brake and a safeguard protecting public broadcasting from all sorts of pitfalls.

The ethnic groups attach considerable importance to the maintenance of the fundamental principles of independence, impartiality, objectivity and prudence governing Canadian radio and television broadcasting.

First of all they believe that these principles justify their claims. For how is it possible for radio and television broadcasting to conserve its independence, its objectivity, its impartiality and its prudence if a quarter of the total population of the country is completely excluded from the factors to be placed in balance?

The ethnic groups believe also that the broadcasting principles make it possible to avoid many misunderstandings and no fewer conflicts. Indeed, the very existence of these principles provide an opportunity to refute in advance any major objections which will certainly be raised against the participation of ethnic groups by their adversaries.

The first objection - which we have already noted, concerns the possibility of conflicts provoked by differing opinions or by the raising of old controversies which divided the old countries of the parents or ancestors of established minority Canadians. However, the strict observance of the above mentioned principles would completely rule out the hatching of such conflicts. As for the second objection, we have to do here with possible pressures exercised by certain bodies on the internal affairs of the Corporation. Here again, the principles laid down would intervene to protect the Crown Corporation from outside influences, be they good or evil.

The ethnic groups subscribe wholeheartedly to these broadcast principles. Their undersigned representatives are not the least interested in upsetting the existing system of radio and television. They simply ask that justice be done, and that a quarter of the Canadian population be associated to the life and development of radio broadcasting.

The ethnic representatives are resolved that the suggested broadcasts, like those that already are put on the air, be protected by the wisdom of a system which has already shown its worth.

## Chapter 8.

## Concrete Plan of the Ethnic Groups on their Participation in Radio, Television and Film Industry of Canada

### - General Points -

The undersigned representatives of the Canadian minority groups claim the part is theirs in the work of radio and television broadcasting and in the National Film Board.

The participation in the expansion of an essential area of our national life should not be merely a passive one. By this we mean that the ethnic groups should not merely be an object of concern by broadcasters and the NFB. They should, indeed, be called to take part in the responsibilities, the working out and production of programs.

A concrete plan should be established. It can be gradually applied, but it must clearly associate a quarter of the country's population to the work of radio and television broadcasting and the National Film Board.

### A. Key Positions.

In the first place, the undersigned representatives of the ethnic groups believe it their duty to claim key positions for their groups. They do not expect to succeed in their objectives by outside pressures on a broadcasting system and a film board that are independent by definition. It is in participating within the system that they hope to extend and improve it.

Citizens belonging to the minorities are citizens with full rights like other Canadians, who can and should occupy responsible positions controlling official broadcasting and film making in Canada. It is in the controlling bodies themselves that decisions have to be taken to lead the ethnic groups to take an active part in the programs mentioned in the preceeding chapters of this brief.

Hence, the first concrete measure that could be taken by the authorities would be to name personalities belonging to the ethnic groups to the Board of Broadcast Governors, to the administration of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation and to the administration of the National Film Board.

Board of Broadcast Governors - Three new Governors should be associated with the work of this body, according, for instance, to the following divisions: a member each from German, Latin and Slav groups.

Their presence in the BBG would enlarge the view of this supreme broadcast body. Their advice would be invaluable in establishing a policy of general programming, for the working out of regulations relating to the interests of the whole population of the country and for the issuing of licenses to private stations. They would also have the necessary competence to define the standards to be observed by the private stations serving ethnic groups.

Board of Directors of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation -

At least two representatives of the ethnic groups should be represented as directors of the CBC. The Crown Corporation is a creature of Canadian taxpayers, and it is quite natural the minorities should also have their say in an area concerning the use of public moneys.

Administration of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation - Two persons from the ethnic groups should take part in the running of the CBC. The first, with the title of vice-president and director, should direct the general programming concerning the minority groups, carry out such programming over one or the other of the two language networks, English or French, and to supervise the services created by the new policy. The second, a director only, should carry out the programming in the other language network and supervise the new service.

These two directors should be chosen from among persons competent to discharge their duties. It is a question here of two key positions required to put in effect plans proposed by the undersigned representatives of the ethnic groups.

These directors will first have to find a middle ground in co-ordinating the needs of the minorities with the requirements of the majority. They will have to recruit and supervise new competent and specialized personnel and inform certain already existing services about the presentation of programs directly or indirectly concerning the ethnic groups.

The basic task of these directors would be to direct the dialogue and guide the exchanges between the minority groups and their fellow citizens from the two major peoples of Canada.

Administration of the National Film Board - Finally, two directors belonging to the minority groups should also be appointed to the administration of the National Film Board. Their functions would generally resemble those outlined in the preceeding paragraph.

B. Main Phases of the Plan

The progressive application of the plan proposed by the undersigned representatives of the ethnic groups would require an increase in personnel. This would call for a detailed special study which is beyond the scope of this brief. This brief will simply give a cursory view of the problem.

In the first step of putting the plan into effect, programs devoted to the minorities, concerned with cultural exchanges and finally those concerned with beginning a dialogue with the majority groups, can be produced completely within the context of present programming and with the present personnel of the CBC, without any additions to staff other than supervisors familiar with ethnic problems in Canada.

In the second step, special producers attached to existing services could be appointed, particularly those to be concerned with radio and television theatre and musical and educational programs.

In the third step, new autonomous services would be created for the ethnic groups for each language network. These services would naturally collaborate with existing ones.

In this last phase of implementing the plan, there will be a call on the artistic resources of the minorities, to encourage the formation of authentic Canadian artists of ethnic origin.

Naturally, the participation of the ethnic groups should not be limited only to the production of programs. The minority elements should play a part in the general services of the CBC, such as the administrative, commercial, information services, etc.

At the same time on no account should there be water-tight compartments as between the services. It would be desirable for English and French Canadians to participate in the broadcasts directed towards the ethnic groups, just as it would be desirable for"neo-Canadian"producers to participate in programs for the general public. Indeed it is only on this condition that the cultural exchanges and the dialogue sought after will be able to fulfill their objective of a Canada which is harmoniously united in its diversity.

We should mention in passing that the International Service of the CBC could contribute competent and truly invaluable personnel for carrying out such a service.

The same scheme could be applied in the same way in the National Film Board.

C. Budgetary Questions

The undersigned representatives of the ethnic groups are perfectly aware that the implementation of this plan would lead to greater, perhaps even considerable expenses. On this matter, the brief has raised only a matter of principle, since only specialists in financial matters could determine an approximate estimate and give the necessary details in a special study devoted to this subject.

The ethnic groups, who represent about a quarter of Canadian taxpayers, believe that the budget for broadcasting and the National Film Board should take account of their claims.

Up to the present, whenever the CBC or the NFB produced a program or a film on a certain national day or ethnic folklore event, the ethnic group concerned often enough had the painful impression that an act of charity had been done them.

Minority Canadian tax payers do not wish to be humiliated with their own money. They are presenting a plan which would certainly result in a significent increase in the broadcast and NFB budget, but they believe that they are fully justified in so doing.

Ethnic groups ask therefore that this difficult problem now be settled in principle.

## Chapter 9.

## A Royal Commission on Public Radio and Television Broadcasting in Canada

This brief has raised problems of Canadian life as a whole that are as important as they are complex. These problems exist even if no one to date has faced them. The progressive implementation of the plan outlined in the preceeding chapter would necessarily bring about modifications in the programming of the public sector of radio and television broadcasting. It is necessary to make the necessary adjustments and to adapt broadcasting to the real needs of the Canadian population.

To do this, it is necessary to sound Canadian public opinion, and gather testimony from interested parties.

A few years ago, a Royal Commission on Broadcasting (the Fowler Commission) made recommendations on the reorganization of the administration of broadcasting in Canada. The government made wide use of the recommendations in asking Parliament to amend the Broadcasting Act.

The undersigned representatives of the ethnic groups believe that a new Royal Commission should be appointed to devote greater attention to program content and the policy of programming. The members of this commission should to a greater or lesser extent reflect the ethnic composition of Canada so as to study in depth the problem of broadcasting in this country.

So that the work of this Commission be as profitable as possible, it would be advisable that it be formed after several pilot programs will have been broadcast concerning the dialogue between minority and majority groups.

Even if they have occasionally criticized the attitudes of broadcast directors, the writers of this brief have refrained from criticism the content of actual programs. They have not raised certain tendencies towards partiality, particularlyin the realm of information, commentary, education and general culture. They have not raised either certain acts of discrimination which do exist.

The authors of this brief believe, indeed, that these questions should properly be investigated by a Royal Commission. They therefore recommend the appointment of such a Royal Commission. In their view, this is the proper way to proceed in a democratic country.

## CONCLUSIONS

Since in a country of 18 million inhabitants, four million citizens belong to the minority ethnic groups, it is natural that the latter should wish to take an increasingly active part in Canada's national life.

For a number of reasons, an invisible barrier has been raised between this quarter of the population and the two founding groups of Canada. A certain mistrust exists between the two.

The authorities and the great political parties have on a great many occasions praised the considerable cultural contribution of the ethnic groups. These latter do not however have every opportunity they wish to share their spiritual wealth with their fellow citizens.

Indeed, there are no cultural exchanges and there is no dialogue between the newcomers and the traditional inhabitants in the country.

The aim of the present brief has been to point out this situation which could have disastrous results for the whole of Canada. The brief at the same time points to a solution of this problem. It explains how exchanges and a long deferred dialogue can be started by means of radio, television and film, in a concerted attempt to abolish the invisible barrier and dissipate distrust.

The ethnic groups are convinced that these human problems can be resolved on a human level. They are sure that through its public broadcasting system, Canada could become the first country to implement a marvellous program of collaboration and human understanding. They also believe that this is the only means by which Canada can preserve its integrity and its uniqueness in a North American world which is tending every day towards uniformity.

The Canadian ethnic groups are deeply attached to their great and beautiful Canadian country. They have freely chosen to live in this land of liberty. They have established homes and families in this country. They are raising their children with a love for Canada and in respect for human dignity.

The undersigned representatives of the ethnic groups hope that their initiative will be crowned with success. Their claims are, they feel, just and in conformity with the democratic Canadian spirit.

It is with confidence that they await the verdict of the authorities, since they know that they are working for the greatness and progress of their country, Canada.

Presented in Ottawa,
October, 1962

For the Ethnic Groups
The Editorial Committee:

R. Choulguine  Col. M. Rybikovski, OBE

Rolf F. Ashelm

760-636

TITLE: "Brief Presented to the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism"

AUTHOR: The Ukrainian Canadian Committee
Headquarters
Winnipeg, Manitoba.

Brief of 37 plus 52 pages; 15 recommendations

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REMARKS OF ANALYST:

The central idea of this brief is summarized in the following sentence: "But there are those (ethnic groups) who can and will undertake the task (of survival), they do not want to be sacrificed on the altar of French-English reconciliation". (Concluding paragraph, page 31).

This idea is well-supported in the brief itself which covers a wide range of topics. Canada's central problem is seen as a political one and only on its resolution, (with or without Quebec, can we begin experimenting with bilingualism and biculturalism.

Canada is basically a multilingual, multicultural nation although the existing rights of its two major groups are recognized. 62?

Steps should be taken by public bodies at all levels to preserve, maintain and promote ethnic cultures and languages.

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ATT. RESEARCH

Pages 5-6: The Sifton Immigration Policy and the Ukrainians.

Page 12: Excerpt from the Laurier-Greenway Agreement of 1897 re: teaching of languages in the Province of Manitoba.

Page 13-14: Excerpt from "Le Devoir", 15 Aug. 63. This is a good aperçu of the practice in other countries. (?)

Pages 15-16: What is the cause of the loss of mother tongue by ethnic groups? Can a rate be calculated?

- Generally, to what extent is the repeated complaint that Ukrainians suffer discrimination justified?
- To what extent does the term "New Canadian" conceal or imply second-rate citizenship?

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Appendices

SUMMARY:

"Terms of Reference" Pages 1 - 2

- Importance of contributions to Canada by Old World cultures and peoples.

Statistics show that Canada is a Commonwealth of many nationalities not of "two founding races". The French population (30.4%) is concentrated in Quebec; if Quebec is omitted we find that 58.5% of the population is of British origin, 10.2% of French and 31.3% of others.

Despite reservations to the Commission's Terms of Reference, the Ukrainian Canadian Committee is vitally interested in the work of the Commission.

"The Ukrainian Canadian Committee" Pages 2 - 5

The Ukrainian Canadian Committee is a chartered institution with branches in six provinces. Its highest authority is in the Ukrainian Canadian Congress which meets every three years.

The objects of the Committee are:

- To act as an authoritative spokesman for the Ukrainian community
- To further its participation in Canadian social and cultural life
- To support the justifiable aspirations of Ukrainians of Europe for sovereignty on their ethnographic territories
- To sponsor tolerance among its members and co-ordinate efforts in their common interest.
- To further among Ukrainian Canadians community life in all its aspects.

The Committee, during the past 25 years, has operated on the financial support of its member organizations which include various religious and political ideas with the exception of a small Communist group.

The Committee established a hostel in London during the war and in Canada has devoted much of its work in educational and cultural fields. These efforts have been aided by the press printed in Ukrainian.

"The Settlement of Ukrainians in Canada" Pages 5 - 8

Some Ukrainians had come to Canada before the late 19th century, probably with the Mennonites and Germans or through the United States.

In the late 19th century, settlers from the Western Ukraine began emigration to Canada in large numbers, encouraged by Clifford Sifton, Laurier's Minister of the Interior. The settlers not only cultivated the land but established many cultural and educational associations.

The strong desire of the Ukrainians to preserve their cultural resources crystallized as a result of their experiences in the World Wars.

Why can this culture, exemplified in Ukrainian churches and customs, become an integral part of the Canadian way of life, rather than being forgotten or classified as "new" Canadian?

"Equality of All Canadians" Pages 8 - 11

The Terms of the Commission, re: "two founding races" and "equal partnership", are undemocratic and hark back to ancient colonial rule.

"Equal partnership" carries historical duality into the future so that even the third generation Canadian of other origin would be excluded from an equal partnership which would include recent arrivals of French or English extraction.

Categorization of Canadian Citizen is Contrary to the Declaration of Human Rights of the United Nations, Articles 2 and 26 (3) specifically and to the Canadian Citizenship Act of 1947 and the Canadian Bill of Rights, 1960.

- Citation of "Pacem in Terris" expressing sorrow at efforts to limit the strength of minority groups and admiration of those civil authorities who promote in particular the language, customs and economic accomplishments of minority ethnic groups.

"Canadian Languages"

Pages 11 - 15

A distinction must be drawn between languages to be used for administrative purposes and the fate of other languages of the society; Ukrainian is a Canadian language.

Bilingual education means the mother tongue plus English and learning the mother tongue should be of primary importance.

Such has been the experience abroad, in Belgium, Finland and Switzerland where Raeto-Romance was declared an official language through representing only 1% of the population.

A similar practice is guaranteed by the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. and can be found in Yugoslavia, Albania, Austria, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, India, Poland and Rumania.

We must strive to maintain Canada multilingual.

"Linguistic Opportunities in Canada" Pages 15 - 18

Ukrainian, one of the oldest Slavic languages, is recognized by all Slavic groups as a common medium of communication among them. It is the language of the two major Ukrainian churches in Canada and is essential to the charm and beauty of their ritual.

Between 1951 and 1961 some 13% of Ukrainians lost their language, largely as a result of a negative attitude in Canada as far as studying language is concerned. For other groups, the percentage is higher.

Canada should reverse the steady decline in the use of Canadian languages other than English. Remedial steps such as inclusion of ethnic programmes in our national holidays, efforts by our schools and universities etc., should be taken.

This general opinion is reflected in the Seventh Alumni Conference of the University of Manitoba, March 1964, whose pamphlet contains a discussion of "The Unofficial Languages".

"Advantages of Canadian Multi-Lingualism and Multi-Culturalism" Pages 18 - 19

- Contribution to a distinctive national character; allowance of mutual enrichment of several cultural strains; allowance for a wider participation of Canadians in cultural activities; exploitation of our linguistic wealth to further our international role of mediator; creation of a world-wide image of Canada as a microcosm of the United Nations.

"Public Media of Communication" Page 19

Reference to Appendix 3.

"Concept of the Canadian Nation" Pages 19 - 23

- Historical sketch of the emergence of Canada as an independent nation. (Pages 19 - 23).

The chief characteristic of all constitutional and political changes in the last century are based on the axiom that Canada is a single state, "a national entity within the framework of its constitution".

The Commission must take cognizance of two distinct connotations of the word "nation" or run the risk of being misunderstood.

"The English Language" Pages 23 - 24

English is the most practical means of communication between Canadians. English has become the medium of communication for Ukrainians with their fellow citizens. English is the majority language in nine provinces outside Quebec and of 200 million North Americans, not to mention the world at large.

"The British System of Government" Page 24

All Canadians are indebted to the genius of British people for our democratic and representative form of government based on the ideals of human dignity and personal freedom.

"Present Crisis in Canada" Page 25 - 26

There are presently three elements with three distinct attitudes: the French Canadians who are discontent; Canadians of British origin who are disinterested in dialogue and Canadians of other origins who are virtually excluded.

Xenophobia has become deeply entrenched in our politics, journalism and university faculties; each calls for Canadian unity - on his own terms.

- Suggestions for ways of finding a solution: the Government must proceed cautiously acting only on the present constitutional basis; in special cases a referendum should be used and the final decision about the fate of Quebec must be reserved for the people of Quebec. Democracy must be properly applied in the crisis of Confederation.

"Resolutions of the Sixth Ukrainian All-Canada Congress in 1959 on Multiculturalism" Pages 26 - 27

- The full text of these resolutions is given.

"Resolutions of the Ukrainian National Council on Biculturalism and Bilingualism, Sept. 27 - 28, 1963 Pages 28 - 29

- Text of three resolutions emphasizing equality of all citizens without regard to date of arrival of their forbears, acknowledging existing rights and privileges of French and English, pointing out the need for safeguards for other ethnic groups and instructing the Executive to prepare a brief for the Commission.

"Culture and "Biculturalism" Page 29

A man can be bilingual but he cannot be bicultural; "biculturalism" is vague and confusing. Culture is a broad term and it would be appropriate that the Commission consider how to assist in the preservation of the cultural treasures of all ethnic groups in Canada.

"French Canadians" Page 30

French Canadians deserve the deep appreciation of other ethnic groups for their good example; they more than others realize the bitter feelings which arose from the creation of privileged positions for selected groups.

- Agreement with statement of M. Lapalme, Attorney General of Quebec:

  "If French Canadians have persisted in keeping their traditions, then they could hardly do otherwise than to ask the minorities to keep theirs, and their language".

"Constitution" Page 31

The possibility of changes, if required for unity, is not excluded; in such an event the rights of all linguistic groups should be guaranteed on the same basis as the two major groups.

Political settlement of the present crisis must precede experiments with bilingualism and biculturalism: the people of Canada must be prepared for the alternatives, Canada with or without Quebec.

Canadian ethnic groups who wish to survive do not want to be sacrificed on the altar of French-English reconciliation. Those who wish to survive deserve encouragement. An attempt to amend the B.N.A. Act at the cost of one or more ethnic groups will benefit no one and will be detrimental to the whole of Canada.

CONFIDENTIAL

BACKGROUND PAPERS

Brief #: 760-636

The Ukrainian
Canadian Committee
(Lakehead Branch)

WINNIPEG

A. INFORMATION ON ORGANIZATION

1. MEMBERSHIP

Founded in 1940

Composed of old-timers, newcomers and Canadian-born.

Represents 26 major Ukrainian organizations with their branches and affiliates from coast to coast.

2. OBJECTS

Supreme co-ordination body of Ukrainian Canadians chiefly concerned with cultural and educational matters but also interested in the liberation of the Ukraine.

3. PUBLICATION

THE BULLETYN (Ukrainian language) irregular established in 1956.

4. OTHER COMMENTS

This organization encourages the maintenance of Ukrainian language and culture in Canada and the participation of Ukrainian groups in Canadian life. In recent years post World War II refugees have gained considerable influence in the organization and have to some extent, slanted their aims and activities toward a greater interest in the liberation of the Ukraine and in anti-Communist activities. The Organization is accepted by most Ukrainian Canadians as representing their ethnic group before the Government and people of Canada.

NOTE (The Montreal Section of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee also presented a brief)

B. QUESTIONING OF WITNESS(ES)

1. PROGRAMME AND LIAISON SECTION

Questions
p. 11-12-13

Canadian languages

Speaking of languages you use different definitions in your brief: national language, official language, languages of administration, Canadian languages. Would you please explain the reason for these distinction, also the meaning you give, for example to official language and languages of administration.

| | |
|---|---|
| p.25 | "In recent weeks suggestions have been made to use force to keep Quebec, if necessary, in the Federation ..." Would you tell us what suggestions and when were they made and by whom? |
| p.26 | Solution by people, point 2. You don't believe in that the Canadian Constitution should be changed in parts? |

C. RESEARCH SECTION

| | |
|---|---|
| p.32 rec.2 | Do you feel that ethnic identity or cultural identity is the important factor? Do you mean that individuals of the 'third groups' should be treated on an equal basis as English and French Canadian individuals or do you mean that the 'third groups' as such should be treated on an equal basis? If the latter, does this imply that the 'third' languages should be treated on an equal basis to English and French - such as in parliament and the educational system? If not, what does it imply? |
| p.37 f. | Do the federal, provincial and municipal government bodies in western Canada now often have employees who can communicate in Ukrainian? |
| Broadcasting brief L. 18. | Is it the ethnic origin of these proposed new Governors which is important, or is it identification with the ethnic or cultural community? Are these to be considered as representatives of the 'other ethnic groups'? If so, do you feel that other sectors of the Canadian society should also be represented -- such as women, trade unions, farmers, etc.? How much emphasis do you feel should be given to the representative character of the BBG, and how much ot its expert character? And for the executives of all other Crown Corporations? |

Division III

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# BRIEF

# SUBMITTED TO THE ROYAL COMMISSION ON BILINGUALISM AND BICULTURALISM

by the Ukrainian Canadian Committee
Edmonton Branch

Edmonton, Alberta July, 1964

The Secretaries
Royal Commission on
Bilingualism and Biculturalism
Ottawa, Canada

Dear Sirs:

The Ukrainian Canadian Committee, Edmonton branch, in submitting this brief would like to express its thanks for the opportunity to present the views and suggestions of the member organizations belonging to it, both in Edmonton and generally in the Province of Alberta.

The Committee realizes that the questions before the Commission are difficult ones. They concern human relations in a free society, and involve civil liberties and fundamental human freedoms. The Committee is concerned that the basic tenet of our democratic way of life — an equality of opportunity for every person, irrespective of racial origin, cultural background, mother tongue, or the time of arrival in Canada — be preserved.

It is also concerned that Canadian unity be maintained and believes that a society based on democratic pluralism is the surest means to that end.

We trust that the Commission's deliberations will be fruitful and that its recommendations will improve the relations among the many ethnic groups in Canada to the satisfaction of all Canadians.

Respectfully submitted,

UKRAINIAN CANADIAN COMMITTEE
(EDMONTON BRANCH)

M. Snihurowych, President

M. Blawacky, Secretary

## ORGANIZATION SPONSORING BRIEF

The organization sponsoring this brief, the Ukrainian Canadian Committee, Edmonton branch, is one of the branches of the nation-wide organization, "The Ukrainian Canadian Committee," which, according to the charter issued at Ottawa in 1940, was established for the following three main purposes:

i. to act as an authoritative spokesman for the Ukrainian Canadian community before the people and government of Canada;

ii. to strengthen and co-ordinate the participation of Ukrainian Canadians in the Canadian social and cultural life based on Christian and democratic principles, for justice, freedom and independence;

iii. to plan and develop among Ukrainian Canadians sound community life in all its aspects.

The Edmonton branch confines its interests and activities mainly to greater Edmonton, but it also has a strong 'grassroots' basis throughout the Province of Alberta.

It is the co-ordinating committee of thirteen Ukrainian Canadian organizations active in cultural, educational, youth, service club, and general community work in Edmonton, namely:

Ukrainian Catholic Brotherhood
Ukrainian Self-Reliance League
Ukrainian National Federation
Canadian League for Ukraine's Liberation
Ukrainian Professional and Business Men's Club
Canadian Legion, Norwood Branch, BESL No. 178
Brotherhood of the Ukrainian Division
PLAST, Ukrainian Youth Association of Canada
Ukrainian Youth Association of Canada (SUM)
Shevchenko Scientific Society
Ukrainian Canadian Friends of the Liberation of Ukraine
Ukrainian Technical Society
Ukrainian Medical Association of North America

Several other organizations that fully endorse the work of the Edmonton branch of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee are not formally affiliated with it. Numerically, the Edmonton branch represents an absolute majority of the 105,923 Canadians of Ukrainian ancestry in the Province of Alberta. The Ukrainian Catholic and Ukrainian Orthodox churches in Edmonton and Alberta fully endorse the Committee's work and co-operate with its Edmonton branch.

## SUMMARY OF RECOMMENDATIONS

The Ukrainian Canadian Committee of Edmonton recommends that the following measures be undertaken to safeguard effectively the contribution of Canadians of Ukrainian origin to the cultural enrichment of Canada:

1. The Canadian Government should reaffirm the principle of full equality of all Canadian citizens, irrespective of their ethnic origins, in their enjoyment of civil and cultural rights, including the freedom to maintain and develop their respective cultural heritages. (See paragraphs 7 - 15.)

2. The Government of Canada, the provincial governments, and other public agencies should grant symbolic recognition to the presence of Ukrainians in Canada and to their cultural contributions. Official Canadian publications, exhibits, and other media portraying Canada abroad should also depict the contributions of the Ukrainian ethnic group to Canada's population, history, culture, economy, and politics. Within Canada, such symbolic recognition should be granted from time to time in the form of commemorative postage stamp issues, geographical designations, street names, etc. (Ibid.)

3. Whenever public support is provided for Canadian cultural and artistic contributions and activities, in particular that allocated through the Canada Council, this support should also be extended to the institutions representative of the best cultural achievements of the Ukrainian group. In particular, public support should be offered to the preservation of historical mementoes of Ukrainian settlement in Canada, to the leading Ukrainian Canadian museums and libraries, and to the encouragement of the preservation of Ukrainian folk arts. (See ibid. and paragraphs 36-38, 42-47.)

4. The Ukrainian language should be offered as an accredited subject from the earliest grades in elementary school, whenever it is requested by parents, and whenever it is feasible in terms of the number of pupils involved. (See paragraphs 29-31, 78-83.)

5. Universities, especially in those provinces where Ukrainian is already being offered in high school, should grant full matriculation status to the Ukrainian language and develop programs for the training of

teachers of Ukrainian. At least one of the leading Canadian universities should develop a comprehensive program of Ukrainian studies, including the study of the Ukrainian language, culture, and history, and the contribution of the Ukranian group to Canadian life. (Ibid.)

6. Proper authorities should include in school curricula and textbooks reliable information about the Ukrainian and other ethnic groups and their contributions to Canadian life so as to dispel biases based on ignorance or distorted data. (See ibid., and paragraphs 52-77.)

7. Publicly maintained and publicly operated media of mass communication — the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation radio and television networks as well as the National Film Board — should devote greater attention to the cultural and artistic contributions and activities of the Ukrainian group, the attention being commensurate to this group's place in Canadian life. Both the central and prairie CBC facilities should be reorganized in such manner as to ensure the participation of Canadians of Ukrainian origin in the programming and production of the radio and television broadcasts relating to the Ukrainian group and to enable the Corporation to draw on the best artistic talents available among Canadians of Ukrainian origin. Privately operated radio and television stations should be encouraged by the Board of Broadcast Governors to include programs relating to Ukrainian Canadian culture within their "Canadian content" time. To ensure the participation of Ukrainian Canadians in policy-making in this area a representative of the Ukrainian group might be appointed to the Board of Broadcast Governors. (See paragraphs 84-86.)

8. A permanent voluntary, non-governmental advisory body should be formed to continue the study of the issues posed by bilingualism, biculturalism, and the cultural problems of the non-British and non-French ethnic groups. Such a body, representing the ethnic components that constitute the Canadian people and endowed with funds necessary for the exercise of its functions, would advise the government and the public at large of its findings and recommendations. (See paragraph 87.)

## SOMMAIRE DES RECOMMANDATIONS

Le Comité des Canadiens ukrainiens d'Edmonton recommande la prise des mesures suivantes pour la sauvegarde efficace de la contribution des Canadiens d'origine ukrainienne à l'enrichissement culturel du Canada:

1. Le Gouvernement canadien devrait réaffirmer le principe de l'égalité complète de tous les citoyens canadiens, indépendamment de leurs origines ethniques, en ce qui concerne la jouissance de leurs droits civils et culturels et en ce qui a trait à la liberté de maintenir et de développer leurs héritages culturels respectifs. (Voir paragraphes 7-15.)

2. Le Gouvernement canadien, les gouvernements provinciaux ainsi que les autres agences publiques devraient accorder une reconnaissance symbolique à la présence des Ukrainiens au Canada et à leur contribution culturelle dans ce pays. Les publications officielles canadiennes, les expositions et les autres moyens de représentation du Canada à l'étranger devraient aussi illustrer les contributions du groupe ethnique ukrainien à la population du Canada, à son histoire, sa culture, son économie et sa vie politique. Au Canada, une telle reconnaissance symbolique devrait également être accordée de temps en temps, par l'émission de timbres-poste commémoratifs, ou en honorant la présence ukrainienne par des noms géographiques, des noms de rue, etc. (Ibid.)

3. L'aide financière en provenance de fonds publics qui est accordée aux réalisations artistiques et culturelles canadiennes, et en particulier celle octroyée par le Conseil des Arts du Canada, devrait aussi être étendue aux institutions ayant les meilleures réalisations culturelles du groupe ukrainien. Le soutien public devrait être accordé en particulier pour la conservation des souvenirs historiques, témoins du peuplement du Canada par les Ukrainiens, aux principaux musées canado-ukrainiens et aux principales bibliothèques, ainsi que pour l'encouragement et la préservation de l'art folklorique ukrainien. (Voir ibid. et paragraphes 36-38, 42-47.)

4. La langue ukrainienne devrait être une matière accréditée et elle devrait être offerte dès les premières années dans les écoles élémentaires, si les parents en font la demande et si le nombre des élèves affectés est raisonnable pour rendre une telle classe possible. (Voir paragraphes 29-31, 78-83.)

5. Les universités, et en particulier celles situées dans les provinces ou l'ukrainien est déjà enseigné dans les écoles secondaires, devraient accorder à l'ukrainien le statut de langue de matriculation et développer un programme pour la formation de professeurs d'ukrainien. Au moins une des grandes universités canadiennes devrait développer un programme étendu d'études ukrainiennes, englobant l'étude de la langue, de la culture, de l'histoire, et aussi de la contribution du groupe ukrainien à la vie canadienne.

6. Pour supprimer le parti pris engendré par l'ignorance ou par des données déformées, les autorités compétantes devraient inclure dans les programmes scolaires et les livres de classes des informations dignes de foi au sujet de tous les groupes ethniques, Ukrainiens et autres, et de leurs contributions à la vie canadienne.

7. Les moyens d'information en masse opérés à l'aide de fonds publics et par des fonctionnaires de l'Etat — le réseau de radio et de télévision de La Société Radio Canada par exemple, ainsi que l'Office National du Film — devraient attacher plus d'importance aux contributions culturelles et artistiques et aux activités de la communauté ukrainienne, attention qui devrait être proportionnelle à la place occupée par ce groupe dans la vie canadienne. Les facilités centrales de Radio Canada ainsi que celles de la prairie devraient être réorganisées pour assurer la participation de Canadiens d'origine ukrainienne à l'établissement de programmes et à la réalisation d'émissions de radio et de télévision concernant le groupe ukrainien, ce qui permettrait à Radio Canada de profiter des meilleurs talents artistiques disponibles parmi les Canadiens d'origine ukrainienne. Le Bureau des Gouverneurs de la Radiodiffusion devrait encourager les stations de radio et de télévision privées, à inclure dans leurs émissions des programmes relatifs à la culture des Canadiens ukrainiens dans le temps alloué au "contenu canadien." Pour assurer la participation des Canadiens d'origine ukrainienne à l'établissement de la ligne de conduite dans cette branche de la vie nationale, on pourrait nommer un représentant du groupe ukrainien au Bureau des Gouverneurs de la Radiodiffusion. (Voir paragraphes 84-86.)

8. On devrait former un corps consultatif permanent, volontaire et indépendant du gouvernement, pour continuer l'étude des questions posées par le bilinguisme et le biculturalisme et les problèmes culturels des autres groupes ethniques qui ne sont ni britanniques ni francais. Un tel corps, représentant les composants ethniques du peuple canadien et muni des fonds nécessaires à son fonctionnement, fairait part au gouvernement et au grand public de ses constatations et de ses recommandations. (Voir paragraph 87.)

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## I. GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

1. The Ukrainian Canadian Committee of Edmonton considers the creation of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism an important and positive event of historical significance. While called upon to cope with the central issue described in its name, the Commission also signifies the opening of a much needed and long delayed country-wide discussion about the meaning of Canadianism and the role the various ethnic cultural strains in Canada are to play in the continued evolution of Canada from an essentially bi-ethnic population at the time of the Confederation to a multi-ethnic community seeking a special kind of unity in a rich cultural diversity of her people.

2. While welcoming the establishment of this Commission, the Ukrainian Canadian Committee wishes nevertheless to take exception to some parts of the Commission's Terms of Reference and its Working Paper of November 23, 1963. The Order-in-Council 1106, while instructing the Royal Commission to take "into account the contribution made by other ethnic groups to the cultural enrichment of Canada and the measures that should be taken to safeguard that contribution," projects into the future a concept of the Canadian Confederation as that of "an equal partnership of the two founding races." By clear inference this reduces Canadians of other racial origins to a permanent status of second-class citizens. The implications of this unfortunate pronouncement cannot, in the Committee's opinion, be reconciled either with the fundamental democratic tenet of equal rights for all Canadian citizens regardless of their ethnic origin, or with the long-established principle of merit in the recruitment and advancement of Canada's civil service. Though the Commission's Working Paper specifically denies that the above concept should be understood in terms of "two melting pots," the exclusiveness of the proposed partnership seems to point exactly in that direction. Moreover, the use of the term "races" makes even the "melting pot" prospect something of a problem: for one can certainly learn one or both of Canada's official languages, but how does one join a "race" to become an "equal"?

3. The elaboration of the Commission's Terms of Reference in its Working Paper has caused additional concern among Canadians of Ukrainian

descent. The above Paper ruled that henceforth the Commission's consideration of "other ethnic groups" shall be restricted to those sections of ethnic groups which have retained their respective mother tongues. In this manner, by arbitrarily confining the notion of a "culture" to that of a "language," the Commission not only gave an unduly restrictive interpretation to its own Terms of Reference which specifically deal with cultural contributions of ethnic groups but, what is more important, by proceeding from a fragmentary concept of a culture, the Commission cannot but prejudice its findings. For, to quote from E. B. Taylor's classic definition, culture represents "that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society" (Primitive Culture, London: 1913, I, 1). Even a superficial examination of the "living pattern" of those Canadians who failed to retain their respective mother tongues would show the continuing vitality of other aspects of their respective cultures, to mention only customs and religion. Indeed the lack of a workable concept of "culture" in the Commission's Working Paper opens a plethora of questions which are of direct relevance to the Commission's inquiry: Is there a distinctive, common Canadian culture? Are French and English cultures actually "subcultures" within the Canadian culture or is the term "subculture" to be reserved for the Scottish, Welsh, Irish, German, Ukrainian, Jewish and other ethnic groups? Does Canada share in a common North American culture? The very term "biculturalism" appears to assume the absence of a common Canadian culture. The Commission's Working Paper, while admitting "the fact of multiculturalism," denies "official recognition" to "other cultures," adding that the latter should nevertheless be "respected and safeguarded." Yet when it comes to the specific means of safeguarding the so-called "unofficial" cultures the Working Paper implicitly exempts from these measures education, the teaching of languages of other ethnic groups — indeed the most important conditions for the preservation of a living culture. And this exemption takes place in the same document which purports to equate language with culture! The Ukrainian Canadian Committee strongly feels that if the stated concern of the Terms of Reference for the preservation of cultural

values of ethnic groups other than French and English is to be translated into action, positive measures in the realm of language teaching would have to be taken by the responsible provincial authorities with encouragement and material support from the Federal government.

4. In entering its reservations to the Commission's frame of reference, the Ukrainian Canadian Committee of Edmonton wishes to stress its concern for Canadian unity which, in its opinion, cannot be conceived otherwise than in a context of cultural diversity of Canadian people and in harmony with the principles of indivisible freedom and equality before law. In what follows, the Committee shall outline its position with regard to the general issue of bilingualism and biculturalism, while attempting to strike a balance between the historical right and the democratic right, between the justifiable aspirations of our fellow-citizens of French and British origin and the legitimate claims of Canadians of other origins.

## II. BILINGUALISM, BICULTURALISM, AND CANADIANS OF NON-FRENCH AND NON-ENGLISH ORIGIN

5. In approaching the problem of bilingualism, the Ukrainian Canadian Committee feels that an important distinction must be made between the interpretation and application of bilingualism at the federal and the provincial levels. Such a distinction arises not only from the British North America Act but from the recognition of such facts as a different history of settlement and development of individual provinces and the varying numerical weight of the individual ethnic groups in different regions of Canada.

6. At the federal level there can be no other feasible solution acceptable to French Canadians than an English-French bilingualism in the operation of the Federal government. Leaving aside historical claims and constitutional precedents, the very numerical weight and the pattern of settlement of French Canadians necessitates the continued recognition of French as the second important language of the Federal government. The Ukrainian Canadian Committee feels, however, that the interpretation and practical implementation of bilingualism in the Federal civil service should be guided by the following considerations:

i. Bilingualism in the sense of an individual's fluency in both English and French should apply to those sections of the Federal civil service which serve Canada abroad (e.g., foreign service) or which serve French-speaking population in Quebec and in major concentrations of French-speaking population outside Quebec (e.g., in New Brunswick).

ii. Bilingualism in the sense above should take the form of positive incentives to present federal civil service personnel to master the French language and should be applied gradually with due regard to the rights and duties of the personnel involved.

iii. Bilingualism in the federal civil service must never supercede the principle of merit in the recruitment and advancement of personnel.

iv. Proper recognition should always be given to those otherwise qualified federal civil servants or candidates for employment in the federal service who in addition to English and French have fluency in other languages.

7. While the knowledge of English and French may thus become required for a wider category of posts in the federal civil service and to qualify for these posts candidates of other ethnic origins may well have to become trilingual, English-French bilingualism must not be understood in terms of any special racial privileges that would discriminate against the otherwise qualified Canadians of non-French and non-British ancestry, solely on account of their ethnic origin or religion. Such a discrimination would make a mockery out of our common heritage of equality before the law, of equality of opportunity, of the Canadian Bill of Rights, and, indeed, of Canadianism itself! The formula of the "basically bicultural character of the federal administration" is sufficiently ambiguous to lend itself to an interpretation in ethnic terms as basically an English-French make-up of the federal administration. To prevent such possible interpretation of biculturalism with regard to the federal government service and to reaffirm the principle of citizens' equality in Canada, the qualifications for the appropriate posts in the federal administration should be spelled out in terms of language qualifications rather than one's cultural background, a knowledge of the English and French languages where

required rather than "biculturalism."

8. At the regional level and, in particular, in the three prairie provinces, the ethnic and linguistic make-up of the population does not make an application of the federal bilingual formula either feasible or acceptable in view of the numerical weakness of the French group as against the German or Ukrainian group. The 1961 census figures illustrate the multi-ethnic nature of the three prairie provinces: the respective demographic weight of the British group (combining English, Scottish, Welsh and Irish origins) varies from 45.2 per cent in Alberta, to 43 per cent in Manitoba, and 40.4 per cent in Saskatchewan. Taking the three provinces together, we find that in 1961, of the remaining ethnic strains, the Germans accounted for 13.6 per cent, the Ukrainians for 9.1 per cent, the French for 7.1 per cent, and the Scandinavians for 6.3 per cent. In Alberta where the relative demographic weight of the British group has been declining at an average rate of 2.67 per cent over the past three decades, the majority of the population (54.8 per cent) claimed in 1961 other ethnic origins of which the six most numerous were:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Germans | 183,314 | (13.8%) |
| Ukrainians | 105,923 | ( 8.0%) |
| Scandinavians | 95,879 | ( 7.2%) |
| French | 83,319 | ( 6.3%) |
| Dutch | 55,530 | ( 4.2%) |
| Poles | 40,539 | ( 3.0%) |

9. In terms of the retention of their mother tongue by the non-British groups in Alberta, the 1961 census shows the highest retention rate among the Ukrainians (67.8%), followed by the Italians (65.8%), the French (46.8%), and the Germans (42.9%). The highest rate of retention of mother tongue by Canadian-born Albertans of non-British origin was again shown by Canadians of Ukrainian origin (57.3%), followed by the French (45.2%), Italians (27.2%), Germans (20.7%), Poles (17.6%) and the Dutch (13.6%).

10. In the special circumstances of Western Canada and of Alberta in particular, the concepts of bilingualism and biculturalism (assuming that

the latter concept signifies participation in another culture in addition to one's "mother culture") have accordingly assumed different forms. They represent a combination of the major language of the region - English - with the languages and cultural backgrounds of the several ethnic groups inhabiting the prairie provinces, producing English-German, English-Ukrainian, English-French, English-Scandinavian (etc.) variations. To Canadians of non-British origin inhabiting Western Canada, English has become a common language of administration, economy, and school instruction. As far as they are concerned, these types of bilingualism have become the established patterns which cannot be reversed except at the price of sacrificing the principles of citizens' equality and the democratic process. While the learning of the French language by the non-British and non-French ethnic groups should be encouraged, they first should have the opportunity of learning their own mother tongue in schools; some may wish to become trilingual by learning also the French language and they should be encouraged to do so, but not at the expense of their respective mother tongue.

11. Canadians of Ukrainian descent represented by this Committee, while accepting bilingualism in the federal administration in the sense already defined, do not subscribe to the restrictive notion of biculturalism which denies "official recognition" to cultures other than English or French. They feel that in the process of her growth from colony to nationhood Canada has been gradually evolving a common Canadian culture. To this culture, major contributions have been made and are being made by the French and the British groups. But in contributing to Canada's growth towards a distinct cultural identity these two major ethnic groups have not been alone. There had been the prior contribution of the indigenous Indian and Eskimo populations, and from the early stages of European settlement in this country representatives of other ethnic groups have brought and transplanted to Canadian soil their respective cultural values which, once Canada invited a large scale immigration from many lands, have grown in scope, diversity, and richness adding a mosaic-quality to the country's cultural landscape. The multicultural character of Canada defies a simple bicultural formula that

would "officially" ignore other cultural contributions. In the Committee's considered opinion, all cultures partaking in the evolvement of a common Canadian culture should be given official recognition commensurate to their respective contributions to this process.

12. Some individuals wedded to the traditional West European model of a culturally homogeneous nation-state tend to deplore the multi-cultural features of our country as detrimental to national unity and power. Their resentment apparently stems from an unrealistic attempt to project automatically the continental model (whose alleged cultural homogeneity is frequently an ideological construct rather than verifiable reality) to a radically different situation of a 'nation of immigrants' and their descendants. The latter trace their origin to many different lands and are gradually growing together into a uniquely new cultural and national entity — a slow dynamic process of consolidation which is far from complete and in which many generations take part. To suppress arbitrarily some elements of this organic process, or to attempt to arrest this growth by insisting on the cultural isolation of the areas where French and English are the respective media of communication, can hardly succeed as long as Canada remains a democracy and as long as it remains a single political and economic whole.

13. As for the concern of opponents of cultural pluralism for Canadian unity, the Ukrainian Canadian Committee feels that the two - cultural pluralism and Canadian unity - are not antagonistic goals as long as both are conceived in the context of democratic freedoms which, it deserves to be emphasized, must also include cultural freedom. To be sure, a monolithic, homogeneous, single-loyalty social system may be aspired to and indeed has been attempted by some modern totalitarian regimes; indeed such regimes have at least created a facade of monolithic internal unity and through regimentation have on occasion maximized their political power. But it must be remembered that these achievements have been bought at the price of cultural strangulation and suppression of fundamental democratic freedoms and human rights. To these methods of attaining national unity and power, we counterpoise the type of unity that comes through partnership in the enjoyment of freedom and fundamental

equality, and power that grows from the solidarity of free men and groups appreciative of the political, legal, and social guarantees which allow them to develop their potentialities freely, to worship and to create, to participate in the common weal as citizens sharing not only equal duties but also equal rights under a democratically-elected government in common allegiance to law.

14. Underlying the Committee's views on the problems of bilingualism and biculturalism is its notion of Canadianism which, it believes, is shared by a large number of Canadians of different ethnic origins. It is a wider notion and one which, the Committee feels, is closer to the reality of contemporary Canada than the proposed "equal partnership of the two founding races." Canadianism, the Committee submits, is indeed a partnership and, to use Edmund Burke's immortal words, it is a "partnership not only between those who are living, but between those who are living, those who are dead, and those who are to be born." In this partnership transcending the life span of our generation, major contributions have been made, are made, and will be made by the French and British ethnic groups. But at least since the nineteenth century, they have not been alone. In the process of Canada's growth from colony to a sovereign state, from primitive economy to a major industrial and agricultural country, from an outpost of European culture to a civilized country of universal literacy, advanced technology, science, and cultural refinement, they have been joined by the arrivals from many lands, including the Ukraine. As Canadians, these immigrants and their descendants have been sharing in the task of building Canada into what she is today and will be in the future. They have been contributing to Canada's evolving destiny as pioneers, farmers, workers, professionals, businessmen, educators, artists, scholars, soldiers, and politicians. In this process they have given a new dimension to Canadianism: they have widened the notion of Canadianism to embrace the people of German, Ukrainian, Scandinavian, Jewish, Italian, Polish and many other ethnic origins, who brought to this country the gifts from the cultural treasures of their ancient homelands. To most of these people Canadianism comes today by birthright, by the right earned by the

pioneers' sweat, by the toil of hand and mind, by the blood shed for Canada on the battlefields of the two world wars. Should they be denied their respective cultural rights? By what right should they be excluded from the partnership that is Canada?

15. Accordingly, the Ukrainian Canadian Committee of Edmonton recommends that:

i. The Canadian Government should reaffirm the principle of full equality of all Canadian citizens, irrespective of their ethnic origins, in their enjoyment of civil and cultural rights, including the freedom to maintain and develop their respective cultural heritages.

ii. The Government of Canada, the provincial governments, and other public agencies should grant symbolic recognition to the presence of Ukrainians in Canada and to their cultural contributions. Official Canadian publications, exhibits, and other media portraying Canada abroad should also depict the contributions of the Ukrainian ethnic group to Canada's population, history, culture, economy, and politics. Within Canada, such symbolic recognition should be granted from time to time in the form of commemorative postage stamp issues, geographical designations, street names, etc.

iii. Whenever public support is provided for Canadian cultural and artistic contributions and activities, in particular that allocated through the Canada Council, this support should also be extended to the institutions representative of the best cultural achievements of the Ukrainian groups. In particular, public support should be offered to the preservation of historical mementoes of Ukrainian settlement in Canada, to the leading Ukrainian Canadian museums and libraries, and to the encouragement of the preservation of Ukrainian folk arts.

## III. CONTRIBUTION OF ALBERTA'S UKRAINIANS TO THE CULTURAL ENRICHMENT OF THE PROVINCE AND OF CANADA IN GENERAL

### Historical Background

16. The Ukrainians in Alberta have their origin in the large influx of continental immigrants who came to Canada under the liberal immigration policy inaugurated by Sir Clifford Sifton in 1896. The settlement of nine

families near Edna (Star) in 1894 laid the foundation for the largest social bloc of Ukrainian people in the Dominion of Canada. In an ever-widening area east of Fort Saskatchewan, place names such as Zhoda, Pruth, Zawale, Sniatyn, Myrnam, Vilna, Kahwin, Wasel, New Kiev, Luzan, Shepenci, Shandro, are evidence to this day that the settlers came mainly from two small areas in the western-most parts of the Ukraine — Galicia and Bukovina. Today the names of sixty-three localities, municipalities, and school districts attest to the Ukrainian fact in Alberta.

17. Overpopulation, excessive land subidivision, hopeless economic conditions, and political, racial and religious oppression in the Ukraine were mainly responsible for the immigration. By 1914 approximately 170,000 Ukrainians had come to Canada, exclusive of those who had given their birthplace as Austria. After World War I the Ukrainian population of Alberta was augmented by two further migrations, the first during the period 1925-1930 when political refugees, who had witnessed the rise and fall of a free Ukrainian republic, came to Canada, and the second during the period after World War II when thousands of the world's uprooted once more sought to escape the ravages of political oppression and war. In contrast to the first immigrants, the two latter groups were far more literate and established themselves mainly in the urban centres. This was particularly true of the third group. All these people came to Canada in order that they and their children might enjoy freedom of opportunity unrestricted by arbitrary linguistic, social, racial, or religious barriers.

18. Today the Ukrainians in Canada make up 2.6 per cent of the total Canadian population. In the three prairie provinces they constitute 9.1 per cent of the total population. Of the 473,337 Ukrainians in Canada, 105,923 (22.4%) are found in Alberta, second only to the number in Ontario (127,911). In Alberta, the Ukrainians make up 8 per cent of the provincial population compared to 11.4 per cent in Manitoba and 8.5 per cent in Saskatchewan. The overwhelming majority (85%) of Ukrainians in Alberta live in the upper half of the province, north of the city of Wetaskiwin. In Edmonton the Ukrainian ethnic group makes up 11.6 per cent of the total city population, second only to Winnipeg (13.6%) among urban centres.

Impact of Social Change on Ukrainians in Alberta

19. Ukrainians in Alberta, like other Canadians, have experienced the twin influences of industrialization and urbanization in recent years. In 1941, for example, 81 per cent of the Ukrainian population in Alberta was rural; in 1961 only 46 per cent was rural. Part of Europe's peasantry for centuries and mainly unskilled labourers in Canada for several decades, the Ukrainians in recent years have assumed new responsibilities in Canada in managerial, professional, technical, clerical, sales, and craft roles. The impact on retention of the mother tongue has been immediate and marked. In 1941, 93 per cent of the Ukrainians in Alberta gave Ukrainian as their mother tongue; by 1961 the per cent had fallen to sixty-seven. Although it is possible to take some comfort from the fact that other ethnic groups in Alberta have fared even worse (the retention rate for Italians, French-Canadians and Germans in 1961 was 65.8, 46.8 and 42.9 per cent, respectively), it is also clear that a further decline is probably inevitable if greater opportunities to teach the Ukrainian language in the public schools are not forthcoming.

Agriculture.

20. In Alberta, Canadians of Ukrainian ancestry constitute 11.5 per cent of the farm population, superceded only by the more numerous British and German groups. Traditionally, Ukrainians have been "sons of the soil," and for centuries in the Ukraine and then in Canada they took pride in the neatness of their fields and the quality of their agricultural products.

21. After clearing the virgin Canadian soil, the Ukrainian pioneers in Alberta took an interest in grain and livestock improvement through their children's activities and participation in junior club activities — now commonly known as 4-H clubs. Many of their sons and daughters excelled and won local recognition in grain, livestock, and garden clubs. This encouraged many to participate in provincial and national competitions at the Royal Winter Fairs in Toronto and at the International in Chicago. From 1937 to 1963, they won seventeen oat championships (including four 4-H prizes), thirteen barley championships (including one 4-H prize), and single championships in each of the following categories: legume seed,

red clover, flax, creeping red fescue, wheat (4-H prize), and sweet clover.

22. Admirers of good livestock, Alberta farmers of Ukrainian descent began improving their cattle and horses in the early 1920's. Pure-bred cattle herds and horse-stud nuclei were established within the radius of a hundred miles of Edmonton. By expanding and improving their herds, the sons of the original Ukrainian settlers in Alberta won championships at the Royal Winter Fair and commanded top placings and prices at the leading cattle sales in Alberta. Repeated winners in the Royal Winter Fair horse classes have been the Yurkiw brothers of Radway.

23. Pure-bred swine breeding and improvement under Record of Performance (R.O.P.) for quality has received considerable attention during the past fifteen years. In recent years, R.O.P. herd testing and improvement in quality has been carried on predominantly by farmers of Ukrainian origin. Their show winnings are exceedingly high at the majority of major shows and swine sales. Their sales commonly top the average over all other exhibitors and their breeding stock and blood lines are in keen demand by both commercial and pure-bred swine breeders. It can be safely stated that they are among the leaders in this very important livestock production and improvement field.

24. In recognition of their participation in local agricultural and community affairs, the family of Mr. J. Skrypitsky, Mundare, was chosen one of Alberta's Master Farm Families in 1952.

Economic Contributions

25. Since the Second World War, Canadians of Ukrainian ancestry in Alberta have been playing increasingly significant roles in furthering the economic development of the province. There is hardly a field of business in which they have not made their presence felt. Among numerous enterprises, they have established the only plant in Alberta for the development of color transparencies (Northwest Color Laboratories Ltd.); the largest factory for the manufacture of school furniture and windows and doors in Alberta (Western Cabinet Ltd.); the largest dry cleaning chain in Edmonton (Page the Cleaner); the largest chain of funeral homes in Alberta (Park Memorial Ltd.); the second largest chain of drug stores in Edmonton (Vic's Super Drugs Ltd.); one of the larger meat-processing

plants in Edmonton (Capital Packers); and one of the largest soft-drink manufacturing companies in Edmonton (Prairie Rose Manufacturing Ltd.). Undoubtedly one of the most enterprising Canadians of Ukrainian ancestry has been Mr. G. Mulek, President of Capital Buildings Supplies Ltd. and organizer of twelve affiliated companies engaged in general construction, apartment building, excavation, heating, real estate, and insurance.

Professional Life

26. The contributions of Canadians of Ukrainian origin to professional life in Alberta have been even more marked than their economic contributions. Hundreds of success stories with the usual elements of sacrifice, hard work, and accompanying social advancement could be written. Since the late 1920's, when the first Ukrainian-speaking doctors, dentists, and lawyers began to meet professional needs in Ukrainian settlements, Canadian professionals of Ukrainian descent have increasingly provided services for a clientele who trace their origins to many lands. In Edmonton today there are 65 medical doctors, 55 lawyers, 35 dentists, at least 30 pharmacists, at least 50 engineers, 8 architects, 10 optometrists and 8 chiropractors of Ukrainian origin. Several have held executive positions at the provincial level of their respective organizations: Dr. M. M. Sereda was president of the Alberta College of Physicians and Surgeons from 1960 to 1961;Mr. W.W.Maday was president of the Alberta Pharmaceutical Association in 1961-62; Dr. B. L. Kuzyk was president of the Alberta Chapter of the Canadian Society of Dentistry for Children from 1960 to 1962; Dr. L. H. Faryna was a member of the governing council of the Alberta Optometric Association from 1955 to 1959 and Dr. J. D. Tchir from 1960 to 1964; Dr. M. Gulutsan was president of Phi Delta Kappa (Epsilon Omega Chapter, Alberta) in 1963-64; and Mr. I. Goresky is presently president of the Alberta School Inspectors' Association.

27. In 1959 the Ukrainian Professional and Business Men's Club was organized in Edmonton; its membership today is 171. In addition to its obvious social value, the Club provides a valuable forum for the discussion of ethnic and national issues in Canada. It also furnishes two scholarships annually to the University of Alberta for Canadian youth of Ukrainian descent. Early in 1963 it sponsored an exhibition in Edmonton's

Jubilee Auditorium of sculpture by Alexander Archipenko, world-famous Ukrainian sculptor.

Athletics

28. It is customary for ethnic minority groups to seek outlets in athletics. The Ukrainians in Alberta have been no exception. Among the better known athletes are Michael Kmech (Chipman) and Michael Lashuk (Edmonton) of the Edmonton Eskimos and John Bucyk (Edmonton) and Victor Stasiuk (Lethbridge) who together with Bronco Horvath (born in Hungary) recently constituted the world-famous "Uke" forward line for the Boston Bruins in the National Hockey League. In sport, names such as Kinasewich, Babiuk, Kassian, Diachuk, Repka, and Melnyk (hockey), Tkachuk (skiing), Kiniski (wrestling), Chrobak (football), Olynyk and Kozak (golf) attest to the skill of Alberta's Ukrainians in amateur and professional sport.

Education

29. Having experienced limited educational opportunities in Europe, Ukrainians in Canada have placed a high value on schooling. In Alberta it is now generally recognized that the once-feared state schools have been the key to increased social opportunities for thousands of children of Ukrainian ancestry. Since the early 1930's the schools in Ukrainian settlements have been staffed primarily by teachers of Ukrainian descent and their pupils have distinguished themselves by winning their share of academic honours, including several Tegler scholarships, the Governor-General's gold medal (Roy Tomashevsky [Thomas]), and the Rhodes scholarship (John Duby). Canadians of Ukrainian ancestry continue to make up a significant portion of the teaching profession in Alberta. In 1964, for example, the Faculty of Education (Edmonton) conferred the Bachelor's Degree on 175 students. Of these, twenty-nine, or 16 per cent (double the proportion of Ukrainians in the province as a whole) were of Ukrainian ancestry. Among today's leaders in the provincial educational system are eleven superintendents of school divisions and counties and one high school inspector of Ukrainian ancestry. For several years in the 1950's, Dr. John Orobko, a dentist, served on the Edmonton Public School Board as member and chairman, and Mr. Orest Demco, personnel manager of Canadian Chemical Company, is presently chairman of the Edmonton Separate School Board.

30. Unique contributions to education are also being made by the fourteen private schools maintained by the Ukrainian Catholic and Ukrainian Orthodox parishes and community organizations in Edmonton. In 1963-64 they enrolled approximately 900 students. In addition to the Ukrainian language, these schools hold classes in Ukrainian history and geography (including the history of Ukrainian settlement in Canada), religion, Ukrainian literature, dancing, handicrafts, and Ukrainian customs in general.

31. Since 1959 the Ukrainian language has been taught in Alberta's public and separate schools in Grades X, XI, and more recently in Grade XII. In 1963-64 there were approximately 400 pupils studying Ukrainian, a figure which will probably rise now that Ukrainian is a senior matriculation subject acceptable at most faculties in the University of Alberta on a par with other languages. At the University of Alberta, undergraduate and graduate programs in Ukrainian language and literature are now available through to the master's level. In 1963-64 sixty students were enrolled in Ukrainian language classes and two were studying for their master's degree. The R. R. Gonsett Ukrainian Collection at the University of Alberta Library contains five thousand volumes on Ukrainian language, literature, and philology. The Collection stems from an endowment by Mrs. Irene Gonsett of Hollywood, California, whose late husband, an immigrant from the Ukraine who settled in the Chipman area in Alberta, was a highly sucessful inventor with over one hundred patents to his name. Also contributing to the educational development at the university level are several modest scholarships provided annually by the Norwood Branch of the Canadian Legion (Ukrainian veterans) and three Ukrainian women's organizations in Edmonton.

Scholarship and Scientific Research

32. Perhaps in no other area has the participation of Albertans of Ukrainian ancestry been as marked in recent years as in the area of scholarship and scientific research. At the University of Alberta there are twenty-two professors in fields ranging from law, political science, genetics, physical education, soil science, Slavonic languages, mathematics, physics, biochemistry, pathology, surgery to the various divisions

of education and engineering. In addition, there are lecturers in dentistry, surgery, medicine, pharmacy, bacteriology, household economics, French, and Russian. There are also three professional librarians. On the Alberta Research Council, which exists to help locate natural resources and to do research on and disseminate information about Alberta's natural resources, 13.3 per cent of the staff is of Ukrainian ancestry. One member of the staff, Dr. L. A. Bayrock, was co-founder and first president of the Archeological Society of Alberta. He has published about forty articles, monographs, and pamphlets on the several geological areas of Alberta. At the Sherritt Gordon nickel plant in Fort Saskatchewan, Mr. V. Mackiw, Director of Research and Development, has developed a new process of refining nickel, and he and Mr. W. Kunda have published several scientific papers on the processing of metals. Located in Edmonton is a branch of the Shevchenko Scientific Society whose purpose is to keep the lay public informed of recent research done in the field of Ukrainian studies.

33. Of significance also has been the pioneer work of several staff members of Ukrainian descent at the University of Alberta in helping to establish one of the leading Canadian centres of Slavonic and Soviet studies. Two of these members, Dr. O. Starchuk, former Head of the Division of Slavonic Languages, and Dr. B. Bociurkiw, Associate Professor of Political Science, have been presidents of the Canadian Association of Slavists in recent years.

34. Of published works, mention might be made of Dr. Starchuk's Essentials of Scientific Russian (1963), Dr. Y. Slavutych's Conversational Ukrainian (1961), Rev. D. Popovich's Old Church Slavonic-Ukrainian-English Dictionary (1963), and Rev. J. Skwarok's The Ukrainian Settlers and Their Schools in Canada, 1891-1921 (1958). In preparation is a work on the "Relations in Education Between the State and the Roman Catholic Church in the Old North-West Territories, 1880-1905" by Dr. M. R. Lupul of the Department of Educational Foundations. The latter study is the first to use Roman Catholic church documents to show the influence of bilingualism and biculturalism on the development of education in Western Canada; it is scheduled for publication by the University of Toronto Press.

35. Albertans of Ukrainian ancestry have also contributed to scientific research outside the borders of the province. Undoubtedly the most accomplished is Dr. Joseph V. Charyk, an aeronautics engineer in the United States who was born in Canmore, Alberta. Dr. Charyk took his B.Sc. in engineering at the University of Alberta in 1942 and his Ph.D. at the California Institute of Technology in 1946. Formerly an Under Secretary of the United States Air Force, he is presently president of the Communications Satellite Corporation, which is engaged in setting up the world's first commercial space-communications system to facilitate international television.

Literature and Journalism

36. The contributions of Alberta's Ukrainians to literature and journalism have been substantial, even though the language barrier has naturally limited public accessibility to much of what has been written. Perhaps the best-known Ukrainian prose writer is the late Elias Kiriak, one of the first school teachers in Ukrainian settlements, whose Sons of the Soil, a three-volume epic of pioneer life in the Rabbit Hills district (west of Leduc) was completed in 1939. Recently Ryerson Press published a one-volume English translation of the work by Mr. Michael Luchkovich of Edmonton, the first member of Parliament of Ukrainian origin in Canada. Mr. Luchkovich, perhaps Canada's best-known Ukrainian-Canadian man of letters, has also translated Nicholas Prykhodko's One of the Fifteen Million and Osmachka's The Red Assasins. His Anthology of Ukrainian Short Stories will soon be published by the University of Toronto Press. Professor Merron Chorny of Innisfree, Alberta (now teaching at the University of Alberta, Calgary) has written several short stories on Ukrainian-Canadian themes.

37. The list of literary works in Ukrainian is far more extensive. Apart from scholars like Drs. Watson Kirkconnell and George Simpson, very few Canadians of non-Ukrainian background are familiar with these works. They range from memoirs to poetry and prose and represent the pioneer generations as well as the most recent immigrants. Outstanding have been the contributions on Canadian themes of the late Mr. W. A Chumer and Dr. L. Nimchuk (memoirs), Mr. A. Luhovy (drama), Mr. S. Fodchuk (satire), Mr.

J. Yasenchuk, Mr. B. Mazepa, and Dr. Y. Slavutych (poetry), Mrs. A. Khrunyk, Two Hills (folklore), and Mr. G. Stefanyk (literary criticism).

38. Among outstanding journalists have been two men, the late Mr. J. Esaiw, one of the early editors of the Ukrainian News in Edmonton, and Mr. Toma Tomashevsky, who at eighty is the oldest living pioneer journalist in Alberta. Still active, Mr. Tomashevsky organized the Ukrainian Pioneers' Association in Edmonton in 1955 and since then has published seven issues of Ukrainian Pioneer (in Ukrainian), an important record of pioneer experiences and personal impressions of life in early Alberta.

Religion

39. Canadians of Ukrainian ancestry in Alberta generally belong to two main churches, the Ukrainian Catholic Church and the Ukrainian Orthodox Church. Both have episcopal sees in Edmonton where St. Josaphat's Cathedral and St. John's Cathedral are located.

40. Ukrainian churches with their Byzantine domes are readily distinguishable from other churches. In Alberta there are eighty-five Ukrainian Catholic churches, thirty-one missionary points, and sixty-seven priests serving 51,917 parishioners; there are 19,600 adherents of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church served by twenty priests in eighty-five parishes (including missionary points).

41. Both churches operate parish halls, parish schools, and summer camps in Alberta. Church choirs, particularly in urban centres, are well-organized and are a valuable media for the enjoyment of music and the development of musical ability. The St. John's Cathedral Choir took second prize at the Alberta Provincial Musical Festival in Edmonton in 1963 and in 1964. Important also are the student university residences maintained by both churches in Edmonton, St. John's Institute (Orthodox) and St. Josaphat's Institute (Catholic). The Ukrainian Catholic church contributes substantial support to four newspapers published in Alberta: Ukrainian News (a weekly in Ukrainian now in its thirty-seventh year), Catholic Action (a monthly in Ukrainian), and Ukrainian Record and Youth (published monthly in English).

42. Both church groups have developed museums, libraries, and archives in Alberta. Of these the most important is the Museum of the Basilian Fathers at Mundare. Among its many items are rare documents, books, and

newspapers on the Eastern Church, including the original editions of some of the earliest books printed in Eastern Europe (e.g., the first Ukrainian Bible of Ostroh, published in the middle of the 16th Century). Large diocesan libraries in the possession of both prelates include other rare and valuable books. The women's organizations of both churches in Edmonton possess interesting collections of handicrafts and folk dress in their respective museums.

43. Two important non-denominational museums are the Ukrainian Pioneer Home at Elk Island National Park and the Pioneer Museum on the farm of Mr. Wasyl Zazula in the Shandro District, six miles north of Willingdon. Begun five years ago, the latter houses an outstanding collection of tools, implements, furniture, and dress used by the first Ukrainian settlers in Alberta.

Fine Arts

44. It is through the fine arts that a people are frequently said to bare their soul, and the Ukrainians have been no exception in this respect. In Alberta their choral groups, folk dancers, handicrafts, embroidery, and Easter eggs are well-known. One of the currently best-known artistic groups in Edmonton are the Shumka Dancers, a young group of second- and third-generation Canadians of Ukrainian descent who have brought to the old art of folk dancing standards of perfection demanded by few performers in the past. Notable also is the non-denominational Dnipro Chorus, a group of some forty male singers, under the direction of Mr. R. Soltykewych, most of whom came to Canada after World War II. Since 1962 the Chorus has taken first prize at each of the Annual Provincial Musical Festivals in Alberta. Of individual performers, Mr. Domety Berezanetz, baritone, Mr. Taras Semchuk, ballet dancer, Mr. Serge Eremenko, violin teacher and composer, and Miss Diane Foster (the former Olga Laruska), Hollywood actress, merit special mention.

45. Ukrainian architecture in Alberta has also been important and dates back to the first amateur church-builders, whose early creations, crowned by one or two shining domes, still dot the countryside in the area east of Fort Saskatchewan. Between the wars, stonewall architecture and brick masonry replaced the use of logs, but it was not until after World War II,

with the arrival of competent architects like Mr. N. Flak and Mr. G. Chernenko, that ancient Ukrainian architectural church traditions were adapted to new-world traditions and new building materials, as exemplified in the Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral in Edmonton.

46. Sculpture, too, has been much affected by religious requirements. Thus one sees many ikonostases,altars, and other church features whose execution in wood has reached new heights in the hands of masters such as Mr. W. Zalutsky. Significant also is the monument to the Ukrainian pioneers at Elk Island National Park designed by Mr. Flak.

47. However, it is in the fields of painting and graphics that Ukrainian figurative arts have prospered most in recent years in Alberta. From the refugees in Germany and Austria came several qualified artist-painters, some of whom had already obtained wide popularity in their homelands. Among these was Mr. J. Bucmaniuk, who spent five years painting frescoes for St. Josaphat's Catholic Cathedral in Edmonton and whose Art School in the same city is the first and only one of its kind in Western Canada. He has exhibited his paintings at Edmonton, Toronto, and Montreal. Other artist-painters of note are Miss Stephania Baziuk, impressionistic landscape painter with successful exhibitions at Edmonton, Toronto, and Philadelphia; Wadym Dobrolize, a decorative artist, who has done numerous assignments for various commercial firms and musical and drama groups in Edmonton; and Ivan Keywan, graphic artist and art historian, whose oil paintings of Taras Shevchenko now grace the libraries of universities in Edmonton and Vancouver. His history, "Taras Shevchenko as a Painter" (in Ukrainian), will shortly be published by the Ukrainian Canadian Committee.

Public Life

48. Ukrainian participation in Alberta's public life began with the formation of school districts and municipalities in areas of Ukrainian settlement shorty after the turn of the twentieth century. With the election in 1913 of Mr. A. Shandro to the provincial legislature for the constituency of Whitford, Ukrainian participation in the public life of the new province took on new dimensions. After World War I, Ukrainians in Alberta increased their political activity, sending nineteen

representatives to Edmonton and six to Ottawa with political affiliations reflecting the range of political sympathies in the province.

49. Today there are six members of Ukrainian origin in the provincial legislature, one of the members, the Hon. Ambrose Holowach, being Provincial Secretary. Unlike earlier years, when members of the Legislative Assembly of Ukrainian origin represented rural constituencies containing electors who were mainly of Ukrainian origin, one-half of today's members represent the racially heterogeneous constituencies of Edmonton Centre, Edmonton Norwood, and Calgary East. Canadians of Ukrainian origin in Alberta who have held executive positions in political organizations in the province are Mr. J. Decore (Member of Parliament, Vegreville, 1949-57) who was president of the Alberta Liberal Association in 1948; Mr. S. Romanchuk of Smoky Lake who was vice-president of the same Association in 1951; Mr. W. Tomyn (MLA, Edmonton Norwood) who was vice-chairman of the Social Credit Board (1944-49) and Executive Director, Alberta Social Credit League (1956); Mr. Neil Reimer, leader of the New Democratic Party in Alberta since 1963; and Mr. Peter Savaryn, president of the Edmonton East Progressive Conservative Association (1961-63).

50. At the municipal level, Mr. William Hawrelak and Mr. George Repka are today mayors of the cities of Edmonton and Grande Prairie, respectively. Mr. Hawrelak was also first vice-president of the Farmers' Union of Alberta for several years prior to 1945 and president of the Canadian Federation of Mayors and Municipalities in 1957. Mr. Paul Babey is currently president of the Farmers' Union of Alberta. Many Canadians of Ukrainian origin have excelled in local offices, but undoubtedly the most enviable record belongs to Mr. Maxim Tomyn, father of Mr. W. Tomyn, who served as secretary of the Sobor Municipality for almost thirty years (1912-41).

51. Important contributions to Alberta's public life are also being made by Mr. Justice P. Greschuk, the first judge of Ukrainian origin in the province appointed in 1952. There are also several magistrates of Ukrainian descent in Alberta. Currently holding executive positions in important service organizations are Mr. W. Kostash, president, Canadian Institute of International Affairs, Edmonton branch, and Mrs. J. Decore, first vice-president, Council of Women, Edmonton branch. A recent

president of the Canadian Institute was Mr. P. J. Lazarowich and Mrs. P. Miskew served as president of the Council of Women in Edmonton in 1956-57.

## IV. PROBLEMS IN SAFEGUARDING THE CONTRIBUTION OF ALBERTA'S UKRAINIANS TO CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT

### Pressures of Assimilation

52. According to the 1961 census, only 64.4 per cent of Canadians of Ukrainian origin still retain their mother tongue. Why the high rate of attrition? First of all, many Canadians are still committed to the ideal of assimilating all ethnic groups by making them ashamed of their mother language and cultural heritage. They identify 'speaking only English' with good citizenship and patriotism. The 'melting-pot' idea is not mentioned openly, but in effect they seem to say: "Assimilate, and the sooner you do so the better." Children who speak languages other than English are still told to speak English, even on the playground, and derisive name-calling on this account is not unknown. Languages other than English should not be spoken on the streets and in buses. Occasionally one hears a request to "Speak white" or "Go back where you came from." Some Canadians still frown whenever they hear a non-English name, and as a result many of European origin change their names. The Alberta Gazette is full of such changes — a clear indication of direct and indirect pressures to assimilate. There are other subtle ways to show those not descended from British and French groups that their resistance to assimilation is not welcome.

53. Some Canadians continue to believe that they are innately superior to all so-called 'foreigners,' particularly to immigrants who speak little English or speak it with an accent unfamiliar to them. They believe that other languages and cultures 'corrupt' the Canadian culture. From time to time, they accuse Canadians of other than British origin of being divisive, yet when members of other ethnic groups try to approach them they do not necessarily welcome them. They act as if Canadian culture were fixed and formed from its origins (presumably British and French), yet this shuts out the culture of one-third of the population who are neither British nor French in their origins. Canadians of other origins

cannot understand why their traditional cultures are not worthy of preservation. They cannot understand why public performances by various ethnic groups are so often ignored by local newspapers, radio, and television.

54. They believe that Canadians of British and French descent should not only permit other groups to study their mother languages and cultures, but should themselves study other languages, as on of man's great liberalizing experiences. Whenever possible, every Canadian should break through the barrier of a single language. Language skill, like all other practical skills, may never be perfected; it is sometimes forgotten, yet the humanizing effect of an encounter with another culture endures through life. With knowledge of another culture comes a better understanding of Canada's multicultural situation. If ancient languages and cultures are important, how much more important are modern living languages and cultures if better understanding between nations and tolerance among individual citizens is to be achieved.

Misuse of Majority Rights

55. There are Canadians who continue to believe that minorities have only one right and that is to assimilate into the majority. They seem to think that Canadianism is defined by the date one's ancestors came to Canada, and by one's origins and accents, rather than by one's contributions to our society and by one's respect for fair play and dislike of narrow-mindedness. Canada with her peoples from many lands cannot permit an understanding of 'democracy' that disregards other languages and cultures. Recognition of the inherent dignity and the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice, and peace in the world; this recognition must also be made secure in Canada for all Canadians, regardless of race, creed, color, nationality, ancestry, or place of origin. If Canadians of British or French origin hold certain things dearly, they should surely permit others to do the same; prejudice should not triumph over toleration and numbers over justice. One of Canada's greatest premiers, Sir John A. Macdonald, in 1890 had this to say on the question of languages: "If there is one act of oppression more than any other which would come home

to a man's breast, it is that he should be deprived of the consolation of hearing and speaking and reading the language his mother taught him..." (quoted in C.J. Jaenen, "Some Thoughts on the Manitoba Mosaic," Ukrainian Voice, English Series, Pamphlet No. 4, 1964, 8). If we want to develop friendly relations among the different ethnic groups in Canada, we must practice democracy by permitting the other ethnic groups to preserve their language and culture in Canada.

Public Indifference Towards Language Study

56. The Ukrainian Canadian Committee shares the view of Mr. Earl J. MacGrath, Commissioner of Education in the United States, who said in May 1952:

> For some years I took unwisely the position that a foreign language did not constitute an indispensable element in a general education. This position, I am happy to say, I have reversed. I have now seen the light and I consider foreign languages a very important element in general education.... Only through the ability to use another language even modestly can one really become conscious of the full meaning of being a member of another nationality or cultural group. It is in our national interest to give as many of our citizens as possible the opportunity to gain these cultural insights... (quoted in W. R. Parker, National Interest and Foreign Language, Department of State Publications, Washington, D.C., 1957, 62).

57. The Committee is also impressed by the fact that the United States delegates who met with language teachers of eighteen other nations in Ceylon for a UNESCO seminar in August 1953 learned that virtually every one in attendance not only assumed that another language would inevitably be required of all students in secondary schools but also thought of this language instruction in terms of either a "long course" of nine years, or a "short course" of seven years. "In certain Scandinavian countries, language instruction may extend to 10 instead of 7 or 9 years. In Sweden, where education is compulsory, through grade 9, those who complete grade 12 or 13 have 8 years of English, 6 of German, 5 of French, and all Swedish children also get some knowledge of Danish and Norwegian" (ibid.). When will Canada arrive at this understanding of the importance of languages? What action is being taken to combat this indifference towards language study?

58. Recent research, notably that of Dr. W. Penfield, has shown that the study of languages should begin early and continue until reasonable

proficiency is attained. Yet, in Alberta, language study — including Ukrainian — is confined largely to the high schools. Morever, official policy has not generally fostered the study of languages. In 1959 the Royal Commission on Education in Alberta stated that the Alberta School Act recognizes the "special position of French in the Alberta school program and underscores restricted intent with regard to the study of languages generally. It also indicates that present provisions are concessions rather than incentives which may foster interest in languages." Accordingly, the Royal Commission recommended that "in all schools in which the board by resolution decides to offer a primary course in one or more languages which represent mother-tongues in the community, the provisions and status now accorded French be extended to these other languages" (Recommendation 91, p. 186).

59. To date these recommendations have not been acted upon. The interest in languages is not much fostered. Languages in school are either offered too late in life or for too short a period of time. Some languages are discriminated against and have not the academic status accorded to French. The University of Alberta is a case in point: the Faculty of Arts has refused to grant Ukrainian matriculation status on an equal basis with other languages. Dr. C. J. Jaenen, Assistant Professor of History, University of Manitoba, recently wrote:

> We pride ourselves that in Canada we have never demanded uniformity, that Canadians did not require a melting pot, that there could be diversity without sacrificing unity. Those are fine words. But, if that is really so, why is Ukrainian not a matriculation language like Latin, for example? And why is it that in our kind of democracy we are so intent upon uniformity we deny financial support to minority educational organizations?... ("Some Thoughts on the Manitoba Mosaic," Ukrainian Voice, English Series, Pamphlet No. 4, 1964, 13).

Any Canadian child should have the opportunity in our multilingual and multicultural society to elect his mother tongue as the second language and to receive full credit for it at the university level.

Discrimination Towards Non-British and Non-French Groups

60. Although Canadians of Ukrainian origin have been in Alberta for over seventy years, textbooks and schools as a rule do not recognize this fact. These books speak mainly of the French and the English. If information about the Ukraine or Ukrainians in Canada is presented it is

example? e.g.

frequently inaccurate, even false. Canadians of Ukrainian origin are here to stay; they have deep roots in Canada now, but they do not wish to bury their heritage or deny their past as a people. They have played their part in building Alberta and should be mentioned in the textbooks used by school children in Alberta. Moreover, the same books might place more emphasis on the fact that Canada is a nation made up of many different ethnic elements, each with its own language, literature, art, etc.

61. Unfair employment practices and other acts of discrimination are not as prevalent as they once were in Alberta. However, the table below shows that a significantly greater percentage of Canadians of British origin, proportionate to their number in Alberta, hold the more desirable positions.

SELECTED OCCUPATIONS (MALES) OF THE LARGEST ETHNIC GROUPS IN ALBERTA, 1961

| Ethnic Group | Percentage of Total Alberta Population | Percentage Managerial | Percentage Professional and Technical | Percentage Clerical | Percentage Sales | Percentage Service and Recreation |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| British Isles | 45.2 | 56.2 | 57.9 | 55.9 | 57.7 | 51.2 |
| Germans | 13.8 | 9.9 | 9.3 | 10.2 | 10.8 | 9.9 |
| Ukrainians | 8.0 | 5.9 | 7.0 | 8.4 | 5.9 | 5.6 |
| Scandinavians | 7.2 | 6.4 | 5.4 | 5.5 | 6.3 | 5.3 |
| French | 6.3 | 4.1 | 4.0 | 4.7 | 4.6 | 7.5 |
| Dutch | 4.2 | 3.0 | 4.0 | 3.8 | 3.3 | 3.6 |
| Polish | 3.0 | 2.0 | 2.3 | 2.6 | 2.0 | 2.7 |

Source: Census of Canada, 1961, Bulletin 3.1-15, 33-34.

Canadians of British origin, although less than fifty per cent of the population, hold well over fifty per cent of the preferred occupations in Alberta. In only two cases — the Ukrainians in the Clerical category and the French in the Service and Recreation category — do the other ethnic groups hold positions in greater proportion to their number in the province. The Ukrainian Canadian Committee does not advocate occupational quotas for each ethnic group in Alberta. It is ever mindful that the only test for employment in Canada is one's competence measured by the nature of one's innate ability and/or technical or professional preparation. It

is not convinced, however, that the innate ability or technical and professional preparation of Canadians of Ukrainian origin is alone responsible for the consistently smaller number of this group in preferred occupations. One has but to examine the promotions to managerial positions reported in any Alberta newspaper to realize that names which would indicate a Slavic ancestry are extremely rare. Yet Slavs are making contributions in government service, at the universities, and in any profession one cares to name. Is their managerial acumen so poor that they cannot aspire to positions on the boards of directors of corporations or as executive personnel in the same corporations?

62. It is also significant that not a single Canadian of Ukrainian origin is a member of the Boards of Governors of the three prairie universities. It is difficult to believe that amongst the thousands of graduates of Ukrainian origin in each prairie province there cannot be found at least three who would qualify. The same applies to different provincial Boards, of which there are over 120 in Alberta.

## V. ASSIMILATION OR INTEGRATION?

### Attitudes Towards 'the Foreigner'

63. The present debate on biculturalism and bilingualism has given rise to many controversial questions among which assimilation and integration need clarification. In a study on immigration in 1959, Oscar Handlin wrote:

> The origins of a social process must be sought in the internal constitution, the Social Milieu. The character of the environment — the community in its broadest sense — is particularly important in the study of the contact of dissimilar cultures. It is in the field where unfamiliar groups meet, discover each other and join in a hard relationship that results in Acculturation and Conflict. As such, the qualities of the environment subtly condition all the forces involved and often exercise a determinative influence upon their evolution (Boston's Immigrants, Cambridge, Mass.: 1959, p. ix).

64. When the first Ukrainians passed through Canadian gates they were viewed by many curious and even apprehensive eyes, fearful of the consequences that might ensue from the entry of so many foreigners into the country. There was, however, one man of vision in Canada, Clifford Sifton, who did not share the fears and apprehensions of the time. As Minister of the Interior, he spoke with the reasoned clarity of a prophet when he said:

> I think that a stalwart peasant in a sheepskin coat, born on the soil, whose forefathers have been farmers for ten generations, with a stout wife and a half dozen children is good quality.... Either put these men on the land who will be satisfied with the standard of living associated with that class of country, or leave the land untilled (quoted in V. Lysenko, Men in Sheepskin Coats, Toronto: 1947, 55).

65. And so they came by the thousands and tilled our soil; they cultivated it with a perseverance, energy, and adaptability that aroused the grudging admiration even of their critics, without lessening the latter's vigilance towards the newcomers in their midst.

66. When we speak of the susceptibility of the immigrant to assimilation and his readiness to accept Canadian laws, the Canadian way of life, and our Canadian institutions, we know we are dealing with a subject that is of grave concern to those whose patriotic fervor and ardent love of country foresee a political menace in the existence of 'foreigners' within Canada's borders. It is little wonder that the advent of newcomers to Canadian shores has been a signal for a great stir in our social, educational, and political circles, directed to finding the best method of coping with the problem of welcoming the immigrant and making of him, in the shortest time possible, a desirable citizen sharing with other Canadians all that such citizenship entails. But in the desire to aid the newcomer our leaders have frequently lost sight of the fact that you must treat the immigrant as a human being and not as a statistic if you wish to win his allegiance. If genuine Canadianization is to be achieved, it will be achieved through a policy of conscious integration rather than deliberate or forced assimilation. The newcomer usually considers the latter as the complete absorption of himself by the dominant culture. Laura Goodman Halverson, in her Confessions of an Immigrant Daughter, revealed with a "sharpness disturbing to the dominant stock...the inner bitterness with which a proud and cultured people undergo the essential indignity of assimilation" (M. L. Morton, Manitoba; A History, Toronto: 1957, 419).

67. Instances of such indignity still prevail and are connected with the defamation of race. When a crime is committed the whole race is frequently held up to scorn and ridicule by individuals in all walks of life. If a word is not properly accented, if customs vary, if newcomers

exhibit traits of character and temperament different from our own, they fall prey to endless jokes, butts, insults, and indignities. The matter of crime seems to afford a special reason for abuse. If an alien is brought up for theft, then all foreigners are robbers; if a foreigner beats his wife, then all New Canadians are wife-beaters —as if the crime of an individual is indicative of the morality and mentality of the race to which the individual belongs. Edmund Burke once said, "I do not know the method of indicting a whole people. I really think that for wise men this is not judicious; for sober men, not decent; for minds tinctured with humanity, not mild or merciful."

Unity in Diversity

68. It is difficult to make good citizens out of people by stigmatizing them; on the other hand, the proper administration of justice, social and legal, and respect for differences greatly enhances the process. Fine plants grow best with careful cultivation and people are almost as sensitive. Just as alkali and acids are not conducive to proper growth, calumny and slander tend to destroy the advancing unity of a country and to inflame the passions of a people.

69. We believe, however, that unity can be achieved and maintained. We do not share the fears of some of our leaders that the evolution of Canadianism is being left too much to "nature's courses or the mere exigencies of time" without evoking "an inward spiritual grace and zealous devotion." Newcomers, however, must be shown that they have something to be devoted to. Devotion must be predicated upon the prospective citizen's right to walk with dignity and the clear understanding that the objects of devotion are concrete enough to be readily available to all. "No one lives for a thing he does not understand or believe in, love and feel a part of himself," said Dr. Lorne Pierce (Canadian People, Toronto: 1945, 59). With integration it is possible to set in motion those subtle forces that furnish points of identification that release the springs of loyalty and make us good citizens.

70. As for heterogeneity, even as far back as a century and a quarter ago, Ralph Waldo Emerson had no fear of an influx of mixed people to America:

> The energy of Irish, Germans, Swedes, Poles and Cossacks, and all the European tribes... will construct a new race, a new religion, a new state, a new literature, which will be as vigorous as the new Europe which came out of the smelting-pot of the Dark Ages... (quoted in R. H. Gabriel, Course of American Thought, 2nd ed., New York: 1956, 46).

A generation ago our own Governor-General, Lord Tweedsmuir, echoed a similar view when he told a Ukrainian gathering at Frazerwood, Manitoba, "Any people with as strong a tradition as yours will be all the better Canadians for being good Ukrainians." It is the view of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee that Lord Tweedsmuir was of the opinion that Ukrainians with their handicrafts, folks songs, dances, and folk legends had a very valuable contribution to make to Canada, and that he reflected the sentiments of contemporary cultural leaders in Canada. In our own day, Professor M. L. Morton echoes the Tweedsmuir tradition when he writes:

> It is in such transmutation of the folk cultures and genius into the vernacular English that the hope of Manitoba letters seems to lie when at the end of 80 years of provincial history some evidence of more material achievements is sought. If indeed anything distinct in the arts and letters were to arise in the province it would come from the mingling and fusion of its many peoples (Manitoba; A History, Toronto: 1957, 470).

A strong statement of the view the Ukrainian Canadian Committee is advancing is found in the manner in which the term "Integration" is explained in the Canada Year Book 1959 (p.177):

> The primary step in the integration process is to learn the language. But the process of integration involves a great deal more than the learning of the language and acquiring citizenship. The newcomer must develop a sense of belonging to the Canadian community and this can happen only when he feels he is fully accepted by Canadians and that he is making a contribution to Canadian life. In the economic sense this may happen fairly quickly, but socially and culturally it takes much longer.

We presume that the Commissioners have often heard the charge that Canada has no distinctive culture of her own. Indeed the Royal Commission of 1949-51 definitely corroborated this allegation; and as long as we can remember, prominent Canadian leaders have been lamenting the fact of its non-existence. Various factors have been blamed for the absence of a distinctive Canadian culture: (1) "intrusion of foreign matter"; (2) "close proximity to a powerful neighbour"; (3) "lack of a fusing flame, an integrating force or core"; (4) "no joint devotion and dedication"; (5) "no national sense of direction"; (6) "no adequate medium for interpreting

the qualities of our land"; and (7) "'adventitious' elements in Canada standing in the way of a more homogeneous, vital and positive quality in our literature" (L. Pierce, Canadian People, Toronto: 1945, 49). All too often ignored is the fact that "boundary lines have no existence for things of the mind and imagination, language being the variation of the medium rather than the primary factor; with the foreign writer being capable of interjecting a Canadian flavor into our literature" (L. Stevenson, Appraisal of Canadian Literature, Toronto: 1926, 97). Did not Louis Hemon, with his fine classic masterpiece Marie Chapdelaine, interject a Canadian flavor into our literature? Cannot the same be said for the prize-winning classic The Viking Heart, by the Icelandic Mrs. Laura Goodman Salverson, or for that latest book of merit, Sons of the Soil, by the Ukrainian novelist, Elias Kiriak, notwithstanding the fact that it was imparted by way of an English translation?

72. If it is a cure for Canada's cultural stagnation that we are seeking, why not look for it in what hitherto has been an unexplored and unexploited field, namely, "integration"? If, as had been alleged, other remedies have failed, why, therefore, not give this one a chance to prove itself.

The Meaning of Integration

73. What we advocate is the mosaic type of integration: a unity in diversity. Rather than denying cultural expression to the many racial and ethnic groups that have come to Canada, we believe Canadian society and culture can benefit from a fusion of cultural elements in which each group retains its own special flavor and genius. We are fortunate in that the various groups have not been submerged, losing their identity in a special melting pot, because our cultural life has been, and will continue to be, greatly enriched by the special contributions that the various groups have brought with them to Canada. It is contended that this mosaic will become one of the most vital sources of inspiration for our poets and novelists. National culture must express something of the essential nature of the society in which it is produced. To be significant it must derive its inspiration from the experiences and achievements of that society. Thus if culture reflects society, and our society is a polyglot entity of many nationalities, it is high time that we started to mobilize the riches of

our many ethnic groups into a new flowering of culture — into a mosaic.

74. There may, of course, be many who prefer to think differently, obsessed as they are by the old story of "the Tower of Babel." Their position was once eloquently described by Mr. C. Gibbs, Member of the Legislative Assembly for Edmonton, in the following terms: "The plague of tongues that descended upon these old builders was a judgment upon their pride and insolent endeavour to scale the heavens... and they clinch the moral by advocating a universal language, usually their own, as a means of appeasing the deity." Mr. Gibbs himself took a different moral from the legend:

> I can picture the deity viewing with alarm the singleness of purpose and the antlike uniformity displayed in the ungrateful project of building away from the beautiful earth into the naked spaces between the spheres, and saying: "I gave these people color as a carpet and for a canopy the encarmined sky at evening and the east like a dove's throat at dawn; and behold, they have fused their souls into a dull jelly of uniformity, as dreary as the caked mud of a dried-up slough. Now, therefore, I will scatter them for their own soul's good and rain many tongues upon them so that the rainbow of adversity may color their lives and my nostrils shall no longer be offended by the dead savor of their melting pots."... And in the sullen silence that fell upon the old buildings slumbered the seed of the many faceted genius that was to glorify the olive groves of Attica with the marble musing of Greek art and the steep banks of northern torrents with a wilder and more passionate architecture.
>
> And in the descent of tongues was the power and the command to sing different songs and paint with many palettes and the joyous urge to dance to a hundred rhythms (Trail, University of Alberta, March 1931).

75. Like Mr. Gibbs we have no desire to see a flattening out of national personality or a dead uniformity of culture and behavior. We share his view, too, that you can never without cruelty and oppression standardize the individual; and neither is it desirable that community or national groups should be standardized. The more loyal an intelligent person is to his own group or nation, the better will he understand and sympathize with other loyalties and other traditions. Dr. Watson Kirkconnell, president of Acadia University, expressed a similar view in Canadian Overtones (Winnipeg: 1935):

> What we sorely need is enough common sense to recognize both the rich diversity of racial gifts on this earth and the strength which racial roots can contribute to the individual.... No graver problem for educationalists exists in this country than that of preserving for the future the full potentialities of our several peoples.... Our constitution is founded on the federal system. Our nation could do no better than to take confederation as its motto in culture and education.... Our schools might give ample recognition to their history and culture. Our Universities might foster their languages and literatures, or even set up an institute of cultural traditions

to preserve and encourage all that may contribute to the diversity of our cultural life (p.38).

The Problem of Marginality

26. There is another aspect of integration that needs clarification before it is accepted as an antidote to the sense of inferiority which still exists among many Canadians of Ukrainian origin. There are still many Ukrainians who are virtually in the position of what Robert E. Parks, the Chicago sociologist, once designated as "the marginal man," the incidental product of acculturation. The marginal man "live(s) in two societies and two not merely different but antagonistic cultures." As a result there is a "cultural conflict within the 'divided self' of the marginal man who often lives in a permanent state of crisis," experiencing "spiritual instability, intensified self-consciousness, restlessness and malaise" (Race and Culture, Glencoe, Illinois: 1933, 49). This marginality stems from an over-aggressive application of the principle of assimilation, which in essence is the negation of one's own personality and the forcible acceptance of a dreary and dull uniformity. The antidote is integration, which brings about more felicitous relations between all groups and dissipates misunderstandings. In this way the best that is in our ethnic groups is welded with the finest that Canadians already possess, producing thereby a resultant composite whole that will be better than any of the component parts. In the process an exchange of skills and ideas is brought about, and a sense of unity is recreated which otherwise is in danger of being lost. It is with the intention of salvaging these inherent qualities in our ethnic groups that we make this submission to the present Commission.

77. Let the prospective citizen understand that he has a stake in the country and he will respond without pressures from any quarter. When he realizes that he is being treated as an equal, he will integrate as surely as night follows day. Let us mobilize our ethnic groups in a manner which will allow them to develop along lines inherent in their nature and which at the same time will not conflict with the greater good of Canada. On this point we concur with the conclusion of Dr. Kirkconnell when he said:

> A man's spiritual life, other things being equal, is as naturally nourished by his racial ethos as a plant by the soil to which ecology has adapted it. Orchids do not flourish on clay nor wheat and barley in a peat bog. It is through recognition of this principle that the newer educational policies in British and tropical Africa are seeking to evolve good Africans and not imitation Europeans (Canadian Overtones, Winnipeg: 1935, 6).

## VI. THE PRESERVATION OF THE UKRAINIAN LANGUAGE

78. A variety of factors, including the tapering off of Ukrainian immigration to Canada, the movement of Ukrainian Canadians from farms to cities, their greater disperion throughout the country away from the areas of compact Ukrainian settlement, the inadequate facilities for instruction in Ukrainian, and the assimilatory pressures of an environment largely unsympathetic to the retention of 'foreign' mother tongues, have combined to produce, since 1931, a gradual decline in the percentage of Ukrainian Canadians, especially those born in Canada, who admit Ukrainian as their mother tongue. Though numerically the number of Ukrainian-speaking Canadians has been growing, from 352,323 in 1951 to 361,496 in 1961, the percentage of Ukrainian Canadians claiming Ukrainian as their mother tongue has declined during the past decade from 73.5 to 64.4 per cent (among those born in Canada from 61.9 to 50.1).

79. Nevertheless, there are indications that the rate of loss of Ukrainian as a mother tongue is declining, when compared with the previous (1941-51) decade. Indeed, in Alberta the trend has been reversed with the percentage of Ukrainian-speaking members of the Ukrainian ethnic group increasing between 1951 and 1961 from 57.8 to 67.8 per cent, an even greater increase taking place among Canadian-born Ukrainians in Alberta (from 42.5 in 1951 to 57.3 per cent in 1961). This tendency can be explained, at least in part, by such factors as a better adjustment to urban life of the once predominantly rural Ukrainian Canadians, the third and fourth generations' growing pride in their cultural heritage, the acceptance of a bilingual English-Ukrainian pattern, the expansion of the privately maintained facilities for instruction in Ukrainian, and a slow but definite change in the climate of public opinion towards language study, especially in Alberta, as evidenced in the past few years by the introduction of Ukrainian as an elective

subject in some high schools. It is too early, however, to assert that the reverse trend will continue, and Albertans of Ukrainian descent will continue to cope with a great many obstacles to ensure that their children retain facility in their mother tongue, particularly if disadvantages such as the following continue: the absence of Ukrainian from the elementary school curricula, the limited number of high schools offering Ukrainian, the virtual exclusion of Ukrainian language and cultural material from the mass communication media, the inhospitable treatment of Ukrainian cultural problems and aspirations in the press, and the vocal segments of public opinion deriding the retention of the Ukrainian mother tongue as an alleged obstacle to Canadianization.

80. The Ukrainian Canadian Committee of Edmonton cannot overemphasize its thesis that an effective opportunity to learn, improve, and use the Ukrainian language, along with the common national language, is a fundamental condition of safeguarding the cultural heritage of Canadians of Ukrainian descent and a guarantee of their continuing to make distinct contributions to Canada's cultural wealth. Language represents an important element in the cultivation and the continuation of a culture, and the correlation between its loss and all-round cultural impoverishment is obvious. To Ukrainian Canadians it is moreover an essential factor in the preservation of their religious identity as members of the Ukrainian Catholic or Orthodox churches employ both Church-Slavonic and the living Ukrainian tongue in church services, sermons, and rituals.

81. But the retention of the Ukrainian mother tongue along with English or French culturally enriches not only the Ukrainian ethnic group but Canada as well. It is but a truism that the knowledge of one or two additional languages is preferable to unilingualism. English-Ukrainian bilingualism, along with English-French, English-German, English-Swedish and other bilingual patterns --besides being a fact of life in Canada, especially on the prairies--is a desirable phenomenom in itself. For it is the overlapping of the two major lanuages with the mother tongue of the Ukrainian and other ethnic mother tongues that gives to the evolving Canadian culture its distinct mosaic pattern as contrasted with the American 'melting pot'; it allows for cross-fertilization and mutual

enrichment of several cultural strains in the development of a common Canadian culture and national personality; it stimulates cultural growth and affords a wider, more direct 'grass roots' participation of Canadians in cultural and artistic activities; it helps to exploit the unique linguistic potential latent in the multi-ethnic population of our country for Canada's greater role in international affairs, for closer cultural, commercial, and tourist dealings with other countries, and for better access to foreign scholarship and the enlargement of Canada's scholastic wealth; and finally it contributes to the development among Canadians of less parochial, more tolerant and informed attitudes towards international affairs and towards the countries and cultures of origin of their fellow citizens.

82. The Committee feels that instruction in the Ukrainian language must not be left exclusively to the private efforts of the Ukrainian ethnic group whose resources are far from adequate to support, in addition to public and separate schools, a network of properly equipped and adequately staffed Ukrainian schools. As ratepayers, Canadians of Ukrainian descent represented by the Committee desire to have Ukrainian integrated as an accredited subject into the existing public and separate schools, taught on a voluntary basis in properly equipped classrooms, by properly trained instructors from adequate textbooks that would relate the Ukrainian heritage to daily Canadian life. Their own experiences as well as that of a number of East and Central European countries, not to mention Switzerland or Belgium, assures the Ukrainian Canadians that it is possible to train students to be bilingual from an early age and that the learning of Ukrainian need not affect the pupils' performance in English or their general scholastic standards. Nor is there a danger that all [illegible] put into the learning of the Ukrainian language would be wasted as this language remains a living medium of communication for the majority of Ukrainian Canadians, it opens access to a living culture shared by some forty million people, and greatly facilitates the acquisition of other Slavonic languages.

83. Accordingly, the Ukrainian Canadian Committee submits that the following measures should be undertaken to safeguard the Ukrainian

language and cultural heritage by the provincial governments with support and encouragement from the Federal government:

i. The Ukrainian language should be offered as an accredited subject from the earliest grades in elementary school whenever it is requested by the parents, and whenever it is feasible in terms of the number of pupils involved.

ii. Universities, especially in those provinces where Ukrainian is offered in high school, should grant full matriculation status to the Ukrainian language and develop programs for the training of teachers in Ukrainian.

iii. At least one of the leading Canadian universities should develop a comprehensive program of Ukrainian studies, including the study of Ukrainian language, literature, culture and history, as well as the contributions of the Ukrainian group to Canadian life.

iv. Attempts should be made by proper authorities to include in school curricula and textbooks reliable information about the Ukrainian and other ethnic groups and their contributions to Canadian life so as to dispel biases based on ignorance or distorted data.

## VII. MASS COMMUNICATION MEDIA

84. Except on rare occasions, the publicly-owned media of mass communication in Canada --the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation radio and television facilities and the National Film Board --have ignored the cultural and artistic heritage and contributions of Canadians of Ukrainian origin. The tendency to treat Ukrainian culture and art as 'exotic' curiosities, unrelated if not foreign to the mainstream of Canadian cultural life, have had several undesirable consequences not only for Ukrainian Canadians but for Canadian society in general:

i. Ukrainian cultural and artistic activities have been forced into the narrow confines of an ethnic ghetto, with the denial of public recognition and patronage to these activities discouraging the development of native talents.

ii. A widespread lack of knowledge and understanding of Ukrainian

Canadians among their fellow citizens has persisted.

iii. The integration of cultural values of the Ukrainian and other ethnic groups and the development of a broadly-based, distinctly Canadian (and not only Anglo-Saxon and French) culture has been arrested.

85. Canadians of Ukrainian descent cannot but resent the fact that they remain largely disfranchised in cultural terms. For while they have been faithfully performing their duties as citizens, producers, and taxpayers, along with Canadians of British and French origin, unlike the latter, they have not been allowed to benefit from the public communication media to a degree commensurate to their contributions to the maintenance of these media. The preservation of Ukrainian cultural values has thus been left almost entirely to the private efforts and generosity of Ukrainian Canadians in an atmosphere of public indifference or occasional condescension and even disdain.

86. The Ukrainian Canadian Committee welcomes the fact that the Royal Commission's Terms of Reference address themselves to the problem of improving the role of mass communication media in "better cultural relations" and "a more widespread appreciation" of "the subsequent contributions made by the other cultures" to the cultural enrichment of Canada. The Committee feels that the mass communication media, in particular the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation and the National Film Board, can and should substantially contribute to the safeguarding of the Ukrainian cultural heritage and the enrichment of Canadian culture by instituting the following measures without sacrificing their guiding principles of non-partisanship, objectivity, and prudence:

i. Consideration should be given by the authorities to the appointment of a representative of the Ukrainian ethnic group to the Board of Broadcast Governors; alternatively, an advisory body representing the principal non-British and non-French ethnic groups, including the Ukrainian group, could be attached to the Board to maintain liaison between the latter and these ethnic groups and advise the Governors on the matters relating to these groups' problems. This would ensure the participation of Canadians

of Ukrainian origin in the formulation of policy.

ii. Both the central and the prairie CBC radio and television facilities should be reorganized in such a manner as to ensure the continuous participation of Ukrainian Canadians in the programming and production of radio and television broadcasts relating to the Ukrainian ethnic group and to enable the Corporation to draw upon the best talents available among Ukrainian Canadians.

iii. The scope of the programming by CBC radio and television stations should be expanded to include materials, in both English and French, on the history, cultural heritage, the settlement and evolution of the Ukrainian group, its current cultural and artistic activities and its contributions to various aspects of Canadian life; moreover, programs of Ukrainian music and dances, as well as adapted translations of Ukrainian literary and dramatic works should be integrated into the CBC repertoire. Ukrainian-language programs, especially those addressed to children, should also be offered with appropriate English or French commentary.

iv. Consideration might be given to an alternative approach to the problem, namely, the establishment in Western Canada of a second, multilingual CBC radio-television network to serve the French, Ukrainian, German and other large ethnic groups in the area.

v. Privately-operated radio and television stations in Canada should be encouraged by the Board of Broadcast Governors to include programs relating to Ukrainian Canadian culture within their "Canadian content" time and to draw upon the advice and talents available among Ukrainian Canadians.

vi. The National Film Board should extend the scope of its interest to include films, documentaries, "shorts" and film strips relating to Ukrainian historical background and cultural heritage and the contributions of the Ukrainian group to various areas of Canadian life. In doing so the NFB should avail itself of qualified advice from the Ukrainian group and utilize the best talents among Ukrainian Canadians.

## VIII. CONCLUDING REMARKS

87. The Ukrainian Canadian Committee realizes that the problems which have called for the creation of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism will not disappear with the conclusion of its work and that the questions of ethnic, lingual and cultural relations will continue to occupy a prominent place in Canadian public and social life. There is a manifest need for a continuous systematic study of these questions; for the accumulation and dissemination of objective information about Canada's ethnic groups; for a forum to discuss the current problems of ethno-cultural relations, cooperation, and integration; for an informed and representative body to advise both the Federal and provincial authorities, as well as the general public, on the ways and means of removing the barriers of inter-cultural ignorance and intolerance, of safeguarding cultural heritages of Canadian people, and of contributing to their integration in a uniquely Canadian cultural mosaic.

Accordingly, the Committee recommends that:

i. A permanent voluntary, non-governmental advisory body be formed to continue the study of the issues posed by bilingualism, biculturalism, and the cultural problems of the non-British and non-French ethnic groups. Such a body representing the ethnic components that constitute the Canadian people and endowed with funds necessary for the exercise of its functions would advise the government and the public at large of its findings and recommendations.

I. FEATURES OF THE UKRAINIAN ETHNIC AND LANGUAGE GROUPS
CANADA, 1901 - 1961

| | 1901 | 1911 | 1921 | 1931 | 1941 | 1951 | 1961 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| TOTAL POPULATION (in thousands) | 5,371 | 7,207 | 8,788 | 10,377 | 11,507 | 14,009 | 18,238 |
| UKRAINIAN ETHNIC GROUP | 5,682 | 75,432 | 106,721 | 225,113 | 305,929 | 395,043 | 473,337 |
| as percentage of total population | 0.1 | 1.0 | 1.2 | 2.2 | 2.7 | 2.8 | 2.6 |
| percentage resident in rural areas | 96.5 | 85.0 | 80.1 | 70.5 | 66.0 | 49.7 | 34.8 |
| foreign-born | -- | -- | 48,333 | 96,832 | 106,550 | 120,118 | 110,119 |
| foreign-born as percentage of Ukrainian ethnic group | -- | -- | 45.3 | 43.0 | 34.8 | 30.4 | 23.3 |
| UKRAINIAN LANGUAGE GROUP | -- | -- | 85,657* | 252,802 | 313,273 | 352,223 | 361,496 |
| as percentage of total population | -- | -- | 1.3* | 2.4 | 2.7 | 2.5 | 2.0 |
| Canadian-born Ukrainian language group | -- | -- | -- | (142,071) | (200,224) | (222,561) | (238,898) |
| as percentage of Canadian-born | | | | 1.8 | 2.1 | 1.9 | 1.6 |
| Percentage of Ukrainian ethnic group speaking Ukrainian mother tongue | -- | -- | 91.7* | 93.1 | 92.1 | 73.5 | 64.4 |
| Percentage of Canadian-born Ukrainians speaking Ukrainian mother tongue | -- | -- | -- | 87.9 | 87.6 | 61.9 | 50.1 |

*Ten years of age and over.

Sources: Census of Canada (1901-1961 inclusive)

II. FEATURES OF THE UKRAINIAN ETHNIC AND LANGUAGE GROUPS
ALBERTA, 1901 - 1961

| | 1901 | 1911 | 1921 | 1931 | 1941 | 1951 | 1961 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| TOTAL POPULATION (in thousands) | 66 | 375 | 588 | 732 | 796 | 940 | 1,332 |
| UKRAINIAN ETHNIC GROUP | 634 | 17,384 | 23,827 | 55,872 | 71,868 | 97,957 | 105,923 |
| as percentage of total population | 0.9 | 4.7 | 4.0 | 7.6 | 9.0 | 9.3 | 8.0 |
| percentage resident in rural areas | 72.6 | 88.0 | 91.1 | 83.4 | 81.4 | 67.7 | 46.3 |
| foreign-born | -- | -- | 10,655 | 23,562 | 23,731 | 23,205 | 19,354 |
| foreign-born as percentage of Ukrainian ethnic group | -- | -- | 44.7 | 42.2 | 33.0 | 26.7 | 17.3 |
| UKRAINIAN LANGUAGE GROUP | -- | -- | 20,001* | 60,266 | 74,837 | 82,008 | 83,923 |
| as percentage of total population | -- | -- | 4.4* | 8.2 | 9.4 | 8.7 | 6.3 |
| Canadian-born Ukrainian language group | | | | (34,367) | (49,551) | (56,274) | (61,737) |
| as percentage of Canadian-born | -- | -- | -- | 8.1 | 9.2 | 8.0 | 5.9 |
| percentage of Ukrainian ethnic group speaking Ukrainian mother tongue | -- | -- | 91.4* | 95.8 | 93.9 | 57.8 | 67.8 |
| percentage of Canadian-born Ukrainians speaking Ukrainian mother tongue | -- | -- | -- | 92.7 | 90.7 | 42.5 | 57.3 |

*Ten years of age and over

Sources: Census of Canada (1901 - 1961 inclusive).

III. FEATURES OF THE UKRAINIAN ETHNIC AND LANGUAGE GROUPS
EDMONTON, 1901 - 1961

| | 1901 | 1911 | 1921 | 1931 | 1941 | 1951 | 1961 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| TOTAL POPULATION (in thousands) | 4 | 31 | 59 | 79 | 94 | 160 | 281 |
| UKRAINIAN ETHNIC GROUP | 83 | 692 | 508 | 4,625 | 6,070 | 17,310 | 32,526 |
| as percentage of total population | 1.9 | 2.2 | 0.9 | 5.8 | 6.5 | 10.8 | 11.6 |
| foreign-born | -- | -- | -- | -- | 2,009 | 4,417 | 6,339 |
| foreign-born as percentage of Ukrainian ethnic group | -- | -- | -- | -- | 33.1 | 25.5 | 19.5 |
| UKRAINIAN LANGUAGE GROUP | -- | -- | 342* | 3,552* | 6,236 | 15,140 | 24,388 |
| as percentage of total population | -- | -- | -- | 5.5* | 6.6 | 9.5 | 8.7 |
| Canadian-born Ukrainian language group | -- | -- | -- | -- | (3,902) | (10,016) | (17,696) |
| as percentage of Canadian-born | -- | -- | -- | -- | 6.1 | 8.3 | 8.3 |
| Percentage of Ukrainian ethnic group speaking Ukrainian mother tongue | -- | -- | 98.6 | 96.5 | 102.7 | 75.7 | 63.7 |
| Percentage of Canadian-born Ukrainians speaking Ukrainian mother tongue | -- | -- | -- | -- | 96.1 | 67.3 | 54.9 |

*Ten years of age and over.

Sources: Census of Canada (1901 - 1961 inclusive)

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NO.: 780-818

TITLE: "Brief Submitted to the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism"

AUTHOR: The Ukrainian Canadian Committee (Edmonton Branch)

Brief of 40 pages; 8 recommendation(s)

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REMARKS OF ANALYST:

The central theme of this brief is that Canada should have an "integrated" culture made up of the cultures of the many ethnic groups. Efforts should be made to ensure the continuation of these cultures, their languages should be taught in the schools. Presently, Ukrainian Canadians have been culturally disenfranchised, particularly by the mass media.

The brief contains several recommendations which are summarized in both French and English (Pages iii - iv)

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ATT.: RESEARCH

From Pages 9 to 22, a detailed summary of Ukrainian contributions to Canada's cultural enrichment is provided.

Page 22 et seq. It might be interesting to check the Provincial Gazettes to determine how many Canadians, other than French or English are Canadianizing their names.

Page 24: The educational system for languages in Scandinavian countries, particularly Sweden which is considered a bilingual country of French or English etc, might be worth investigating.

Page 25: Can any concrete example of discrimination against Ukrainians be found in textbooks? There is much talk of this but no proof.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS:

SUMMARY

The Ukrainian Canadian Committee is the representative voice of the Ukrainian Canadian Community and is the co-ordinating committee of thirteen other Ukrainian Canadian organizations in Edmonton. The Edmonton Branch represents an absolute majority of the 105,923 Canadians of Ukrainian ancestry in the Province of Alberta.

"I. General Observations" Pages 1 - 3

Although the establishment of the Commission is welcomed, exception is taken by the Ukrainian Committee to some parts of the Commission's Terms of Reference and its Working Paper. By clear inference the former reduces Canadians of other racial origins to a permanent status of second-class citizens and cannot be reconciled with fundamental democratic tenets. The exclusiveness of the proposed partnership seems to point in the direction of "two melting pots", despite the Commission's protests to the contrary.

The Commission unduly restricted its terms of reference by stating that consideration of "other ethnic groups" is limited to those who have retained their mother tongues.

The concern for preservation of cultural values of other ethnic groups must lead to positive measures in the realm of language teaching by provincial authorities with material support from the Federal Government.

"II. Bilingualism, Biculturalism and Canadians of non-French and non-English Origin" Pages 3 - 9

At the federal level no solution other than English-French bilingualism in the Government is acceptable. Bilingualism should apply to those civil servants abroad in Quebec and in major concentrations of French-speaking people. Bilingualism should take the form of incentives to present civil servants to master French with regard to their present rights and duties and must never supersede the principle of merit. Proper recognition should be given to civil servants fluent in other languages.

To avoid discrimination, qualifications should be spelled out in terms of language rather than cultural background.

The Federal bilingual formula is not applicable in the Prairie provinces.

- Population figures.

While the learning of French by non-British and non-French groups should be encouraged, ethnic groups should first have the opportunity of learning their own mother tongue in the schools.

All cultures partaking in the evolution of a common Canadian culture should be given official recognition commensurate with their contributions. The West European model of the culturally homogeneous nation-state does not apply in a nation of immigrants. In the context of democratic freedoms, cultural pluralism and Canadian unity are not antagonistic. Monolithic homogeneous systems have been achieved at the price of cultural strangulation and suppression of human rights. To these methods of attaining national unity must be counterpoised the unity that is the result of partnership of freedom and fundamental equality and the power stemming from the solidarity of free men.

- Recommendations

"III. Contribution of Alberta's Ukrainians to the Cultural Enrichment of the Province and of Canada in General" Pages 9 - 22

- There follows a résumé of the substantial contribution made to Canada by Ukrainians in the fields of Agriculture, Economics, Professional Life, Athletics, Education, Scholarship and Scientific, Literature and Journalism, Religion, the Fine Arts and Public Life.

Presently sixty-three localities, municipalities, and school districts in Alberta have Ukrainian names. By 1914, approximately 170,000 Ukrainians had come to Canada and there were two subsequent migrations. Presently Ukrainians make up 2.6% of Canada's population, Alberta having the second largest number (105,923).

The impact of the retention of the mother tongue is immediate and marked although the percentage of Ukrainians speaking their mother tongue has fallen from 93 to 67 per cent since 1941. If greater opportunities to teach Ukrainian are not forthcoming, a further decline is probably inevitable.

"IV. Problems in Safeguarding the Contribution of Alberta's Ukrainians to Cultural Development" Pages 22 - 27

The pressure of assimilation is very great; some Canadians continue to believe themselves superior to so-called 'foreigners'. The request to 'speak white' is occasionally heard.

Canadians of British and French descent should study other languages; every Canadian should break through the barrier of a single language.

Canadians of British or French origin who hold certain things dearly should permit others to do the same; prejudice should not triumph over toleration and numbers over justice.

Canada must arrive at the understanding of the importance of languages and action must be taken to combat public indifference.

- Example of Sweden where children have 8 years of English, 6 of German, 5 of French and some of Danish and Norwegian.

- Report of the 1959 Alberta Royal Commission on Education whose recommendations on the teaching of French have not been acted upon.

The University of Alberta's Faculty of Arts has refused to grant Ukrainian matriculation status on an equal basis with other languages.

Text books speak mainly of the French and the English and any information given on the Ukraine is frequently inaccurate, even false. (NO EXAMPLES)

Although unfair employment practices are not as prevalent as they once were, an analysis of the Census of Canada figures for "Selected Occupations (Males) of the Largest Ethnic Groups in Alberta, 1961" shows that Canadians of British origin, although less than fifty per cent of the population hold well over fifty per cent of the preferred occupations.

Slavs are making contributions in government service, at the universities, and in any profession one cares to name. "Is their managerial acumen so poor that they cannot aspire to positions on the boards of directors of corporations or as executive personnel in the same corporations? (Page 27).

"V. Assimilation or Integration?" Pages 27 - 34

The susceptibility of the immigrant to assimilation is subject of grave concern to those whose patriotic fervor causes them to see a political menace in the existence of 'foreigners' within Canada's borders. If genuine Canadianization is to be achieved, it will be through conscious integration rather than forced assimilation.

There is a judging of the race by the crimes of a few: "if a foreigner beats his wife, then all New Canadians are wife-beaters". (Page 29)

There follows a general discussion of 'unity in diversity' though cultural heterogeneity by means of "integration". The mosaic form of integration is encouraged and we are fortunate that various groups have not been submerged, losing their identity in a form of melting pot.

There is however a problem of 'marginality' resulting from an over-aggressive application of the principle of assimilation. The solution is integration.

"VI. The Preservation of the Ukrainian Language" Pages 34 - 37

A variety of factors have combined to produce since 1931 a gradual decline in the percentage of Ukrainian Canadians, especially those Canadian-born, who admit Ukrainian as their mother tongue. However, the rate of loss is declining and in some areas is reversing as a result of such factors as a better adjustment to urban life, the third and fourth generations' growing pride in their cultural heritage, the acceptance of a bilingual English-Ukrainian pattern, the expansion of private facilities for instruction in Ukrainian and a slow but definite change in the climate of public opinion towards language study.

Retention of language is correlative to retention of culture and to Ukrainian Canadians is an essential factor in the preservation of their religious identity as members of the Ukrainian Orthodox and Catholic churches.

Retention of the Ukrainian mother tongue gives much to the evolution of the Canadian mosaic-patterned culture and allows for cross-fertilization and mutual enrichment.

Instruction in the Ukrainian language must not be left to private efforts. Ukrainian should be integrated as an academic subject in the existing public and separate schools.

- Recommendations

"VII. Mass Communication Media" Pages 37 - 39

The tendency to treat Ukrainian culture as "exotic curiosities" unrelated to the mainstream of Canadian life has forced Ukrainian cultural and artistic activities into ethnic ghettoes and has resulted in a widespread lack of understanding of Ukrainian Canadians among their fellow citizens. There has also been an arrestation of the development of a broadly-based distinctly Canadian culture.

While faithfully performing their civic duties the Ukrainians have been culturally disenfranchised.

- Recommendations

"VIII. Concluding Remarks" Page 40

There is a manifest need for continuous, systematic study of all these questions and for the accumulation and dissemination of objective information about Canada's ethnic groups.

- Recommendation

CONFIDENTIAL

BACKGROUND PAPERS

Brief #: 780-818

The Ukrainian Canadian Committee (Edmonton Branch)

EDMONTON

A. INFORMATION ON ORGANIZATION

1. MEMBERSHIP

1. Eligible: Canadians of Ukrainian origin.

2. It is the coordinating committee of 13 Ukrainian Canadian organizations in the Edmonton area.

3. More than 50,000 members throughout the province.

2. OBJECTIVES

1. Acts as spokesman for Ukrainian Canadians.

2. Promotes interests of Ukrainians.

3. Emphasis on cultural heritage and Ukrainian language.

3. HOW BRIEF WAS PREPARED

1. Purports to present the position of Ukrainian Canadians in Alberta.

2. President of organization is M. Snihurowych.

B. QUESTIONING OF WITNESS (ES)

PROGRAMME AND LIAISON SECTION

N.B. The Ukrainian Canadian Committee (National) presented its brief in Winnipeg las May. The Toronto and Winnipeg Branch of the Committee also presented briefs last spring.

p. 2
para. 1
Summary of Recommendations

Q. 1 "The Canadian Government should reaffirm the principle of full equality of all Canadian citizens, irrespective of their ethnic origin..."
Why does your organization feel that a reaffirmation is necessary?

~~p. 3~~ IV
para. 6

Q. 2 ...Proper authorities should include in school curricula and textbooks reliable information about the Ukrainian and other ethnic groups...
Are you thinking of new textbooks of Canadian History? Or of something else?

p. 3 IV
para. 8

Q. 3 "A permanent voluntary, non-governmental advisory body, should be formed to continue the study of the issues posed by bilingualism, biculturalism, and the cultural problems of the non-British and non-French ethnic groups... Organizations and individuals in other parts of the country recommended the formation of a Federal Department of Culture. What do you think of this suggestion?

para. 2
General
Observations

Q. 4 "...Moreover, the use of the term "races" makes even the "melting pot" prospect something of a problem: for one can certainly learn one or both of Canada's official languages, but how does one join a "race" to become an"equal"?...
The term "race" in our terms of reference means founding people, as it is used in the French text, and referring only to the history of Canada.

No - [illegible]

para. 3
General
Observations

Q. 5 "...the above paper (Terms of Reference) rules that henceforth the Commission's consideration of "other ethnic groups" shall be restricted to those sections of ethnic groups which have retained their respective mother tongues..."
Which part of the Terms of Reference are you referring to?

21/7/65

CONFIDENTIAL

BACKGROUND SUPPLEMENT

Brief #: 780-818

Ukrainian Canadian Committee
EDMONTON

RESEARCH COMMENT AND QUESTION

It would be useful to know more about public library services which, so far as I can make out, are not discussed in this brief.

I would go so far as to request them to submit a supplementary brief describing how the obviously substantial Ukrainian population in Alberta (and which has apparently, literary inclinations) gets books to read, this to include how well or badly they consider themselves served by the Public Literary System.

Please consider this my request for such a request to them. (The authors of this brief are clearly well qualified to provide us with this information).

They should be asked, further, whether the Inter-Library loan system which makes the Ukrainian collection of the National Library accessible to them is much used; or whether (this I do not know) its collection duplicates special collections available locally.

(The Commissioners might like to know that the Ukrainians have agitated more than any other group to be better represented in the National Library and to have a special librarian for the Ukrainian collection.)

(Nancy Doull)
Division de la Culture

September 10, 1965.

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# PLAIDOYER
# POUR UNE NOUVELLE
# CONFEDERATION CANADIENNE

par

GIUSEPPE TURI

Cet essai politique sur le Canada d'aujourd'hui a été soumis, sous forme de mémoire, le premier septembre 1965, à Ottawa, à la Commission Royale d'Enquête sur le Bilinguisme et le Biculturalisme.

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(I)

# INTRODUCTION

## LA CRISE CANADIENNE D'AUJOURD'HUI, SUJET DU MEMOIRE

1. Nature du mémoire. 2. Raison du mémoire. 3. Eléments essentiels de la crise politique canadienne d'aujourd'hui.

1. Nature du mémoire: Ce mémoire ne peut et ne veut pas être une étude détaillée des nombreux, différents et complexes phénomènes et problèmes qui secouent depuis très longtemps, et particulièrement de nos jours, le système politique canadien.

Pour ce faire, il faudrait dédier des mois et des mois entiers à des enquêtes, études et recherches très poussées dans les multiples domaines du sujet qui nous occupe.

Ce qui supposerait, de toute évidence, une disponibilité de temps considérable chez l'auteur du mémoire, ce qui n'est pas le cas, du moins à l'heure actuelle.

Ce mémoire veut tout simplement considérer les aspects essentiels de l'actuelle crise politique canadienne, en étudier quelques domaines précis et y apporter des solutions durables et applicables, selon le cas, à courte ou à longue échéance.

Il va sans dire que si le temps et les circonstances le permettent, l'auteur de ce mémoire se fera un plaisir d'approfondir dans les moindres détails les problèmes fondamentaux soulevés dans la présente étude.

2. Raison du mémoire: Le Canada d'aujourd'hui est en crise. Ce n'est pas, bien sûr, une constatation originale. Tout le monde sait que notre Pays est en crise, excepté, bien entendu, les ignorants et les gens en mauvaise foi, qui, soit dit en passant, sont très nombreux heureusement et malheureusement pour nous et pour eux! Mais, très souvent, cette crise est vue d'une façon traditionnellement classique et foncièrement banale. C'est en partie pour rémédier à cet état de choses que ce mémoire a été conçu. Mais surtout afin de permettre à l'auteur d'exprimer ses vues au sujet de la crise politique canadienne d'aujourd'hui, en y formulant sa solution personnelle à lui, dans l'espoir qu'elle pourra provoquer et apporter, d'une manière fonctionnelle, quelque chose de nouveau et de sérieux quant à la solution profonde de cette crise qui sévit depuis trop longtemps au Pays.

Ce sera la modeste contribution de l'auteur à son Pays d'adoption, le Canada, qu'il aime beaucoup, et à une de ses régions, qu'il chérit le plus, le Québec. C'est d'ailleurs à la lumière de ces sentiments que les critiques de l'auteur, ni indifférentes ni minimes, au système de vie canadien devront être prises en considération.

3. Eléments essentiels de la crise politique canadienne d'aujourd'hui: Cette crise politique canadienne a un nom bien précis: divorce et conflit entre les deux partners originaires du Canada, les Canadiens-Français et les Canadiens-Anglais.

Mais s'agit-il seulement de ce conflit et le conflit est-

il purement linguistique et culturel? Ou essentiellement politique?

Et que vient faire dans ce conflit, entre autres, le troisième et nouveau partner du Canada, à savoir les groupes ethniques et les Néo-Canadiens?

Et cette crise, est-elle plus grave ou moins grave que l'on pense? C'est ce qu'on verra chemin faisant. On ne pourra naturellement pas éviter de répéter quelquefois des choses et des faits qu'on connait déjà. Et comme toujours, ne faudra-t-il pas commencer par le commencement?

(II)

## LE CANADA, PHENOMENE POLITIQUE

A) Les deux partners originaires du Pays ou les premiers fondateurs du Canada.

1. Origine lointaine du Pays. 2. Origine bilingue et biculturelle du Pays. 3. Considérables exceptions à cette dualité d'origine. 4. Relations tendues entre les deux groupes originaires. 5. Deux sociétés différentes. 6. Les deux solitudes.

B) Le troisième et nouveau partner du Pays ou les deuxièmes fondateurs du Canada.

7. Les ethniques et les Néos arrivent au Pays. 8. Les raisons de ces immigrations. 9. La politique d'immigration au Pays. 10. L'intégration anglophone des ethniques et des Néos. 11. Les raisons de cette tendance. 12. Mais y a eut-il de véritable intégration? 13. La contribution des ethniques et des Néos au Pays tout entier. 14. Les phénomènes décrits deviennent des problèmes aigus.

A) Les deux partners originaires du Pays ou les premiers fondateurs du Canada.

1. Origine lointaine du Pays: Le Canada, considéré comme un ensemble de plusieurs entités humaines suffisamment organisées et interdépendantes entre elles, et établies dans un certain territoire, existe depuis plusieurs siècles, à partir, grosso modo, du 17me siècle. Même si ce n'est qu'en 1867 qu'il acquiert une véritable identité politique et ce n'est qu'à partir de cette date, d'ailleurs, qu'il semble s'orienter et se déterminer davantage d'une façon dynamique.

2. Origine bilingue et biculturelle du Pays: Jusqu'en 1867 le Canada a été indubitablement le fait de deux groupes linguistiques et culturels, différents et homogènes, les Francophones et les Anglophones, quoique ces derniers fussent moins homogènes que les premiers, leur groupe étant formé dans une certaine mesure de nombreuses personnes de différentes origines politiques, religieuses ou nationales, et par surcroît, arrivant et s'installant au Pays à des différentes périodes. Les Anglophones, en outre, semble-t-il, étaient disséminés dams un territoire très vaste et par conséquent moins facilement accessible et ouvert à des relations ou échanges de tout genre, directes et régulières, du moins à ces moments-là et ce pour des raisons strictement techniques.

3. Considérables exceptions à cette dualité d'origine: Mais faut-il rappeler que le découvreur du Canada, en 1496, celui à partir duquel le Pays devient un territoire intéressant à conquérir, posséder et développer, fut un Italien au service de la Couronne britannique, Giovanni Caboto? Faut-il rappeler aussi que plusieurs individus et groupes d'origine autre que française et anglaise se sont installés au Pays bien avant 1867 et ont, d'ailleurs, contribué considérablement au progrès du Pays? Pour s'en rendre compte, il faudrait fouiller comme il faut les archives d'antan et on serait surpris, je l'espère très agréablement, de voir combien de nationalités différentes aient été à l'origine du Canada. Beaucoup étaient venus avec les armées, française ou anglaise, et d'autres, venus isolement, étaient des commerçants avertis. Néanmoins, il s'agissait

de cas individuels et de groupes isolés. La preuve en est donnée par le fait, éloquent en soi, que ces individus et groupes, si nombreux fussent-ils, se sont intégrés, voire assimilés assez facilement à l'un des deux groupes originaires du Pays.

4. Relations tendues entre les deux groupes originaires: Les relations entre les deux groupes originaires n'ont jamais été bonnes. Néanmoins, ces mauvaises relations n'ont jamais dégénéré dans des batailles ou guerres ouvertes et sanglantes excepté, bien entendu, celles qui devaient consacrer, officiellement en 1763, l'éloignement de la France de ce continent. Cette atmosphère, tendue oui, mais non dangereusement critique entre les deux groupes originaires, était-ce dû au climat canadien, dont la rigeur et les sauts d'humeur réduisent forcément l'ardeur de ses habitants? Ou n'était-ce pas plutôt dû au bon fonctionnement du système politique britannique et de ses institutions au Canada? Système politique qui a quand-même permis aux deux groupes de vivre et de prospérer dans le même Pays, même si isolés l'un de l'autre, sans que des troubles sanglants n'aient jamais eu lieu. La pendaison de Louis Riel en 1885 au Manitoba fut quand-même un cas isolé. Tandis que la rébellion de 1837 pourrait, peut-être, être considerée comme étant une rébellion "canadienne". Quant aux activités des séparatistes d'aujourd'hui, leur violence est plutôt verbale ou accidentelle, du moins jusqu'à présent.

5. <u>Deux sociétés différentes</u>: Au moment où la confédération canadienne se formait, deux sociétés différentes s'étaient constituées au sein de ces deux groupes originaires. La société canadienne-anglaise, plus variée, plus nombreuse en puissance, plus étendue, dirigée et contrôlée essentiellement par des commerçants. Société réunissant plusieurs groupes nationaux et nombreuses et sectes religieuses. Et gardant de très forts liens avec la mère-patrie, l'Angleterre, même si beaucoup de Canadiens-Anglais étaient des Ecossais ou des Irlandais! Société qui devait tôt ou tard réunir dans son sein les loyalistes américains, qui avaient refusé la révolution américaine, et son esprit, ce qui eut par la suite de très importantes conséquences politiques facilement imaginables, et qui d'ailleurs ne sont pas prêtes de disparaître au Pays. Société foncièrement dynamique et tendante à l'industrialisation et donc apparemment ouverte et démocratique.

La société canadienne-française, au contraire, était moins variée; elle était formée surtout de Français du Nord, très Catholiques, qui, soit dit en passant, ressemblaient pas mal au type anglais, dans une certaine mesure, il va sans dire. Société vivante surtout dans un territoire determiné, dirigée, voire dominée par les professionnels et les ecclesiastiques. Société foncièrement rurale et statique, moins ouverte et démocratique que la société anglophone. Les Francophones, qui, pour une raison ou l'autre, vivaient en dehors du territoire du Québec, étaient pratiquement abandonnés à leur destin, du moins du point de vue

linguistique, sinon culturel. Enfin, chose assez intéressante à noter: les Francophones ou pour mieux dire certains d'entre eux s'étaient mélangés avec les indigènes, à différence des Anglophones qui avaient soigneusement évité d'avoir des rapports avec eux, excepté, bien entendu, les rapports inévitables.

6. Les deux solitudes: Jusqu'à la conquête définitive du Canada de la part des Anglais, les activités essentielles étaient purement économiques et celles-ci étaient, grosso modo, la pêche, la fourrure, le forêt. Et selon certains auteurs, qu'il est inutile de citer, l'évangelisation du continent. Après la conquête anglaise et l'immigration britannique, une société commerciale et quelque peu industrielle se forma au Pays. Mais les deux sociétés nationales vivent toujours isolées l'une de l'autre. Car il s'agit bien de deux solitudes, vivant repliées sur elles-mêmes. Et les tentatives, à vrai dire modestes, de britanniser les Français échouent péniblement, car les leaders des Français, ou du moins ceux qui sont restés après la fameuse déportation des Acadiens et les nouveaux, refusent l'assimilation et l'intégration pure et simple. Un modus vivendi règle néanmoins leurs relations réciproques, assez rares et très superficielles, à vrai dire. Mais leurs manifestations seront toujours d'un niveau "provincial". Si les Canadiens-Français et les Canadiens-Anglais ont été les premiers fondateurs du Pays, ils ont en été surtout des fondateurs statiques!

Deux solitudes donc, alors que de nouvelles exigences économiques et politiques se font sentir: la confédération canadienne naît en 1867 et, très étrangement, dans son statut fondamental on n'y mentionne que très indirectement l'existence de ces deux sociétés combien différentes. A cette date-là, la population canadienne était d'à peu près 3 millions et demi d'âmes.

Deux solitudes donc, dont l'une, l'anglaise, majoritaire et dominante, et l'autre, la française, minoritaire et dominée. La première animée par un fort complexe de supériorité, et la deuxième par un terrible complexe d'infériorité. Situation naturellement combien explosive! Et une de ces explosions parmi les plus terribles fut la revanche des berceaux de la part des Canadiens-Français. Et le refus catégorique de s'angliciser. Explosions oui, mais pas trop bruyantes! A la canadienne, quoi!

B) Le troisième et nouveau partner du Pays ou les deuxième fondateurs du Canada

7. Les ethniques et les Néos arrivent au Pays: Mais depuis 1867 et en particulier vers la fin du siècle dernier jusqu'à nos jours (en l'occurrence, l'année de grâce 1965), des millions d'individus ont immigré au Pays. Excepté pour les périodes 1915-1918 et 1930-1945, l'immigration au Pays a toujours été d'une très grande envergure. Les gens sont venus de tous les coins du monde, mais en particuliers des Iles Britanniques, de l'Allemagne, de l'Italie, de l'Ucraine et de la Hollande.

De 1946 à nos jours, deux millions et demi de gens ont immigré au Canada. Dont, à peu près, 800,000 d'origine britannique; 350,000 d'origine italienne; 300,000 d'origine allemande; 170,000 d'origine hollandaise; 90,000 d'origine polonaise; 75,000 d'origine juive et 70,000 d'origine française. C'est pourquoi, la population du Canada rejoint aujourd'hui les 20 millions d'habitants!

Fait à noter: la moitiée de ces immigrants, considérés dans leur ensemble, se sont installés dans la province d'Ontario, un quart dans la province de Québec, un dixième dans la province de la Colombie-Britannique et le reste dans les Maritimes et les Prairies. Autre fait à noter: l'immigration est destinée à continuer et à augmenter progressivement au Canada et à se diriger toujours vers les trois plus importantes provinces du Pays.

8. Les raisons de ces immigrations: Point n'est besoin de faire une étude sociologique pour découvrir les raisons profondes de ces immigrations. Dans le fond, l'homme a toujours été et sera toujours un émigrant, car il est et il sera toujours insatisfait. La condition humaine, étant ce qu'elle est, à savoir une condition d'éternelle insatisfaction, chose d'ailleurs qui démontre clairement l'intelligence de l'homme.

On peut être insatisfait pour plusieurs raisons évidemment. Mais il semble bien que la plus grande partie des nouveaux arrivés aient quitté leur pays d'origine pour des raisons essentiellement économiques. C'est pour cette raison qu'ils viennent et

qu'ls sont demandés au Canada. Ils viennent aussi à cause du fait que le Canada est un pays d'immigration et d'immigrants, mais surtout parce qu'il est proche des Etats-Unis, qui demeurent encore aux yeux des émigrants le Pays par excellence, où refaire comme il faut leur vie à eux. De leur part, les Américains insatisfaits semblent vouloir s'orienter vers la lune!

9. La politique d'immigration au Pays: Le Canada est un Pays immense, aux ressources pratiquement illimitées. Il a eu et il a un besoin urgent de nouvelles forces, de nouvelles energies, faute de quoi il est condamné à survivre et mal! Le Canada, à vrai dire, n'a jamais eu de véritable politique d'immigration. On a toujours improvisé à ce sujet. S'il y avait une crise économique locale, pas d'immigrants! S'il y avait une certaine prospérité locale, beaucoup d'immigrants! Les règlements ayant trait à l'admission changeaient et changent continuellement, tantôt favorables tantôt défavorables à certaines personnes ou à certaines nationalités. On s'occupait de les faire venir ici en tout cas, puis une fois arrivés au Pays, les immigrants étaient laissés à leur destin. Quelquefois l'immigration a pris les caractères d'un véritable marché d'esclaves. Le pouvoir fédéral s'occupait de l'essentiel; le pouvoir provincial ignorait ce problème. Mais une chose est certaine: les gens sont venus ici pour des raisons économiques, car ils avaient besoin du Canada et le Canada avait besoin d'eux. Il fallait des gens pour construire des routes, pour défricher

les forêts et ainsi de suite.

La politique d'immigration du Canada a toujours été donc le reflêt de ses contingences économiques les plus immédiates.

Mais il n'y a plus que le Canada qui ait besoin d'immigrants! Il y a aussi l'Australie, les Etats-Unis et surtout les pays les plus industrialisés de l'Europe. Ces derniers, en particulier, offrent des conditions de travail fort intéressantes pour les immigrants. C'est pourquoi, le Canada est obligé de revisionner continuellement sa politique d'immigration, si l'on veut que l'immigration au Pays ne soit tout simplement pas une immigration de stabilisation ou un moyen de passer aux Etats-Unis.

Mais ces immigrations ont produit des conséquences politiques assez graves, car la majorité des immigrants étaient d'origine autre que française et parce-que les immigrants, dans leur tentative de s'intégrer au Pays, se sont orientés, dans une large mesure, vers la nation canadienne-anglaise. L'intégration des immigrants est devenue donc un problème politique d'une très grande importance.

10. <u>L'intégration anglophone des ethniques et des Néos</u>: Ces millions d'ethniques et de Néos se sont installés dans le Pays des Deux Solitudes, combien différentes et étranges! Ou pour mieux dire, dans une situation de fait bilingue et biculturelle, comme l'on dit aujourd'hui. Mieux encore: dans une situation de fait

essentiellement unilingue et uniculturelle au Québec et dans une situation de fait foncièrement unilingue et uniculturelle dans les autres provinces.

Ces millions de gens se sont intégrés ou ont essayé de s'intégrer, dans leur très grande majorité, au groupe canadien-anglais et pour cause! L'immigrant se dirige toujours là ou l'intérêt pratique le conduit et là où il semble être mieux accueilli.

Mais faut-il souligner qu'au Québec, les immigrants d'avant la deuxième guerre mondiale se sont suffisamment intégrés au groupe canadien-français? Ce qui n'est plus le cas pour les nouveaux-arrivés du Québec d'après la deuxième guerre mondiale. Ceux-ci en effet s'intègrent ou essayent de s'intégrer à l'élément canadien-anglais.

Un exemple frappant et certainement le meilleur nous est donné par les écoles de la région de Montréal. Ceux qu'on appelle les Néo-Canadiens envoient leurs enfants presque exclusivement dans les écoles anglaises, catholiques ou protestantes. Il n'y a que les Canadiens-Italiens qui ne suivent pas complètement cette tendance générale. Et encore! Plus le temps passe et plus les nouveaux-arrivés d'origine italienne ont tendance à envoyer leurs enfants dans les écoles anglaises de Montréal. Exemple: pendant l'année scolaire 1963-1964, dans les écoles primaires et secondaires de la Commission des Ecoles Catholiques de Montréal, il y avait à peu près 20,000 étudiants d'origine italienne, dont 14,000 fréquentent les écoles anglaises; 4,000 les écoles françaises et 2,000 les écoles bilingues. Dans certaines écoles ou

classes prétendûment catholiques et irlandaises, les enfants d'origine italienne représentent parfois le 80 ou le 90% des élèves inscrits!

11. Raisons de cette tendance: Quelles sont ou quelles peuvent être les raisons d'une pareille tendance? La réponse est évidemment facile. L'importance de l'Anglais, comme moyen de communication, surtout après 1946; le fait que la majorité de la population soit d'origine et de langue anglaise et la proximité des Etats-Unis sont autant de facteurs qui ont poussé et qui poussent les Néos à courir les gens d'expression anglaises.

Mais il y a aussi d'autres raisons: l'indifférence ou l'hostilité des Canadiens-Français envers les Néos; la mauvaise structure et le mauvais fonctionnement de leurs écoles (mais les choses commencent à changer sérieusement à ce sujet); la qualité parfois discutable du Français qu'on y enseigne; le peu d'Anglais qu'on y enseigne; le peu de chances qu'offre le milieu québecois; le caractère local très anglais et très américain des activités commerciales et industrielles et ce sans que les Canadiens-Français protestent, comme il faut, à quelques exceptions près.

Ceci dit pour les raisons. Mais quelles sont ou quelles peuvent être les conséquences d'une pareille tendance? D'un côté, la rupture de l'équilibre, à vrai dire, fragile, entre les deux groupes originaires en la faveur du groupe majoritaire et dominant, les Anglophones; de l'autre, la rupture de l'isolement

canadien, intérieur et extérieur, dû à d'inévitables couloirs que les Néos ont créés entre les deux groupes originaires, entre eux et entre le Canada et leurs pays d'origine. Le tout accompagné d'autres phénomènes importants, parmi lesquels mentionnons dès maintenant la révolution industrielle du Québec. L'intégration des Néos est devenu donc un phénomène primordial au Pays, dont la réalité économico-sociale s'est d'ailleurs radicalement modifiée ces derniers temps.

12. Mais y a-eut-il de véritable intégration? Mais les ethniques et les Néos se sont-ils vraiment intégrés à l'un ou l'autre des deux groupes originaires ou n'ont-ils pas plutôt gardé, d'une certaine façon, leur particularisme, sinon linguistique, du moins culturel?

Faut-il donner suite à ce particularisme, qui risque, à première vue, de balkaniser plutôt que d'unir le Pays? Peut-on encore considérer le Pays comme étant encore bilingue et biculturel? Pour beaucoup, il ne l'est plus, ou s'il l'est, il ne l'est plus comme autrefois.

Ceci peut sembler banal, mais ça n l'est pas, car si l'on parle de crise au Canada, aujourd'hui, faudra-t-il tenir compte de sa réalité actuelle ou de sa réalité d'il y a cent ans?

Enfin, faut-il penser au passé, au présent ou au futur de notre Pays? Faut-il prendre en considération le Canada seulement pour ce qu'il a été ou aussi pour ce qu'il deviendra?

13. La contribution des ethniques et des Néos au Pays tout entier: Ce que les ethniques et les Néos ont fait au Canada pour le Canada est tout simplement exceptionnel. Sans eux, le Canada ne serait jamais devenu une société moderne et dynamique. Ils ont été les deuxième fondateurs du Canada ou, si l'on préfère, les fondateurs dynamiques du Canada. En gardant en outre leur particularisme culturel, dû surtout à la difficulté de s'insérer convenablement dans une société de deux solitudes, et en empreignant profondément le Pays, ils ont permis au Canada et aux Canadiens d'avoir une vie culturelle d'un niveau international. En outre, ils donnent parfois l'impression d'être très forts dans les coulisses de la politique et de l'économique, voire même plus forts que les vieux canadiens. Mais leur intégration, difficile et compliquée dans la vie du Pays, a aussi contribué à accélérer la crise politique canadienne.

14. Les phénomènes décrits deviennent des problèmes aigus: Tous ces phénomènes sont devenus par la force des choses des problèmes aigus au Pays. Il ne pouvait en être différemment car à l'origine le Canada a été conçu pardeux groupes différents et inégaux. Tant que ces différences et ces inégalités n'auront pas disparus convenablement, tous les problèmes, les plus importants comme les moindres, tous les phénomènes, les plus compliqués comme les plus simples, deviendront toujours des problèmes aigus. Ce qu'on verra davantage dans le chapitre suivant.

(III)

## LE CANADA, PROBLEME POLITIQUE

1. L'élément essentiel de l'actuelle crise politique canadienne. 2. Les deux groupes originaires, forces inégales en présence. 3. Le cas particulier de Montréal et d'Ottawa. 4. Le troisième et nouveau partner du Canada. 5. Sont-ils des Néos? 6. Sont-ils des nouveaux-arrivés ou autres? 7. Sont-ils des ethniques? 8. Sont-ils des Canadiens avec un trait d'union différent? 9. Comment définir les premiers fondateurs? 10. La nation canadienne-française. 11. La nation canadienne-anglaise. 12. Deux nations différentes, mais ayant en commun la canadianité. 13. Les autres groupes culturels. 14. Pays bilingue et biculturel? 15. Le mandat de la Commission Laurendeau-Dunton. 16. L'interprétation officielle du mandat. 17. Le rapport préliminaire de la Commission. 18. Les autres problèmes. 19. Le problème particulier des relations étrangères. 20. Le problème particulier des relations avec les Etats-Unis. 21. Le problème particulier du "contrôle étranger" de notre économie. 22. Qui suis-je? 23. Le Canada d'aujourd'hui, mosaique fragile!

1. L'élément essentiel de l'actuelle crise canadienne: Le Canada, celui que nous venons de voir, est en crise. Cette crise est caracterisée par le divorce entre les deux partners originaires du Pays ou les premiers fondateurs du Canada. Mais il s'agit bien d'une crise intégrale. De tous les points de vue. Mais c'est le divorce entre les Canadiens-Français et les Canadiens-Anglais qui a donné un nom et un éclat sans précédent à cette terrible crise de conscience au Pays.

2. Les deux groupes originaires, forces inégales en présence: Le problème se complique du fait que le groupe canadien-français est minoritaire au Pays, formant grosso modo le 30% de la popu-

lation entière; alors que les Canadiens-Anglais sont majoritaires, formant à peu près le 40% de la population (ici on parle de Canadiens-Anglais du point de vue strictement britannique, autrement on devrait dire, à toutes fins pratiques, que les Canadiens-Anglais représentent le 75% de la population entière, étant donné que presque tous les ethniques et les Néos s'orientent vers l'Anglais et étant donné que'un bon pourcentage de Canadiens-Français parlent anglais).

Le problème se complique de plus en plus du fait que les Canadiens-Français se concentrent dans leurs 4/5 dans la province de Québec où ils représentent le 79% de la population locale qui rejoint aujourd'hui les cinq millions et demi d'âmes; tandis que les Canadiens-Anglais se concertrent dans les autres neuf provinces, où ils sont nettement majoritaires.

Mais il y a plus d'un million de Canadien-Français qui vivent en dehors du Québec, particulièrement au Nouveau-Brunswick et en Ontario. Dans les autres sept provinces, il y a de nombreux groupes canadiens-français, mais le pourcentage de ceux qui ont gardé et qui veulent garder le Français, comme moyen de communication ou comme moyen de vie interne, est pratiquement minime.

Il y a enfin un demi-million de Canadiens-Anglais qui vivent au Québec et dont la très grande majorité ne parle pas un mot de Français.

3. Le cas particulier de Montréal et d'Ottawa: Et il y a Montréal, la métropole du Canada, la deuxième ville française au monde, dit-on, mais où le 35% de la population n'est pas d'origine française et où plus de la moitiée parle couramment l'Anglais.

Et il y a Ottawa, la capitale du Canada, où un tiers de la population est d'origine française, ce qui n'empêche pas la ville d'être très anglaise, en dépit de la dualité canadienne d'origine.

4. Le troisième et nouveau partner du Canada: Et puis, il y a les autres, ceux qui ne sont ni Canadiens-Anglais, ni Canadiens-Français ou qui sont venus après 1867 ou après 1946, les autres, ceux qu'on appelle, selon le cas et les circonstances, Néo-Canadiens, nouveaux-arrivés, immigrants, voleurs de jobs, groupes ethniques ou Canadiens-Allemands, Canadiens-Italiens, Canadiens-Ucrainiens, Canadiens-Hollandais et ainsi de suite. Ils constituent, grosso modo, un tiers de la population et même plus!

5. Sont-ils des Néos? Appelons-les pour un instant Néos tout court. Mais peut-on appeler et classifier ces gens des Néos? Peut-on appeler des Néos des gens qui sont nés au Pays mais qui ne sont pas d'origine française ou anglaise? Bien sûr que non! Ce sont des Canadiens, comme les autres, et peut-être plus que les autres.

Au contraire, si on emploie le terme de Néos, ne devra-t-on pas appeler Néos tous ceux qui se sont installés au Pays

après la deuxième guerre mondiale, même et surtout ceux qui sont d'origine anglaise et française, à savoir les quelques 800,000 Britanniques et 70,000 Français de l'après-guerre. Bien sûr que oui!

Mais même si on décidait d'appeler seulement les nouveaux-arrivés des Néo-Canadiens, quand ceux-ci deviendront-ils des Canadiens tout court? Après dix ans, après vingt ans, à leur mort, en se mariant avec des vieux Canadiens, en ayant des fils au Canada, en faisant la guerre aux séparatistes? Ce qui veut dire tout simplement que le terme de Néo-Canadien n'est pas bon et surtout n'est pas conforme à la réalité. Car de cette façon, il y aurait les Canadiens-Français, les Canadiens-Anglais, les autres et les Néos! La tour de Babylone, quoi!

Dans le fond, le Canada, étant de par sa nature un pays d'immigration et d'immigrants, on devrait appeler Néo-Canadiens tous les immigrants ne jouissant pas encore de la citoyenneté canadienne. A moins de considérer Néo-Canadien tout citoyen ayant contribué à la formation d'un <u>nouveau</u> Canada! Alors qui ne serait pas Néo-Canadien?

6. <u>Sont-ils des nouveaux-arrivés, ou autres</u>? Les termes nouveux-arrivés et immigrant pourraient être utilisés en voie transitoire. Mais il y aurait le danger de les utiliser toujours indéfiniment. Et puis quand donc deviendrait-on exactement vieux-arrivé et vieux immigrant? Ces termes aussi sont imprécis autant que

dangereux! Pour ce qui a trait à l'expression "voleurs de jobs", vaut-il la peine de souligner son aspect grotesque, car qui ne sait que les Néos ont créé du travail au Pays et du capital aussi!

7. Sont-ils des ethniques? On parle de plus en plus de groupes ethniques. Cette expression non plus n'éclaircit rien. Au contraire, elle ajoute de la confusion. Est-ce que cela signifierait, en outre, qu'il y aurait deux catégories de citoyens, de première et de deuxième classe, les fondateurs et les ethniques? Il serait dans l'intérêt de tous et chacun, mais surtout dans l'intérêt des soi-disant fondateurs, d'éloigner le moindre doute à ce sujet.

Et puis dans quel groupe ethnique mettra-t-on les 800,000 Britanniques et les 70,000 Français de l'après-guerre, car ces deux derniers groupes n'ont absolument rien en commun avec les Canadiens-Anglais et les Canadiens-Français, excepté la langue, bien entendu, et encore! (On pourrait même dire qu'ils ont tout en commun, excepté la langue!) Mais il n'y a pas que ces gens-là qui parlent Anglais et Français! Et pourtant, ces autres-là, on les appelle ethniques! Ceci parce que dans le fond, les problèmes politiques canadiens ne sont pas de nature strictement linguistique.

8. Sont-ils des Canadiens avec un trait d'union différent? Enfin, on parle de Canadiens-Allemands, Canadiens-Italiens, Canadiens-Ucrainiens, Canadiens-Hollandais, Canadiens-Polonais, Canadiens-Juifs et ainsi de suite. Si ces expressions servaient à définir

une personne ou un groupe par ce qu'ils ont en plus des autres, il n'y aurait aucune sérieuse objection à ce sujet. Mais là encore ne s'agit-il pas de vouloir réduire l'importance et l'influence de ces personnes et groupes? Et puis n'y a-t-il pas entre les ethniques de l'avant et de l'après deuxième guerre mondiale et même parmi ceux-ci des différences considérables?

Et comme toujours, où mettre les Britanniques et les Français émigrés par ici après 1946?

9. Comment définir les premiers fondateurs? La chose se compliaue du fait qu'il est assez malaisé de définir comme il se doit même les premiers fondateurs du Pays, les Canadiens-Français et les Canadiens-Anglais.

Faut-il être d'origine française pour être Canadien-Français? Mais au juste qu'est-ce qu'on entend par "origine française"? N'y a-t-il pas, parmi les Canadiens-Français, des personnes, voire des personnalités, qui n'ont pas de nom français, mais qui sont Canadiens-Français cent pour cent? Et que dire des immigrants Français ou d'expression française, parmi lesquels nombreux sont les gens qui n'on rien ou presque rien en commun avec les Canadiens-Français?

Enfin faut-il être d'origine anglaise pour être Canadien-Anglais? Mais au juste, qu'est-ce qu'on entend par "origine anglaise"? Ici la chose se complique pas mal, parce que en fait la grande majorité des autres nationalités se sont intégrées, grosso modo, au groupe canadien-anglais, qui est pour cette raison moins

homogène que le groupe canadien-français.

Il n'est pas facile, pas du tout, de définir comme il se doit, les premiers fondateurs du Canada!

10. La nation canadienne-française: Mais il y a , dans le fond, une nation canadienne-française, qui est caractérisée par une certaine langue et une certaine culture et surtout par un vouloir vivre ensemble en commun. Elle est formée surtout, mais non exclusivement, de personnes nées ou vivant au Canada, en particulier au Québec, et dont la langue première d'origine ou d'adoption est le Français. C'est une nation qui se sent sociologiquement différente, mais elle est bien et bel une nation foncièrement nord-américaine. Il faudrait avoir un courage de fou pour affirmer le contraire! Enfin, ne serait-il pas préférable, une fois pour toutes, d'utiliser l'expression "nation québecoise"?

11. La nation canadienne-anglaise: Et il y a certainement une nation canadienne-anglaise, avec une certaine langue et une certaine culture, formée surtout, mais non exclusivement de personnes nées ou vivant au Canada et dont la langue première d'origine ou d'adoption est l'Anglais. C'est une nation, elle aussi, foncièrement nordaméricaine et peut-être moins originale, et certainement moins homogène, que la nation canadienne-française. D'ailleurs, pas mal de vieux Canadiens-Anglais, semble-t-il, sont retournés à leur mère-patrie! Ce qui explique peut-être le manque d'une

très forte tradition canadienne-anglaise au Canada.

12. Deux nations différentes, mais ayant en commun la Canadianité: Il s'agit de toute évidence de deux nations, à savoir de deux sociétés politiques caracterisées chacune essentiellement par un vouloir vivre en commun dans un certain territoire.

Il ne s'agit pas seulement et simplement de deux groupes linguistiques et culturels différents. Il s'agit de deux nations différentes, qui aiment garder à tout prix leur trait d'union si distinctif, bien sûr, mais ayant en commun la Canadianité, à savoir un commun dénominateur. Et ces différences et cette ressemblance sont facilement reconnaissables par un observateur, qui viendrait de l'extérieur.

Ce qui m'amène brièvement à parler de la Canadianité, qui n'est autre chose que tout ce qui est commun à tous les Canadiens, quelque chose à la fois saisissable et insaisissable Qui se caracterise, ma foi, très souvent par des critères négatifs. Exemples: une culture ou plusieurs cultures timides et provinciales. Sans de véritables génies. Des citoyens prudents et vigilants. Et pratiques, comme les Américains, mais à différence de ceux-ci, moins exubérants, et moins insouciants. Des gens qui n'ont pas oublié les dures luttes avec une nature ingrate. Des gens qui ne s'agitent pas aux premières tombées de neige. Des professeurs d'université qui ne publient pas. Des professionnels et des artistes d'une médiocrité décevante. Des

hommes d'affaires effrayés par le risque. Des travailleurs non conscients de leur condition sociale. Des bourgeois très snobs mais d'un snobisme fort inconpréhensible. Un amour et un respect, à tout le moins déroutants, pour le cinéma. Des journalistes parmi lesquels les moins sérieux, tout en étant une minorité, sont plutôt nombreux. Il serait grandement temps de leur montrer finalement la porte de sortie.

Mais aussi cette Canadianité ne se manifeste-t-elle pas par des qualités certes considérables, mais qui sont moins voyantes que ses défauts. Ce qui dans le fond est typique de tous les nordiques de ce monde, tenaces et vivaces à leur façon. Mais sa qualité vraiment canadienne n'est-elle pas surtout son immensité territoriale qui un jour ou l'autre ne sera plus, certainement plus, seulement territoriale! Et cette transformation ne se manifeste-t-elle pas sous nos yeux? Ces qualités cachées des Canadiens, d'ailleurs, les circonstances aidant, feront de notre Pays, j'en suis profondément convaincu, une puissance mondiale et ce pas si tard qu'on le pense.

13. <u>Les autres groupes culturels</u>: Les autres aussi, ceux qui ne sont pas à strictement parler des Canadiens-Français ou des Canadiens-Anglais, les autres aussi ont une culture à eux et très souvent il s'agit d'une culture d'un niveau très supérieur, ce qui créé d'inévitables et épineux problèmes avec les vieux Canadiens. Mais tous à peu près, tout en étant jaloux et orgueilleux

de leurs différentes origines culturelles, font tout ce qui leur est possible pour se canadianiser et ils n'y tiennent outre mesure au fameux trait d'union. Dans le fond, ce sont eux les véritables Canadiens! Et parmi les autres, il faudra bien y mettre tous les ethniques d'après 1867 et tous les Néos d'après 1946. C'est à dire un tiers de la population canadienne, et même plus. Un tiers, qui se multiplie beaucoup plus rapidement que les premiers fondateurs du Pays, ne l'oublions pas! Ils ont en commun le fait de n'être pas les premiers fondateurs du Pays, mais ils ont en commun le fait d'avoir été les fondateurs dynamiques d'un Canada dynamique. On les appellera, à toutes fins pratiques, les ethniques et les Néos! Ou les deuxième fondateurs du Canada! Ceux-ci ne sont pas et ne veulent pas être nationalement différents des Canadiens. Ils veulent tout simplement sauvegarder et valoriser leur particularisme culturel, au sein d'un Pays binational.

14. <u>Pays bilingue et biculturel</u>? Le Canada est-il vraiment un Pays bilingue et biculturel? Le mandat de la Commission Laurendeau-Dunton semble vouloir l'affirmer. Or, il y a certainement, et on l'a vu, des arguments et des faits très valables pour croire sérieusement le contraire, pour démontrer, statistiques à la main, que le Pays n'est pas si bilingue et si biculturel qu'on le pense.

15. Le mandat de la Commission Laurendeau-Dunton: Au sujet du mandat de la commission Laurendeau-Dunton, du 19 juillet 1963, il est indispensable de souligner que ce mandat contient une contradiction de première importance. L'objet essentiel du mandat c'est la culture. Or la culture a deux sens différents dans le texte du mandat, un général dans l'expression (pas très française, soit dit en passant) "biculturalisme" et un sens très restreint dans l'expression "apport culturel". La chose se complique et prend des aspects grotesques, lorsqu'on prétend vouloir établir "une administration fédérale biculturelle". Ici, vraiment, on ne sait plus que vient faire le mot culture!

Le mandat, dans le fond, reflète ni plus ni moins la confusion épouvantable dans laquelle nous nous trouvons au Pays. Mais s'agit-il vraiment d'un conflit purement culturel ou biculturel?

16. L'interprétation officielle du mandat: L'interprétation du mandat de la part des membres de la Commission Royale d'Enquête sur le Bilinguisme et le Biculturalisme, à la suite de l'audience préliminaire qui avait eu lieu à Ottawa, les 7 et 8 novembre 1963, fut une interprétation nettement littérale. Au lieu d'en apercevoir les contradictions flagrantes et de combler les lacunes, les membres de la commission prèférèrent ne pas demander que le texte fut changé. Même s'ils furent obligé de reconnaître un multiculturalisme de fait. Encore, la définition et la classification des groupes ethniques et des Néos sont loin d'être scientifiquement

rigoureuses et politiquement valables. Le fait, par exemple, d'avoir tenu compte seulement de la langue maternelle à cette fin. Or les problèmes au Pays ne sont pas des problèmes exclusivement linguistiques! Mais ces confusions et ces inexactitudes sont peut-être inévitables, si l'on songe un instant aux difficultés que l'on a quand on essaye de mettre un peu d'ordre au Pays, en se basant seulement sur quelques critères.

17. Le rapport préliminaire de la Commission: Le rapport préliminaire de la Commission, rendu public le premier février 1965, ne contient en soi rien de nouveau ni rien de spécial. Le rapport final, lui, sera évidemment bien autre chose. D'aucuns déjà l'appellent le futur et nouveau rapport Durham! Pour revenir au rapport préliminaire, il s'agit bien d'un rapport préliminaire!

La seule chose importante, vraiment importante, c'est la constatation, exprimée avec vigueur et courage, que le Pays est en crise et que cette crise se caracterise par le conflit entre deux majorités. Ce qui est très important, il va sans dire, car pour la première fois, dans un document officiel publié par l'imprimeur de la Reine, on ne parle plus de majorité et de minorité, si je ne m'abuse. Ce qui veut dire qu'on a saisi (ou on a fait saisir) l'aspect éminnement politique de l'actuelle crise canadienne. Ce qui est, de toute évidence, un grand pas en avant. Mais les ethniques et les Néos? A ce sujet, aucun progrès sérieux, comme toujours! Comme si ce problème était encore un tabou politique, ou n'intéressant pas l'opinion publique!

18. Les autres problèmes: Mais il n'y a pas que la langue et la culture qui soient les problèmes essentiels au Pays. On pourrait même dire que ce ne sont pas là des problèmes, car dans le fond, les deux nations canadiennes ne courent aucun risque sérieux quant à leur existence linguistique et culturelle, si ce n'est qu'ils ont donné le ton à l'actuelle crise canadienne, qui est avant tout politique et ensuite culturelle!

Mais il y a d'autres problèmes. Il y a l'immensité du territoire au Canada; il y a les Etats-Unis; il y a les problèmes economico-sociaux, les exigences de la démocratie et des temps présents et tous les autres innombrables problèmes politiques. Il ne faudrait surtout pas les oublier, car autrement on risquerait de compliquer et d'empirer la situation déjà grave en soi.

19. Le problème particulier des relations étrangères: Un reflêt de la dualité nationale et du pluralisme culturel au Canada nous est donné par le manque d'unité au Pays même et surtout pour ce qui a trait à la politique étrangère ou extérieure du Canada. Ce qui est grave, très grave.

Les Canadiens-Anglais tendent vers le monde anglo-saxon; Les Canadiens-Français, par ricochet, vers le monde francophone; les ethinques et les Neos, vers leurs pays d'origine.

En général, n'importe quelle forme de fédération a en commun, au moins, la politique étrangère. Au Canada pas. Ce qui démontre que la crise est sérieuse, très sérieuse. D'ailleurs,

faut-il rappeler que ce furent des questions internationales qui provoquèrent les conflits internes parmi les plus durs et pénibles au Pays. La guerre contre les Boers, la première et deuxième guerre mondiale ne déclanchèrent-elles pas des crises internes d'une gravité extrême? Seule la guerre de Corée, au contraire, sembla rallier l'opinion publique du Pays aotour d'une pensée "canadienne". Mais il s'est agi, en l'occurrence, ni plus ni moins que d'une véritable exception.

20. Le problème particulier des Etats-Unis: Et puis, il y a nos voisins du sud, les Etats-Unis, dont la puissance et la force n'ont pas fini d'effrayer le Canada et les Canadiens. Très souvent, les Etats-Unis ont été utilisés comme un épouvantail au Canada. Et, comme tel, il a fait marcher, toujours unis, le Canada et les Canadiens. Mais le temps est venu, me semble-t-il, de penser sérieusement à abandonner l'hystérie anti-américaine et de songer , au contraire, à une lucide intégration au monde nord-américain. Il faut absolument que les élites locales n'oublient pas que le peuple canadien est foncièrement américain et que la présence des Etats-Unis au Canada et même du Canada aux Etats-Unis est devenu depuis très longtemps un fait historique profondément ancré en Amérique du Nord. Il faudra tenir compte aussi de cette réalité!

21. Le problème particulier du "contrôle étranger" de notre économie: Le problème des Etats-Unis, d'ailleurs, ressemble étrangement dans

son ensemble à celui du "contrôle étranger", qui soulève de très grands interrogatifs et qui constitue certainement un grave problème au Pays. Problème très complexe, en outre, car il est difficile au juste de comprendre l'expression "contrôle étranger". Et le contrôle national, qui devrait être son contraire, comment se manifesterait-il, du point de vue national? Et lequel serait le meilleur? Mais la haute finance est-elle nationale ou étrangère? Ou n'est-elle pas plutôt et tout simplement "haute"! Le Canada est-il enfin le seul pays où ce contrôle existerait? Et si oui, serait-il synonime de très haut ou de très bas standard de vie? Autant de questions, autant de problèmes!

22. Qui suis-je? L'auteur de ce mémoire est profondément convaincu que la confusion au Pays ne cessera de croître, et toujours très dangereusement, tant qu'on n'aura pas essayé de mettre un peu d'ordre, honnêtement, en tenant compte, bien sur, des critères linguistiques et culturels, mais aussi d'autres critères, en particulier de ceux mentionnés tantôt.

La Commission Laurendeau-Dunton pourrait commencer en essayant de résoudre, par exemple, le problème personnel de l'auteur. Qui est-il en fait? Né au Maroc, à Casablanca, de père italien et de mère d'origine française, ayant vécu longtemps en Italie, Maroc, Belgique, France, et Canada. Qui est-il en fait? Je crois qu'il serait grandement utile pour la Commission qu'elle se livre à des recherches personnelles de ce genre!

23. Le Canada politique, mosaique fragile! La mosaique humaine et sociale qu'est le Canada, tous ses problèmes économico-sociaux, tous les conflits et les luttes entre ses différents groupements politiques pour le pouvoir ou pour les pouvoirs (ce qui est normal en démocratie) , tous ses innombrables problèmes politiques, culturels, nationaux ou autres nécessitent un travail d'un ou plusieurs artisans d'une qualité exceptionnelle, si on veut que cette mosaique ne se casse pas. Et elle ne se cassera pas, si on le veut!

Mais pour ce faire, faut-il garder le statu-quo ou faut-il innover?

(IV)

## FAUT-IL GARDER LE STATU-QUO OU FAUT-IL INNOVER?

1. Le problème de fond: le divorce entre les premiers fondateurs. 2. Faut-il garder le statu-quo? 3. Conséquences du maintien du statu-quo. 4. Objections pratiques au renouveau. 5. Brève esquisse historitque en matière constitutionnelle canadienne. 6. Que les juristes et les politologues canadiens se réveillent! 7. Il faut innover!

1. Le problème de fond: le divorce entre les premiers fondateurs: Le mariage de raison entre les deux nations fondatrices à éclaté: le divorce est chose faite! Faut-il le reconnaître ou pas; faut-il lui donner suite? Et dans ce divorce, que vient faire le nouveau et troisième partner, les ethniques et les Néos? Si le Canada a été un mariage de raison entre un homme, le groupe canadien-anglais, et une femme, la nation canadienne-française, il faut néanmoins reconnaître que le sexe du nouveau et troisième partner du Pays n'a pas encore été clarifié; c'est pourquoi, soit les Canadiens-Anglais, soit les Canadiens-Français, même si ces derniers avec beaucoup de retard et avec pas mal de crainte, courtisent de temps à autre les ethniques et les Néos, afin de rompre l'équilibre originaire en leur faveur réciproque. L'apparition des deuxième fondateurs a conséquemment embrouillé pas mal les choses au Pays.

La réalité au Pays a donc bien changé et non seulement dans ses relations strictement nationales et ethniques, mais,

comme on l'a vu auparavant, dans tous les domaines ou presque. Devant cet état de choses, faut-il garder le statu-quo ou faut-il innover? La demande pourrait sembler inutile, mais elle ne l'est pas, car, étrange que cela puisse paraître, les tenants du statu-quo sont nombreux.

2. Faut-il garder le statu-quo? Le maintien du statu-quo n'est pas nécessairement une bonne ou une mauvaise chose en soi! Ca peut être l'une ou l'autre en même temps. Il suppose, de toute façon, une maturité politique de la part des dirigeants Canadiens, maturité, ma foi, qui semble leur faire défaut du moins à l'heure actuelle. Un exemple banal mais sûr de cette immaturité politique de la part des dirigeants Canadiens nous a été gracieusement offert lors des récentes discussions (parlementaires et extra-parlementaires) au sujet de l'adoption d'un drapeau canadien distinctif!

Et dans le fond, il s'agit surtout d'une non-solution. Car le maintien du statu-quo signifierait ni plus ni moins que le maintien de l'actuelle constitution canadienne. Or, cette constitution, depuis qu'elle existe, est ouvertement et continuellement critiquée, c'est le moins qu'on puisse dire!

Veut-on la garder, en l'adoptant de fait à la nouvelle réalité canadienne ou veut-on la garder pour éviter n'importe quel changement qui, dans l'esprit de certaines gens, serait en tout cas toujours très mauvais, parce-que changement?

3. Conséquences du maintien du statu-quo: Si on gardait la constitution actuellement en vigueur au Pays (et dont le document fondamental est l'Acte de l'Amérique du Nord Britannique de 1867), on ne reconnaîtrait pas officiellement que le Pays est bilingue et biculturel, on ne mentionnerait pas l'apport considérable que les Néos et les ethniques ont donné au Pays. Le Canada serait toujours une monarchie avec un gouveneur général et dix lieutenants-gouveneurs. Le pouvoir central aurait toujours les fonctions résiduaires et les fonctions ayant trait au maintien de la paix et de l'ordre. Le pouvoir central pourrait toujours annuler et réserver l'application d'une loi provinciale. Le lieutenant-gouverneur de chaque province serait toujours nommé par le fédéral et la cour suprême du Canada serait toujours fédérale. Et que dire de la difficulté d'amender la constitution actuelle et de tous les autres éléments essentiels de la crise canadienne qui sont en nette contradiction avec l'Acte de 1867

4. Objections pratiques au renouveau: On me dira que le Canada est en fait un Pays bilingue et biculturel, que la Reine et le gouveneur-général ont des pouvoirs symboliques, que le lieutenant-gouveneur de chaque province suit nécessairement les conseils de son premier ministre, que le pouvoir fédéral de réserve et désaveu est en fait tombé en désuétude, que l'esprit de la constitution est foncièrement démocratique et empêche

donc n'importe quelle forme de discrimination, que le pouvoir fédéral est conscient de la nouvelle réalité au Pays, que la Cour Suprême est pratiquement indépendante, que la modification de la constitution n'engendrera pas nécessairement un renouveau au Pays et ainsi de suite.

D'accord, mais alors pourquoi le Pays est-il en crise?

5. Brève esquisse historique en matière constitutionnelle canadienne: L'acte de 1867 a été le resultat logique et normal de deux siècles d'histoire canadienne, commencée par les Français et couronnée par les Anglais. Il ne pouvait être qu'un document britannique et impérial, comme il l'est encore. Il est inutile ici de recommencer a parler dans les moindres détails des Capitulations de Québec (1759) et de Montréal (1760), du Traité de Paris (1763), qui était très libéral et de la Proclamation Royale de 1763 qui tenta, mais inutilement de britanniser les Canadiens-Français. On se limitera à mentionner certains faits, par ordre chronologique et par ordre d'importance, l'Acte de Québec de 1874 (liberalisant), l'Acte Constitutionnel de 1791 (créant des assemblées legislatives dans le Bas et le Haut Canada), la rébellion "canadienne" de 1837, l'Acte de l'Union de 1840 (réunissant le Haut et le Bas Canada), le rapport de lord Durham, le gouvernement responsable, le début d'une certaine autonomie politique au Canada, le code civil de 1866 au Québec (un mélange sui generis de droit romain et de common law), et

enfin l'acte impérial de 1867. Cet acte ne fut pas, absolument pas, un pacte d'honneur entre deux races, il fut tout simplement un acte du Parlement de Londres, constituant en Dominion quatre provinces canadiennes. Mais ce pacte d'honneur fut à l'origine dell'Acte de 1867, il en fut son tacite "gentlemen's agreement". Une preuve: l'actuelle situation politique au Canada! Après 1867, d'autres événements importants suivent, parmi lesquels mentionnons le statut de Westminster de 1931, la capacité internationale du Canada, l'amendement de 1949 (donnant au fédérale le pouvoir de modifier sa constitution) et d'autres plus ou moins essentiels..

Mais du point de vue strictement juridique, les problèmes politiques canadiens ne sont jamais mentionnés dans ces textes; ils constituent, tout au plus, le "background" de toute loi impériale ou canadienne, fédérale ou provinciale, mais pas plus que ça!

Eh oui, on discute toujours de problèmes politiques entre les Canadiens-Français et les Canadiens-Anglais, on en discute depuis deux siècles et plus, mais lorsqu'il s'agit de concrétiser juridiquement les différences et les similutudes politiques au Pays, silence absolu. A la manière britannique, quoi! Et alors le débat se transfère dans le domaine strictement juridique de l'autonomie, du code civil et ainsi de suite.

Ainsi, le Conseil Privé, d'abord, le Québec et l'Ontario, ensuite, font changer, par leurs attitudes juridiques, un peu

et tout doucement la constitution canadienne. Car celle-ci était au tout début, soit dans la lettre soit dans l'esprit et soit dans les intentions des Pères de la Confédération, la constitution d'un Etat décentralisé oui, mais unitaire. Il suffit de lire ou relire l'Acte de 1867 pour s'en rendre compte! Mais le Conseil Privé devait profiter des querelles entre le fédéral et le provincial pour fédéraliser la constitution canadienne. Et il trouva des alliés dans les provinces jalouses de leur autonomie on ne peut plus. Le Conseil Privé se rappella-t-il du fameux dicton romain "divide et impera", toutes les fois où il donnait au provincial des pouvoirs et des fonctions qu'il n'avait pas? Certes, il est très difficile d'expliquer autrement la déformation de l'esprit de 1867 par le Conseil Privé, dont les membres judicières furent appelés fort justement "les beaux-pères de la Confédération".

Depuis 1867, on assiste donc continuellement à des guerelles entre le fédéral et le provincial, tantôt avec la suprématie du fédéral, tantôt avec la suprématie du provincial. Avec les deux pouvoirs agissant presque toujours aux limites de la constitution mais très souvent les dépassant aussi et comment! C'est un jeu dangereux, qui démontre oui un esprit fédéral, qui se manifeste d'ailleurs aux nombreuses conférences fédérales-provinciales, mais toujours un jeu. Où le plus fort finira par gagner forcement. Présentement, le pouvoir central semble avoir cédé, mais si la situation de fait devait changer, et rien ne

s'y oppose à une pareille hypothèse, rien ne lui empêcherait de récuperer des pouvoirs qui lui appartiennent de par la constitution et auxquels il n'a pas renoncé, mais qu'il n'a pas exercé pour des simples raisons d'opportunité. D'ailleurs, même s'il était vrai que le droit au Canada n'est pas toujours ce qui est écrit, mais ce qui est effectivement respecté, il n'en demeure pas moins qu'il serait plutôt malaisé de déceler, comme il faut, le droit effectivement en vigueur.

6. Que les juristes et politologues canadiens se réveillent! Il serait fort souhaitable qu'on prenne les moyens nécessaires afin que des études sérieuses et profondes soient faites au sujet de la structure constitutionnelle-politique du Pays de ses origines à nos jours. Il est plutôt triste de voir nos juristes et nos politologues se limiter à décrire cette structure ou à répéter toujours les mêmes opinions. Et qu'on songe, une fois pour toutes, à mettre bien en évidence les faiblesses de jugement du Conseil Privé. Que la paresse de nos juristes et de nos politologues disparaisse à jamais!

Et qu'on songe aussi, soit au Canada, soit au Québec, de mettre un peu d'ordre et un peu d'uniformité à notre système juridique (il faudrait peut-être dire davantage: à nos systèmes juridiques) on ne peut plus confus! Dans l'intérêt de tous et chacun, mais surtout des pauvres justiciables. Dans le fond, la confusion qui existe au Pays sur le plan politique se reflè-

te ni plus ni moins sur le plan juridique et comment! Il y a au Québec un code civil qui ne peut être intégralement modifié par son législateur et dont le doute d'inconstitutionnalité plane d'ailleurs sur certaines de ses dispositions! Il y a au Pays et au Québec un droit administratif dont il est difficile de comprendre pourquoi et comment il fonctionne. On pourrait donner des centaines d'autres exemples à ce sujet.

Certes, le manque d'uniformité et de coordination, en matière juridique, créé au Pays des situations malheureuses très souvent, cocasses parfois. Que nos juristes et nos politologues se réveillent. A quelques exceptions près, ils donnent l'impression de sommeiller! Est-ce dû seulement au fait qu'ils sont assis dans des fauteuils trop confortables?

7. Il faut innover: Peut-on garder finalement un document qui ne témoigne d'aucune façon de la nouvelle réalité au Pays? Je sais très bien qu'on ne modifie pas une situation de fait et de droit par la simple modification d'un document, si important soit-il. Je sais aussi très pertinnement que les changements formels sont parfois négatifs dans leurs résultats, mais nous nous trouvons devant une situation intenable: un document fondamental et une situation de fait qui sont complètement aux antipodes. Il faut changer le document en question, voire en faire un entièrement nouveau, pour qu'il soit conforme à la nouvelle réalité canadienne; voyons, un peu de courage!

Et ce sera le début d'une nouvelle ère au Pays, j'en suis sûr! Un peu de courage et un peu de maturité, le peuple canadien peut et doit prétendre de ses dirigeants politiques. Désormais, le peuple canadien est un peuple adulte, qu'on se le dise!

Que les dirigeants Canadiens oublient un peu les contingences politiques, qu'ils oublient, un peu, de parler et d'agir seulement pour se faire élire ou réélire aux élections, politiques ou administratives; qu'ils aient finalement le courage d'être politiquement mûrs. Pour donner au Pays une nouvelle constitution! Par le truchement d'une Constituante canadienne!

(V)

## LE PAYS A BESOIN D'UNE CONSTITUANTE

1. Les facteurs essentiels du renouveau. 2. Comment modifier radicalement le statu-quo: première façon. 3. Deuxième façon. 4. De toute façon, innover.

1. Les facteurs essentiels du renouveau: Il faut donc innover. Mais comment innover et sur quelles bases innover? Il faut de toute évidence tenir rigoureusement compte des éléments mentionnés précédemment dans cette étude. Tout d'abord, l'élément essentiel: le divorce entre les deux groupes originaires du Pays, en établissant un équilibre juste et stable entre eux, par la concrétisation fonctionnelle du principe de la binationalité d'origine au Canada.

Ensuite, le fait que le tiers de la population canadienne est composée d'ethniques et de Néos et que ce pourcentage tend à progresser continuellement. En outre, tenir compte de l'immensité du territoire canadien, qui commande de toute façon un minimum assez accentué de décentralisation. Encore tenir compte des facteurs suivants: la proximité des Etats-Unis et le "contrôle étranger" de notre économie, qu'il faut essayer de prendre en considération de la façon la plus lucide possible; les indérogable exigences de la démocratie et des temps présents, dont l'oubli serait grandement regrettable, ainsi que la situ-

ation économico-sociale qui s'est radicalement modifiée au Pays ces derniers temps. Tenir compte aussi que certaines régions du Canada ne voient pas de la même façon la politique étrangère ou extérieure du Pays. Et tenir compte aussi et surtout d'une indeniable canadianité au Pays. Enfin, promouvoir la diversité dans l'unité. Et que la paix éclate au Pays!

2. Comment modifier radicalement le statu-quo: première façon: Si l'on tient compte de ces faits, on pourrait innover, à savoir donner vie à une nouvelle constitution au Canada, de deux façons essentielles:

La meilleure façon est certainement celle de former, de toutes pièces, une Constituante au Pays. A mon humble avis, seule une nouvelle assemblée législative créée principalement à cette fin pourrait faire du peuple canadien tout entier le créateur responsable d'un nouveau visage de notre Pays, dont tous et chacun seraient fiers et orgueuilleux.

La constituante devrait tout naturellement être formée d'une manière très démocratique et très proportionnelle.

Mais la nouvelle constitution, celle à savoir qui serait établie par la constituante, ne deviendrait valable et efficace que si elle obtenait la majorité absolue (50% plus une voix) de chaque représentation populaire élue des dix provinces actuelles, qui donc voteraient toujours isolément à cette fin. Majorité absolue, d'ailleurs, des représentants

élus et non pas de ceux présents et votants.

Tant que la nouvelle constitution ne serait pas approuvée, il va sans dire que l'actuelle constitution resterait en vigueur, excepté pour le système electoral nouveau en vertu duquel la nouvelle constitution serait créé et approuvée.

Je crois que la première façon envisagée pourrait former auprès du peuple, auquel appartient en dernier ressort la souveraineté, une conscience véritablement canadienne, et démocratique. Tout ceci ne serait pas anticonstitutionnel, parce que la souveraineté appartient au peuple qui ne la cède pas mais plutôt la délègue aux parlements et parce que il n'y a pas de principe de la suprématie de la constitution au Pays, tel qu'il existe du moins aux Etats-Unis.

Il va sans dire que la constituante pourrait se former de plusieurs manières et pourrait éventuellement tenir compte des structures actuellement en vigueur. C'est-à-dire faire approuver par le Parlement fédéral, tel qu'il existe présentement, la nouvelle constitution et ensuite la faire approuver par les dix législatures provinciales.

Les choses pourrait se passer de la façon suivante: Si on accepte l'idée d'une constituante, les partis politiques canadiens, au niveau fédéral et au niveau provincial,devraient se mettre d'accord sur les modalités d'élection et de fonctionnement de la constituante. Après quoi, il y aurait élection de la constituante dans les six mois suivants. La constituante devrait

adopter la nouvelle constitution dans un délai de trois ans, après quoi elle se dissoudrait. Avec elle se dissoudraient aussi le Parlement fédéral et les dix législatures provinciales. Car il faut noter que l'élection de la Constituante n'entrainerait pas nécessairement la dissolution du Parlement fédéral et des dix législatures provinciales. Au contraire, pour éviter un manque de continuté, les pouvoirs législatifs actuellement existant resteraient en vie durant les travaux de la constituante. Mais rien n'empêcherait les membres des dits pouvoirs de se porter candidats à la constituante, laquelle aurait son siège à Ottawa. Le parlement fédéral et les dix législatures provinciales devraient s'engager, dès la naissance de la constituante, à se plier à ses décisions finales.

Il ne nous reste qu'à espérer que les partis politiques canadiens fassent preuve de maturité politique.

3. Deuxième façon: Si on considère qu'il est préférable avoir recours aux actuelles structures constitutionnelles, on pourrait agir comme suit: six mois avant une des prochaines élections fédérales, considérée à cette fin, tous les partis politiques, au niveau fédéral, devraient élaborer en commun un projet de la nouvelle constitution, la présenter ensuite dans leurs programmes politiques, la discuter devant l'électorat durant les élections et l'approuver au Parlement, après les élections, dans les moindres détails.

Il faudrait naturellement que tous les partis politiques de l'arène fédéral s'engagent publiquement,avant les élections,qu'ils discuteront et approuveront la nouvelle constitution au Pays, après les élections au Parlement. Il pourrait y avoir, bien entendu, des dissidences, mais dans les détails!

Si cet accord n'était pas possible, alors il n'y aurait à espérer qu'un parti,en particulier,ou quelques groupes prennent l'initiative à cette fin. Autrement, tant pis pour le Canada et tant pis pour nous!

La nouvelle constitution, une fois approuvée, devrait être immédiatement envoyée aux dix parlements provinciaux, pour qu'ils se prononcent en sa faveur, il est à espérer. Mais pour éviter que les dix parlements provinciaux ou un ou plusieurs ne s'y opposent, en tout ou en partie, il faudrait inviter officiellement, durant les discussions à cet effet au Parlement d'Ottawa, une délégation officielle de chacune des dix provinces, avec lesquelles les partis politiques, les ministres et les députés fédéraux devraient continuellement se consulter. Ceci devrait être fait officiellement. Rien n'empêche évidemment qu'il y ait, même avant les discussion parlementaires ou durant, des consultations officeuse à ce sujet.

4. <u>De toute façon, innover!</u> Que la nouvelle constitution se fasse de l'une ou de l'autre façon, c'est certainement un problème, mais ce qui est important c'est d'agir au plus vite pour

donner au Pays une nouvelle constitution. Après que celle-ci aura été approuvée, des élections générales (et locales) devraient avoir lieur au plus tard après une année, à partir de son approbation officielle, et conformément à la nouvelle structure du Canada! Et la nouvelle structure au Canada devrait faire de notre Pays une nouvelle, et véritable, Confédération!

(VI)

## L'ESPRIT DE LA NOUVELLE CONFEDERATION CANADIENNE

1. Faisons du Canada une véritable confédération! 2. Qu'est-ce qu'une fédération? 3. Le Canada d'aujourd'hui, une quasi-fédération. 4. Qu'est-ce qu'une confédération? 5. La nouvelle confédération canadienne. 6. Les éléments essentiels de la nouvelle confédération, les six Etats canadiens. 7. La double citoyenneté, solution qui s'impose au Canada. 8. Pas de frontières, ni d'obstacles entre les six états canadiens au sein de la Confédération. 9. Pourquoi six états? 10. Le problème des groupes ethniques et des Néos. 11. Comment concilier le bilinguisme et l'unilinguisme au Pays. 12. Les problèmes scolaires au Pays. 13. L'organisation des districts linguistiques au Pays. 14. Le fonctionnement des districts linguistiques. 15. L'enseignement des langues maternelles et des langues étrangères au Pays. 16. Le président-général et les cinq vice-présidents généraux de la Confédération Canadienne. 17. Le secrétariat général de la Confédération. 18. Conclusion: l'unité et la diversité, idéals à satisfaire au Pays.

1. Faisons du Canada une véritable confédération: Par une étrange coincidence des choses, on a toujours parlé de confédération au Canada, surtout à la suite de la célèbre phrase "les pères de la confédération". Alors qu'en fait le Canada a été conçu comme une quasi-fédération, qui a parfois fonctionné et qui fonctionne présentement comme une fédération.

Retournons aux origines formelles du Pays et faisons du Canada, substanstiellement, une nouvelle confédération, sanctionnée et garantie dans la nouvelle constitution canadienne!

Mais qu'est-ce qu'on entend au juste par fédération et confédération?

2. Qu'est ce qu'une fédération? Par fédération, on définit un Etat, dont la souveraineté est divisée entre plusieurs autorités, une centrale et une ou plusieurs locales. Dans sa sphère de compétence, chaque autorité est complètement souveraine. Néanmoins, dans une fédération, l'autorité centrale a toujours une prépondérance de fait et aussi de droit, car les fonctions les plus importantes et les plus delicates lui sont généralement réservées.

D'habitude, l'autorité centrale s'appelle Etat tout court, tandis que les autorités locales s'appellent état-membre, province ou région.

En général, une fédération est de par sa nature une organisation politique temporaire, destinée à la longue ou à la centralisation, sous forme d'un seul Etat unitaire, ou à la décentralisation, sous forme d'une véritable confédération.

3. Le Canada d'aujourd'hui, une quasi-fédération: Le Canada d'aujourd'hui n'est même pas une fédération sur le papier. Il est tout simplement une quasi-fédération, qui fonctionne, du moins présentement, comme une fédération. Cette situation anormale ne semble plus être conforme à la nouvelle réalité de notre Pays et comment! Exemple: Le Canada est en crise!

4. Qu'est-ce qu'une confédération? Quelle peut être la solution politique aux problèmes canadiens on ne peut plus aigus? Faire

du Canada une véritable confédération! Mais qu'est-ce qu'on entend au juste par confédération? Une libre association entre des états souverains et indépendants qui délèguent une partie assez importante de leurs fonctions à une autorité centrale et ce en vue d'une plus grande efficacité inérieure et extérieure et surtout en vue de valoriser comme il faut les éléments communs qui les caracterisent au sein de la confédération.

Dans une confédération, l'autorité centrale est donc la mandataire des états souverains, lesquels se trouvent, par conséquent, dans une situation de fait et de droit plutôt avantageuse.

Voyons maintenant comment pourrait se structurer, dans la nouvelle constitution canadienne, une nouvelle, véritable, confédération au Pays à la lumière des considérations précedemment examinées dans la présente étude.

5. <u>La nouvelle confédération canadienne</u>: Notre Pays tout entier s'appellerait désormais CONFEDERATION CANADIENNE (en anglais: CANADIAN CONFEDERATION), composée de plusieurs états souverains et indépendants, les Etats canadiens déleguant une partie de leurs fonctions à l'Etat central.

6. <u>Les éléments essentiels de la nouvelle confédération canadienne, les six Etats canadiens</u>: Les éléments essentiels de la nouvelle confédération canadienne seraient donc l'Etat central, appelé l'Etat Central du Canada, et les cinq états-associés ou

états-nations, appelés les Etats-Canadiens du Québec, de l'Ontario, des Maritimes (Acadia?), des Prairies (Alsama?) et de la Colombie-Britannique (Colombie tout court?).

D'autres états pourraient éventuellement faire partie de la Confédération, comme les états déjà membres de la Confédération pourraient se fractionner en plusieurs états ou se séparer de la confédération. Mais pour ce faire, il faudrait un amendement constitutionnel supposant l'unanimité entre les six états de la confédération. Ces six états canadiens donc seraient les premiers et essentiels éléments de la nouvelle confédération canadienne.

7. <u>La double citoyenneté, solution qui s'impose au Canada</u>: Les résidants de chaque Etat-Associé ou Etat-Nation auraient en commun la citoyenneté ou la nationalité de leur état et la citoyenneté canadienne, celle-ci étant le propre de tous les nationaux au citoyens des cinq Etats-Nations ou Etats-Associés. La citoyenneté canadienne donnerait des droits et devoirs égaux à tous les nationaux ou citoyens des cinq Etats-Associés ou Etats-Nations, sans aucune différence ou discrimination, absolument aucune.

Mais le passeport serait délivré seulement par l'Etat Central du Canada, avec mention, pour les détenteurs du dit document, de leur citoyenneté générale, la canadienne, et de leur citoyenneté ou nationalité particulière (la québecoise, par exemple).

Dans tout document officiel, l'état central devrait

imprimer, dans les deux langues officielles de la confédération, l'en-tête suivant: "Confédération Canadienne - Etat Central du Canada (ou Etat du Canada) - Canadian Confederation - Central State of Canada (ou State of Canada)". De leur côté, les états-associés ou états-nations devraient imprimer dans leurs documents officiels, et selon la langue officielle de leur état, l'en-tête suivant: "Confédération Canadienne - Etat Canadien du Québec (ou Nation du Québec, ou Etat-Associé du Québec ou Etat du Québec) - Canadian Confederation - State of Ontario, Acadia, Alsama, Columbia (ou Nation of, ou Associate State of, ou State of Ontario, Acadia, Alsama, Columbia).

Pour ce qui a trait aux expressions d'Etat-Nation, Etat-Associé, Etat Canadien ou Etat tout court, on pourrait choisir l'expression qu'on préfère. Pour sa part, l'auteur de ce mémoire n'utilisera dès maintenant que les expressions "Etat Central - citoyennoté canadienne" et "Etat Associé et citoyenneté particulière" et ce pour des raisons pratiques bien évidentes, car les autres mots, en particulier les mots nation et nationalité, se prêtent facilement à confusion, surtout dans un Pays éminemment nord-américain, comme le nôtre, et à cause surtout du sens historique attaché au Pays à ces deux dernières expressions en particulier. Mais si possible, les expressions état-nation et nationalité devraient être préferées et ce pour mettre bien en évidence les différences structurales entre l'Etat Central et les cinq états associés d'un côté et entre tous les états, de l'autre. Ce

qui permettrait, entre autres, de définir la réalité intégrale au Pays par l'expression suivante: "plusieurs nationalité, une seule citoyenneté". Néanmoins, pour des raisons pratiques, on utilisera les expressions Etat Central - citoyenneté canadienne et Etat associé - citoyenneté particulière. De toute façon, la double citoyenneté s'impose au Pays, car elle peut véritablement satisfaire les disparates exigences et tendances au Pays et produire un très bon équilibre entre l'universalisme et le particularisme au sein de la confédération canadienne.

8. Pas de frontières, ni d'obstacles entre les six Etats dans la nouvelle confédération canadienne: Pour aucune raison, absolument aucune, il ne devrait y avoir de frontières ni d'obstacles à la circulation de personnes et de choses dans la confédération. Mais chaque Etat associé pourrait subordonner l'exercise de certains droits très précis à des exigences, très minimes cependant, de résidence. Ce qui veut dire qu'à part quelques exceptions bien précises et très délimitées, on pourrait garder sa citoyenneté particulière partout au Canada, ce qui serait d'un très grande importance au Pays.

9. Pourquoi six états? Pourquoi six états? Pour répondre comme il faut, il faudrait relire les chapitres deux et trois du présent essai, chapitres dans lesquels l'auteur s'est efforcé de démontrer la complexité des phenomènes et des problèmes au Canada.

Complexité qui fait que pas un phénomène ou un problème en particulier ne domine nettement sur les autres; complexité qui fait qu'il faut considérer dans leur ensemble tous les phénomènes et problèmes canadiens. Et leur donner, dans la mesure du possible, des solutions à la fois générales et particulières.

D'ailleurs, comme on l'a vu, et comme on le verra chemin faisant, cette solution ne va pas à l'encontre de la binationalité de base du Canada, au contraire elle ne fait que la concrétiser d'une façon plus fonctionnelle et dans un cadre supérieur. Pour être plus précis, la binationalité peut et doit se réaliser, dans son integrité, surtout au sein de l'Etat central; dans les Etats associés, elle est pratiquement plus faisable mais dans le <u>sens uninational</u> et dans ce sens d'ailleurs elle est déjà un fait aquis. Au niveau des Etats associés, la binationalité peut se réaliser en <u>partie</u> dans le domaine précis de l'education comme on le verra bientôt. Mais par binationalité, j'entends ni biracisme, ni biculturalisme, ni bilinguisme, mais quelque chose qui, tout en incluant ces concepts, les dépasses, en contient d'autres, qui soit, enfin, une synthèse de vie collective en commun. Même chose pour le concept de nation, quicontient des éléments surtout mais non exclusivement linguistiques et culturels. Enfin, le binationalisme et l'uninationalise ne sont pas nécessairement synonyme de biculturalisme et uniculturalisme;ils les contiennent assurément, mais ils contiennent aussi d'autres éléments.

10. Le problème des groupes ethniques et des Néos: Les ethniques et les Néos devraient être considerés comme partie intégrante d'un des cinq états associés et comme tels ils auraient les mêmes droits et devoirs que tous les citoyens canadiens, en plus des droits et devoirs qu'ils auraient en tant que citoyens de leur Etat associé, mais auraient, de plus, des privilèges (et non pas des limitations), ayant trait à leur particularisme culturel.

11. Comment concilier le bilinguisme et l'unilinguisme au Pays: Tout Etat associé serait officiellement unilingue, le Québec serait officiellement français et les autres quatre officiellement anglais. l'Etat central du Canada serait officiellement bilingue. A cette fin, on devrait créer un district confédéral, sous la juridiction directe de l'Etat central, comprenant, grosso modo, la région d'Ottawa-Hull. Dans ce district confédéral, le bilinguisme officiel serait intégral.

A noter qu'ici on parle toujours de unilinguisme et de bilinguisme, du point de vue strictement officiel. Dans les autres territoires, faisant partie d'un des cinq états associés, le bilinguisme officiel de l'Etat central serait conforme à la pratique de l'unilinguisme officiel exercé par un des états associés. On devrait, en particulier, tenir compte de l'existence des districts linguistiques créés aussi mais non exclusivement à cette fin et dont on parlera dans un autre paragraphe de ce chapitre.

A noter que les résidents du district confédéral auraient

la citoyenneté particulière de l'Etat associé de leur naissance ou, si nés dans le district confédéral, la citoyenneté particulière de leur choix, à faire à l'age de 21 ans ou au moment où on a droit à son acquisition, si immigrant par exemple, ou la citoyenneté particulière de leurs parents, père ou mère selon les lois applicables. Naturellement, les résidents du district confédéral seraient assujettis aux autorités de l'Etat central, dans les domaines de leur compétence, et aux autorités de l'Etat associé dont ils auraient la citoyenneté particulière, dans les domaines de leur compétence. Mais du point de vue application des lois des états canadiens, l'Etat associé ou les Etats associés concernés pourraient déleguer leurs fonctions à l'Etat central, à ce sujet, à moins d'avoir une organisation efficace à cette fin dans le district confédéral, ce qui serait, il va sans dire, l'idéal.

12. Les problèmes scolaires au Pays: Les problèmes scolaires ont acquis une importance primordiale au Pays et ceci se comprend facilement, car c'est aux écoles et autres établissements d'enseignement que les problèmes canadiens, les plus simples comme les plus aigus, trouvent un milieu favorable ou défavorable, selon les cas, à des solutions pratiquement définitives. Et pour que ces solutions définitives soient les plus canadiennes possibles, les plus justes et les plus démocratiques, il faudra bien s'attaquer comme il faut aux problèmes scolaires du Pays, en établissant ou en essayant d'établir des districts linguistiques.

13. <u>L'organisation des districts linguistiques au Pays</u>: Chaque Etat associé devrait former, en collaboration avec l'Etat central, des districts linguistiques, de la façon la plus scientifique possible, en se basant sur le dernier recensement général de la population et en le revisionnant à tous les dix ans. Une commission mixte devrait être formée entre un Etat associé et l'Etat central à cette fin. La commission devrait être faite de 10 membres, cinq représentants l'Etat associé et cinq l'Etat central. Les membres jouiraient d'une autonomie assez vaste et administreraient un budget separé, financé par l'Etat associé, qui devrait naturellement en tenir compte dans ses relations fiscales avec l'Etat central. La commission devrait être mixte, parce qu'on pourrait tenir compte de ces districts linguistiques pour d'autres fins, particulières ou générales, selon le cas. Les membres éliraient entre eux un président et deux vice-présidents. Les deux vice-présidents représenteraient forcément les deux autorités souveraines participant à la dite commission. La commission devrait être formée à tous les dix ans, après la publication du recensement général de la population. Elle devrait réaliser ses buts dans un minimum d'une année à un maximum de trois années. Après ce maximum de trois années, la commission se dissoudrait. Les personnes ou organismes intéressés pourraient naturellement s'opposer aux décisions définitives de la commission mixte en s'adressant aux cours ordinaires, à condition, bien entendu, de démontrer leur intérêt à cet effet et à condition qu'un minimum

de doute raisonnable planerait quant à la justesse des décisions de la commission mixte.

La commission devrait indiquer exactement les personnes parlant, comme langue maternelle ou comme langue première d'adoption, le Français ou l'Anglais. En outre, elle devrait indiquer les personnes étant ou se considérant bilingues. Enfin, elle devrait indiquer le pourcentage de personnes parlant ou ayant adopté une autre langue que le Français et l'Anglais et les personnes parlant plusieurs langues.

On pourrait envisager des districts de population variable, avec un minimum de 10,000 à un maximum de 30,000. On pourrait aussi considérer un ensemble de districts linguistiques, en vue d'autres fins non strictement scolaires. On devrait aussi, dans la mesure du possible, tenir compte de districts linguistiques formés naturellement et non pas diviser, d'une façon arbitraire et ridicule, les districts linguistiques naturels.

14. <u>Le fonctionnement des districts linguistiques</u>: Chaque district linguistique ou, selon les circonstances, chaque circonscription comprenant plusieurs districts linguistiques, devrait avoir une ou plusieurs écoles publiques, primaires et secondaires, ou de langue française ou de langue anglaise ou les deux ensemble. Pour ce faire, il faudrait suivre les critères suivants:

Si le 80% de la population d'un district ou d'une circonscription linguistique parle ou a adopté, comme langue première,

l'Anglais ou le Français, il y aura seulement une ou plusieurs écoles, anglaises ou françaises. Si le 20% de la population d'un district ou d'une circonscription linguistique parle ou a adopté, comme langue première, le Français ou l'Anglais, il y aura une ou des écoles, françaises ou anglaises, minoritaires, en plus des autres écoles majoritaires existantes.

Si moins du 20% de la population d'un district ou d'une circonscription linguistique parle ou a adopté, comme langue première, l'Anglais ou le Français, ce pourcentage pourrait présenter aux autorités scolaires compétentes une requête à l'effet de demander des sections separées dans les écoles publiques, sections où l'en enseignerait certainement leur langue maternelle et éventuellement les matières ou programme totalement ou partiellement dans leur langue maternelle.

Les critères en vertu desquels les autorités scolaires compétentes jugeraient de ces critères devraient être les plus objectifs possibles, surtout des critères pédagogiques; il devrait être, en outre, toujours possible d'en appeler de leur jugement aux cours ordinaires ou administratives.

Les membres des commissions scolaires publiques, municipales ou régionales, devraient être élus en tenant compte des districts ou des circonscriptions linguistiques, ce qui se comprend facilement, si l'on veut respecter concrétement les besoins locaux. De toute façon, toutes les écoles secondaires publiques devraient prévoir, comme matière obligatoire au programme, le

Français, si anglaises, ou l'Anglais, si françaises. Pour éviter que la dualité linguistique ne puisse créér des ghettos néfastes, il serait très souhaitable que, là ou les deux genres d'écoles fonctionnent dans le même district ou dans la même circonscription, ces deux genres d'écoles se trouvent physiquement dans le même campus.

Pour ce qui a trait à l'enseignement supérieur, les universités et les grandes écoles, qu'elles appartiennent à l'Etat ou aux particuliers, devraient tenir compte, elles aussi, des districts et des circonscriptions linguistiques, mais d'une façon beaucoup plus élastique, bien sûr.

Pour conclure, il devrait être toujours permis soit aux minoritaires soit aux majoritaires de verifier la volonté des minorités et des majorités quant à leurs véritables intentions au sujet des écoles linguistiques minoritaires et majoritaires. Ceci pour éviter qu'une partie non représentative de la minorité ou de la majorité ne s'arroge le droit de protéger ou de valoriser, à leur façon, et souvent indûment, les besoins effectifs, de la minorité en particulier.

Mais cette verification ne pourrait être formulée que suivant une certaine procédure qui élimine sans pitié les éventuels abus.

15. <u>L'enseignement des langues maternelles et des langues étrangères au Pays</u>: Chaque école publique devrait prévoir, là où par

exemple le nombre de 25 élèves par classe le justifie, des cours facultatifs de langue maternelle, tous les samedis matin, pendant trois heures complètes, soit au niveau primaire, soit au niveau secondaire, pour les groupes ethniques et les Néos qui en feraient une requête régulière à cette fin.

En outre, on devrait encourager fortement, au niveau secondaire, l'enseignement des langues étrangères, en rendant matières obligatoires au moins deux langues étrangères, à part naturellement l'Anglais et le Français. Et parmi les langues étrangères à enseigner, on devrait recommander l'enseignement des langues maternelles des groupes ethniques ou des Néos plus nombreux et importants au Pays. Au Québec, en particulier, on devrait tenir compte, à ce sujet, que les groupes ethniques et Néos plus nombreux et importants sont, dans l'ordre, les Canadiens-Italiens, les Canadiens-Juifs et les Canadiens-Allemands.

Avec une pareille réforme, en ce sens, telle que formulée dans ce chapitre, dans le domaine de l'éducation, qui serait toujours, comme maintenant, de la compétence exclusive des états associés, pourrait se réaliser, comme il faut, au niveau des états associés, la binationalité de base du Canada.

16. <u>Le président général et les cinq vice-présidents généraux de la Confédération Canadienne</u>: La Confédération Canadienne, comme telle, n'aurait qu'une existence symbolique. Elle ne vivrait et

n'agirait que par le truchement de ses six états, l' Etat central et les cinq Etats associés.

Mais la future Confédération Canadienne devra être un symbole authentique et ce symbole se devra d'être tout naturellement personnifié. C'est pourquoi, la nouvelle constitution canadienne devrait prévoir, au sein de la Confédération, un Président général et cinq vice-présidents généraux, ce qui créérait aux yeux des Canadiens et des étrangers ce minimum d'unité symbolique si nécessaire à la vie des peuples et des citoyens!

Le Chef de l'Etat Central serait automatiquement le Président Général de la Confédération et les cinq Chefs des cinq Etats associés seraient automatiquement les cinq vice-présidents généraux de la Confédération.

De cette façon, se créérait automatiquement et sans problèmes l'unité symbolique du Pays.

17. Le secrétariat général de la Confédération: Le seul organisme administratif de la Confédération ne devrait être autre chose qu'un secrétariat général de la Confédération, ayant son siège central à Ottawa. Cet organisme devrait tout simplement s'occuper de l'organisation des conférences inter-canadiennes. Une fois par année au moins, en effet, il devrait y avoir une conférence entre les six chefs d'Etat canadiens. Quatre fois par année au moins, en outre, il devrait y avoir une conférence

entre les six premiers ministres canadiens. Une fois par mois au moins, finalement, devrait avoir lieu une conférence entre les six premiers ministres ou leurs envoyés spéciaux.

Ces conférences auraient une très grande valeur politique et serviraient a resserrer davantage les liens, de tout genre, entre les six états canadiens, en permettant une coordination fonctionnelle et en favorisant un minimum d'uniformité indispensable au Pays.

Le secrétaire général serait nommé par le Chef de l'Etat Central, après consultation avec les autres cinq chefs d'état canadiens. Chaque état associé nommerait un vice-secrétaire général. Tous les six hauts-fonctionnaires de la Confédération seraient nommés pour une période de cinq ans. Leur mandat ne serait renouvelable qu'une seule fois consécutivement. Chaque vacance serait comblée pour le restant du mandat. On pourrait songer à les nommer à des intervalles différents et ce pour éviter un manque de continuité. Le financement du secrétariat général serait à la charge de l'Etat central.

A noter qu'il serait souhaitable qu'on accorde au secrétaire général le pouvoir de s'adjoindre deux secrétaires généraux associés, l'un dont la langue d'origine ou première d'adoption serait le Français et l'autre dont la langue d'origine ou première d'adoption serait l'Anglais. Ces deux secrétaires généraux associés seraient nommés à temps indeterminé, durant bonne conduite ou selon bon plaisir.

18. Conclusion, l'unité et la diversité, idéals à satisfaire au Pays: La nouvelle constitution, en sanctionnant la nouvelle Confédération Canadienne, ne ferait que satisfaire, de la meilleure façon, les deux exigences fondamentales de tous les Canadiens, la tendance à l'unité et la tendance à la diversité. Et elle concrétisera surtout, comme on l'a vu et comme on le verra chemin faisant, d'un façon fonctionnelle, la binationalité de base du Pays.

Il me semble, très sincèrement, que de la façon envisagée dans le présent chapitre, on puisse réellement et concrètement promouvoir, au Pays, la diversité dans l'unité ou, si l'on préfère, l'unité dans la diversité!

(VII)

## L'ORGANISATION DE LA NOUVELLE CONFEDERATION CANADIENNE

A) Structure de l'Etat Central du Canada.

1. Etat monarchique ou état républicain? 2. Le pouvoir exécutif. 3. Les organismes publics. 4. Le pouvoir législatif. 5. Le pouvoir judiciaire. 6. Les fonctions reservées à l'Etat Central du Canada.

B) Structure des Etats Canadiens associés.

7. Le pouvoir exécutif. 8. Le pouvoir législatif. 9. Le pouvoir judiciaire. 10. Varieté et particularité possible des fonctions réservées aux états canadiens associés.

C) La coordination entre les six Etats Canadiens.

11. Le besoin urgent de la coordination au Pays. 12. Le problème des activités extérieures au Pays. 13. Les organismes régionaux. 14. Les amendements constitutionnels au Pays. 15. Conclusion: nécessité d'une profonde réforme au Canada!

A) Structure de l'Etat Central du Canada.

1. Etat monarchique ou état républicain? Le problème de savoir qui serait le Chef de l'Etat Central est certainement très délicat. Ici, il faut bien dire que ni la forme monarchique ni la forme républicaine d'état ne représentent l'idéal absolu. L'histoire nous a montré clairement que soit l'une soit l'autre forme d'état peuvent être un instrument de pouvoir démocratique comme de pou-

voir totalitaire. Ce que l'actuel gouvernement fédéral devrait faire à ce sujet ce serait tout simplement de faire une enquête sérieuse et discrète sur les opinions du peuple canadien. Mais il faudrait tenir compte des opinions du peuple canadien, région par région, car ce problème ne peut pas être résolu par le 51% des voix majoritaires. Il faudrait, à mon humble avis, que les 75% de la population entière fut en faveur d'une réforme à ce sujet et qu'un minimum de 65% dans chaque province y sont favorable. Dans le doute, il vouvrait mieux garder l'actuelle forme monarchique. A moins que le 90% de la population d'une province canadienne n'y soit, irrémédiablement contre, ce qui n'est assurément pas le cas, du moins à l'heure actuelle. Si la forme monarchique devait être conservée au Pays, l'actuelle institution du gouverneur général devrait être naturellement maintenue. Si, au contraire, on devait adopter le système républicain, il faudrait alors élire au Pays un Président de la République et deux vice-présidents.

Les élections populaires à cette fin auraient lieu à tous les dix ans. Tous les citoyens canadiens, agés de 40 ans et plùscot ayant résidé au Pays pendant au moins dix ans seraient éligibles aux postes de président et de vice-présidents de la république. Pour ce qui à trait aux postes de vice-présidents, un des deux devrait être nécessairement de langue française et l'autre tre de langue anglaise (d'origine ou d'adoption).

Le Président de la République aurait, grosso modo,

les mêmes fonctions que le gouveneur général a présentement. En cas de décès ou d'impossibilité à exercer ses fonctions, il serait remplacé par le premier vice-président ou éventuellement par le deuxième vice-président.

Le premier vice-président serait automatiquement président de la Chambre des Deputés et le deuxième vice-président serait automatiquement président du Sénat.

Durant la première décennie, le premier vice-président serait nécessairement de langue française, durant la suivante de langue anglaise et ainsi de suite.

Le mandat du président et des deux vice-présidents ne serait jamais renouvelable.

Les élections des successeurs auraient lieu une année avant la fin du mandat de leurs prédécesseurs.

Dans le cas où pour une raison ou l'autre, il y aurait des vacances à un des trois postes, en particulier aux postes de premier et deuxième vice-présidents, on devrait préparer une liste de dix personnes titulaires de fonctions hautement représentatives qui rempliraient automatiquement la poste vacant pour une période d'un ans au maximun, période durant laquelle une nouvelle élection devrait avoir lieu. Le ou les candidats élus dans une élection partielle le seraient pour le restant du mandat.

Une chose à noter: les deux vice-présidents pourraient éventuellement et dans l'ordre prendre la place du président, mais ne pourraient pas se changer, pour quelque raison que ce soit,

leurs positions.

La liste des dix personnes pourrait être initiée par le président de la Cour constitutionnelle et pourrait, pourquoi pas, comprendre des personnes exerçant de hautes fonctions même au sein des états associés et ce pour créer une véritable interdépendance, politique et humaine, au Pays.

L'Etat central aurait tout naturellement son hymne et son drapeau et ceux-ci devraient être canadiens à cent pour cent.

Une chose à noter: même en gardant la forme monarchique au Pays, on pourrait toujours avoir un Président de l'Etat et deux vice-présidents de l'Etat, qui pourraient être élus de la même façon que celle décrite auparavant. En gardant pour lui des pouvoirs symboliques et en cédant au président de l'Etat ses quelques pouvoirs politiques, le gouveneur général serait alors vraiment le représentant personnel du Souverain et sa fonction d'Arbitre au sein de la Condédération serait énormément agrandie.

2. <u>Le pouvoir exécutif</u>: Il y aurait tout naturellement un gouvernement central, présidé par le premier ministre. La formation du gouvernement se ferait de la même façon que maintenant. La seule exception devrait permettre au premier ministre, membre du Parlement, de s'entourer de ministres dont la moitiée ne seraient pas nécessairement élus par le peuple. Les avantages ne seraient pas moindres! Mais tout ministre serait assisté par deux ministres associés, un de langue française et l'autre de langue anglaise.

Ainsi, dans chaque ministère, il y aurait un sous-ministre, mais celui-ci serait assisté de deux sous-ministres associés, l'un de langue anglaise et l'autre de langue française.

Il est à noter que quand on parle ici de langue, on entend langue première d'origine ou d'adoption. Il est à noter ici que l'existence de ces deux ministres associés et de ces deux sous-ministres associés, répondrait aussi à des raisons d'efficacité administrative et non exclusivement linguistique. On devrait laisser un certain pouvoir discrétionnaire aux ministres et sous-ministres associés dans l'organisation de leurs départements respectifs.

3. Les organismes publics: Tous les organismes publics ou d'intérêt public, et non limités ou non limitables dans leurs fonctions précises à un territoire naturellement unilingue, auraient toujours à leur tête un président général et un directeur général. Mais ceux-ci seraient toujours assistés, dans leurs fonctions, de deux vice-présidents et deux vice-directeurs généraux, choisis selon les critères exposés dans le paragraphe précédent.

4. Le pouvoir législatif: Le pouvoir législatif serait formé d'une Chambre des députés et d'un Senat. La première devrait être formée d'une façon proportionnelle à la population canadienne toute entière. Mais on devrait tenir compte, dans la mesure du possible, des territoires linguistiques, au moment de la formation

des districts électoraux.

Le Sénat, au contraire, serait formé d'une façon proportionnelle aux cinq états associés, cinquante par Etat, par exemple. Les députés et les sénateurs seraient naturellement élus par vote populaire, celui-ci étant accordé à tous les citoyens canadiens âgés de 20 ans. Pour être élu député ou sénateur, il faudrait être âgé au moins de 25 ans. Les sénateurs devraient avoir naturellement la citoyenneté de l'Etat qu'ils représentent.

Toute loi devrait être présentée et approuvée tout d'abord par les députés, mais pour devenir loi valide, elle devrait être approuvée par la majorité simple des sénateurs de chaque Etat associé, pris séparément dans leur régionalisme, pour les lois lois à caractère général, par la majorité simple des sénateurs de l'Etat associé ou des Etats associés concernés, pour les lois à caractère local, sauf, bien entendu, exceptions expressément prévues. On comprend donc aisément l'importance primordiale accordée au Sénat et aux sénateurs par la nouvelle constitution, telle qu'envisagée par l'auteur.

5. <u>Le pouvoir judiciaire</u>: Le pouvoir judiciaire, éventuellement, pourrait être formé et structuré de la même façon que maintenant. Mais il y aurait en plus une Cour constitutionnelle, formée de trois délégués de chaque Etat, y compris l'Etat central, lequel, d'ailleurs, nommerait entre eux le présidente et deux vice-présidents. Un des deux vice-présidents devrait toujours

être ou de langue française ou de langue anglaise. Ces juges resteraient en fonction jusqu'à l'âge de 75 ans. Jusqu'à cet âge, ils seraient complètement inamovibles. Ils seraient payés par l'Etat central, mais le budget mis à leur disposition serait administré par la Cour elle-même et celle-ci, de plus, présenterait, chaque année, son rapport directement au Parlement, pour information, bien entendu.

La fonction des juges constitutionnels consisterait naturellement à trancher toute question d'ordre constitutionnel.

6. Les fonctions reservées à l'Etat Central du Canada: Les fonctions reservées à l'Etat central devraient être, à vrai dire, assez nombreuses et variées, car autrement on risquerait d'avoir au Pays six états très faibles, qui pourraient être facilement la proie de gouvernements étrangers intéressés à la chose.

Les fonctions du pouvoir central pourraient être aussi variées selon les états auxquelles elles s'appliqueraient. Leur énumération devrait se faire dans la nouvelle constitution d'une façon aussi claire que possible. On ne peut ici en faire une énumération. Mais il va sans dire que l'armée devrait être sous le contrôle direct du pouvoir central . La répartition des fonctions devraient être l'objet ou de la constituante ou de futures conférences fédérales-provinciales, à un niveau général ou à un niveau particulier, et ensuite être sanctionnée dans la nouvelle constitution canadienne.

B) Structure des Etats Canadiens Associés

7. Le pouvoir exécutif: L'Etat canadien associé devrait être formé, grosso-modo, de la même façon que l'Etat central. Mais sans les mêmes problèmes de bilinguisme, excepté ceux ayant trait aux exigences de l'enseignement ou de la démocratie. Selon que l'Etat central serait monarchique ou républicain, l'Etat associé serait monarchique ou républicain. Dans le cas de forme monarchique cependant, le lieutenant-gouverneur serait désormais nommé à la suite d'une recommandation à cet effet du premier ministre de l'état concerné. Dans le cas de forme républicaine, il y aurait un président de la république et deux vice-présidents ayant à peu près les mêmes fonctions qu'ont présentement les lieutenants-gouverneurs. Un des deux vice-présidents serait automatiquement président de la Chambre des Députés et l'autre président du Sénat de l'Etat associé. Tout ce qui a été dit au niveau de l'Etat central s'appliquerait au niveau de l'Etat associé mutatis mutandis. Tout état associé aurait naturellement son drapeau et son hymne. Excepté pour le Québec, les deux vice-présidents pourraient être de la même origine linguistique. A noter aussi qu'on pourrait envisager même pour l'Etat associé un Etat monarchique ayant un Président et deux vice-présidents de l'Etat, élus par voix populaire. Et dans le cas d'un Etat associé à statut particulier, la forme républicaine tout simplement.

8. Le Pouvoir législatif: Dans chaque Etat associé, il y aurait une chambre des députés et un Sénat élus démocratiquement par le peuple. Le Sénat s'occuperait en particulier des projets de loi individuels, des lois éventuellement contradicoires avec les droits de l'homme et des amendements constitutionnels.

9. Le Pouvoir judiciaire: Le pouvoir judiciaire serait formé grosso modo de la même façon que présentement. Mais l'Etat associé aurait son système judiciaire à lui, complètement indépendant de l'Etat central. Tout Etat associé aurait de plus une Cour Suprême de l'Etat, qui s'occuperait aussi de trancher toutes les questions locales d'ordre constitutionnel. Mais rien n'empêche évidemment un Etat associé d'avoir aussi à ce sujet sa Cour constitutionnelle.

10. Variété et particularité possible des fonctions réservées aux états canadiens associés: Les fonctions réservées aux Etats associés pourraient être très vastes ou moins vastes. Elles pourraient être variables. Il pourrait y avoir des états aux mêmes fonctions, d'autres aux fonctions plus ou moins différentes et variables. Une Etat associé pourrait avoir un statut particulier. La police de toute façon serait dirigée et contrôlée par l'Etat associé. A ce sujet, il serait souhaitable de réduire les fonctions des trop nombreuses polices municipales à des cas bien précis ou à des fins strictement administratives et ce pour éviter des abus dans lesquels ces polices tombent fort souvent.

Il est inutile de faire ici une enumération des fonctions éventuellement attribuables aux Etats associés. Qu'il suffise de dire que toutes les fonctions non attribuées expressément à l'Etat central seraient de la compétence des Etats associés, à moins qu'un Etat ou plusieurs Etats associés n'y renoncent formellement et ce suivant une procédure constitutionnellement rigide.

C) La coordination entre les six Etats canadiens.

11. Le besoin urgent de la coordination au Pays: Mais il ne faudrait pas oublier, jamais, que le territoire et les personnes sur lesquelles les six Etats canadiens évoluent sont les mêmes ou presque! Il ne faudrait pas oublier que certaines fonctions peuvent et sont de compétence mixte (par exemple, l'immigration et la fiscalité), qu'il y a continuellement la possibilité de collaboration directe entre les six Etats et ainsi de suite. Tout ceci suppose l'organisation techniquement scientifique d'une coordination permamente et efficace entre les six Etats et ce non seulement pour des raisons d'efficacité, mais aussi et surtout pour créér une athmosphère de plus en plus canadienne au Pays. Pour éviter, donc, un manque de circulation et de vie entre les six Etats canadiens.

C'est pourquoi, dans chacune des capitales des six Etats canadiens, il devrait y avoir six délégations générales,

l'une de l'Etat résident et les autres de cinq invités. Ces délégations générales ne devraient pas être limitées dans leurs fonctions et dans leurs pouvoirs, mais au contraire elles devraient avoir tous les moyens nécessaires à leurs fonctions et pouvoirs très nombreux et très importants, parmi lesquels mentionnons immédiatement la promotion d'une certaine uniformité dans les divers aspects de la vie sociale au Pays. C'est pourquoi ces délégations générales devraient conseiller et se consulter continuellement.

Enfin, ne serait-il pas merveilleux, si dans chaque capitale, il y avait un édifice immense, l'édifice de la Confédération canadienne, où ces six délégations générales auraient leurs bureaux centraux?

12. Le problème des activités extérieures au Pays: Tout Etat associé pourrait avoir, s'il le veut, une vie extérieure très autonome, mais pas complètement indépendante et ce pour éviter des querelles et des dépenses inutiles entre Canadiens à l'étranger. Ceci d'ailleurs permettrait au Canada d'avoir une influence extraordinaire à l'étranger, car il y aurait bien six gouvernements qui concentreraient leurs efforts à l'étranger en vue de mieux faire connaître le Canada et ses six Etats!

Le Ministère des Affaires Etrangères de l'Etat central aurait deux départements autonomes au sein de son dicastère, celui ayant trait à ses fonctions et l'autre ayant trait aux fonctions attribuées aux Etats associés de par la constitution. Ce dernier

département s'occuperait de coordonner les états associés canadiens dans leur vie extérieurs. Tout Etat associé déléguerait au sein de ce département au moins un agent général qui agirait comme officier de liaison. Tout Etat associé, qui le voudrait, pourrait avoir son Ministère des Affaires Extérieures ou avoir son Service Extérieur ou une direction générale des Relations avec l'Extérieur, relevant d'un Ministère considéré le plus adéquat à cette fin.

13. Les organismes régionaux: Le Canada (selon le cas, l'Etat central ou l'Etat associé ou les deux autorités ensemble ou l'une représentant l'autre) devrait continuer à faire partie de tous les organismes régionaux destinés à des fins pacifiques, politiques, économiques, culturelles, sociales, militaires ou autres considérées valables pour notre Pays.

En particulier, le Canada devrait continuer à faire partie du Commonwealth. Mais de plus, il devrait entrer dans l'Organisation des Etats Américains et dans une éventuelle association politico-économique avec les Etats-Unis d'Amérique. Pour la très simple raison que le Canada est situé en Amérique et plus particulièrement en Amérique du Nord. Parce que les relations politico-économiques avec les Etats-Unis sont très nombreuses et très fréquentes. Mais il faudrait que l'union avec les Etats-Unis ne soit pas simplement une union diplomatique pour des fins militaires ou autres; il faudrait qu'elle soit le début d'une communauté humaine

ayant en commun les mêmes aspirations et les mêmes exigences.

14. Les amendements constitutionnels au Pays: La nouvelle constitution canadienne aurait, comme fin immédiate, la distribution, fonctionnelle et rigide, des compétences constitutionnelles entre l'Etat central et les Etats associés. Cette distribution devrait être faite de la façon la plus précise et la plus détaillée possible. Les fonctions non attribuées à l'Etat central ou tout simplement non attribuées seraient conférées aux Etats associés. Ceux-ci, d'ailleurs, pourraient se voir assigner des fonctions différentes et variables entre eux, étant donné la possibilité d'Etat associé à statut particulier. Il me semble inutile, du moins dans le présente étude, de faire une énumération détaillée des fonctions à attribuer à l'Etat central et aux Etats associés. Tout d'abord, parce que, au cours de cette étude, j'ai donné dans les chapitres qui précèdent et je donnerai dans les chapitres qui suivront des exemples nombreux et importants. Deuxièmement, parce que je crois qu'il s'agit là d'un problème pratique qui se posera le jour où les Canadiens se décideront à en discuter concrètement devant une table ronde officielle. Et pour moi, la meilleure table ronde officielle au Canada serait, de toute évidence, la Constituante. Chose certaine: il faudra modifier radicalement l'énumération actuellement prévue par la présente constitution, sans pour autant ne pas s'en inspirer, comme élément de base et d'appui.

Il va sans dire que plusieurs fonctions (exemples, la fiscalité et l'immigration) pourraient être de compétence mixte, certains aspects, à savoir, étant assujettis à une autorité souveraine différente que certains d'autres aspects faisant partie de la même fonction (exemples, l'admission et l'intégration au sujet de l'immigration; les différentes classifications d'impôt, le partage, la vérification et la percetion des impôts, la distribution des revenus fiscaux, au sujet de la fiscalité).

Quant aux cas de compétence multilatérale, il faut dire que les cas juridiquement obligatoires ne seraient pas très nombreux (exemple, la commission mixte au sujet de l'organisation des districts linguistiques), tandis que les cas les plus nombreux seraient surtout d'ordre politique ou administratif (exemple, l'engagement pris par un Etat, en particulier, de suivre certaines normes quant à sa politique ou à ses manifestations administratives).

Mais une fois la distribution fonctionnelle des compétences constitutionnelles faite, il faudrait prévoir la possibilité de modifier, d'une façon rigide, une pareille distribution à l'intérieur et à l'extérieur des sphères de compétence prévues par la nouvelle constitution. Et la modification sera possible et souhaitable par un ou plusieurs amendements constitutionnels.

Mais il faudrait, au préalable, distinguer entre ce qui est considéré essentiel pour l'intégrité de la Confédération et ce qui est considéré ordinaire pour l'intégrité de la Confédé-

ration, abstraction faite si la fonction en question est de compétence exclusive, mixte ou multilatérale. Exemples possibles de choses essentielles: le Canada s'appellera désormais "Confédération Canadienne", il y aura six Etats canadiens, le principe de la binationalité au sein de l'Etat central, l'esprit de la nouvelle organisation scolaire, la double citoyenneté au Pays, la déclaration des droits de l'homme et ainsi de suite. Deuxièmement, il faudrait, en outre, distinguer entre ce qui est une modification intérieure de la constitution (modification par un Etat concerné de sa constitution, surtout du point de vue procédure) et ce qui est modification extérieure de la constitution (transfert de compétence constitutionnelle d'un Etat à l'autre).

Un amendement constitutionnel, ayant comme objet un sujet considéré essentiel, ne serait valable que s'il n'obtenait que l'approbation de la majorité absolue des députés et la majorité qualifiée des sénateurs des six Etats canadiens. A noter que la majorité qualifiée des sénateurs de l'Etat central veut dire la majorité qualifiée de chaque représentation régionale au sein dudit Sénat.

Un amendement constitutionnel, ayant comme objet un sujet considéré ordinaire, serait valable s'il obtenait la majorité absolue des députés et la majorité qualifiée des sénateurs de l'Etat concerné, central ou associé, s'agissant de modification intérieure; la majorité absolue des députés et la majorité qualifiée des sénateurs des Etats concernés (Etat central et un ou

plusieurs Etats associés ou Etats associés entre eux), s'agissant de modification extérieure. A noter encore que les sénateurs de L'Etat central seraient toujours considérés dans leur régionalisme.

Enfin, pour tous les sujets considérés ordinaires, on devrait admettre la délégation de pouvoirs entre l'Etat central et un ou plusieurs Etats associés ou entre Etats associés. La délégation de pouvoirs, pour être valide, devrait être approuvée par la majorité simple des députés et par la majorité absolue des sénateurs des Etats concernés. Ici encore, les sénateurs de notre Etat central seraient considérés dans leur régionalisme. La délégation se ferait pour une période de 10 ans et serait renouvelable, indéfiniment, à tous les dix ans. Il ne faut pas oublier que, dans la délégation de pouvoirs, l'autorité déléguante conserve toujours un certain contrôle envers l'autorité déléguée quant à l'exercise des pouvoirs conférés de par la constitution.

15. Conclusion, nécessité d'une profonde réforme au Canada!
Que les fonctions réservées à l'Etat central soient nombreuses ou pas; que les fonctions réservées aux Etats associés soient variables ou pas, une chose est certaine: il faut une profonde réforme au Canada!

La solution que j'ose apporter me semble mieux que d'autre pouvoir créér au Pays un juste équilibre entre l'universalisme et le particularisme, qui nous sont propres.

Il me semble, en effet, que la nouvelle constitution, telle que envisagée dans la présente étude, soit d'un côté fonctionnelle et rigide, et de l'autre souple et élastique. Elle est parfaitement réalisable.

De toute façon, il faut que la réforme se fasse et qu'elle soit profonde; autrement on ne fera que retarder l'éclatement de la crise, mais celle-ci, à ce moment-là, sera bien plus grave qu'à l'heure actuelle.

Mais pour que la réforme soit vraiment profonde, ne faudra-t-il pas tenir compte, aussi,des indérogables exigences de la démocratie et des temps présents?

## (VIII)

## LES EXIGENCES DE LA DEMOCRATIE ET DES TEMPS PRESENTS

1. Les autres problèmes. 2. La démocratie canadienne. 3. Le problème des droits de l'homme. 4. Egalité absolue entre les citoyens. 5. La résidence, seule exception valable. 6. Le droit des immigrants. 7. Le problème de la double citoyenneté. 8. Réforme du système judicaire. 9. Pour un système d'incompatibilités. 10. La criminalisation de notre système juridique. 11. Les titres et dépenses inutiles. 12. Le problème des corporations et des syndicats. 13. Le rôle de l'Etat de nos jours. 14. Le problème du "contrôle étranger". 15. Notre système électoral. 16. Problèmes à ne pas oublier!

1. Les autres problèmes: Mais il n'y a pas que les problèmes linguistiques et culturels et ceux que nous avons déjà mentionnés qui soient les seuls problèmes au Pays. Ce serait très grave et très maladroit que de faire croire cela. Il ya a d'autres exigences à satisfaire au Canada, les exigences de la démocratie et des temps présents, si l'on veut vraiment faire du Canada un pays dont tous et chacun seront fiers et orgueilleux, comme ils le sont présentement. On ne peut ici en faire une théorie générale ni les mentionner toutes. On se limitera a en faire une description sommaire.

2. La démocratie canadienne: Mais avant tout faut-il souligner que le Canada est assis largement sur des bases démocratiques et ceci est dû certainement aux systèmes de vie politique britannique

et américain qui ont naturellement été adoptés par le Canada et les Canadiens. Nul ne saurait mettre en doute le climat démocratique au Pays, qui permet à tous et à chacun de choisir la vie qu'ils préfèrent et de s'épanouir au meilleur de leurs-mêmes.

Mais la démocratie s'acquiert et se défend jour par jour. Elle suppose une vigilance constante et ferme de tous et chacun. Ce qui n'est pas toujours le cas au Pays et ce qui ne sera pas toujours le cas, si on donne aux problèmes linguistiques et culturels du pays une priorité qui risquerait de faire oublier aux gens, dangereusement, les exigences impérieuses et indérogables de la démocratie.

3. Le problème des droits de l'homme: Il faut que la nouvelle constitution mentionne très clairement que les droits de l'homme seront complètement protégés, soit au niveau de l'Etat central, soit au niveau de l'Etat associé. Ceci pour éviter que, sous le prtexte, du biculturalisme se forment plusieurs classes de citoyens et de groupes, ce qui serait très malheureux. Cette disposition devrait être très claire, à tous les niveaux, et devrait nécessiter un amendement constitutionnel, supposant l'unanimité entre les six états canadiens, pour être modifié!

Ceci ne serait pas absolument indispensable parce que, au niveau de l'Etat associé, il y aurait toujours le Sénat qui aurait son mot à dire, à ce sujet, dans les cas improbables, mais possibles, d'une tentative douteuse de modification dangereuse

des droits de l'homme.

Néanmoins, il serait grandement préférable que les droits de l'homme soient partout les mêmes au Canada.

A noter que les droits de l'homme devraient être considérés à la lumière des temps présents, soit comme droits, soit comme devoirs, supposant l'homme en tant qu'individu mais aussi et surtout en tant qu'être social. Exemples: droits de propriété, de liberté d'expression, mais aussi droits et devoirs au travail, à l'éducation, à la securité sociale, etc. Il ne faudrait pas, enfin, que les droits de l'homme soient un moyen d'empêcher le progrès et la justice, qu'ils servent à protéger des situations de fait déplorables et malheureuses. Les droits de l'homme ne devraient être, en fait, que le moyen par excellence d'empêcher concrètement la discrimination à tous les niveaux, par des procédures très rapides et gratuites, toutes les fois qu'un juge spécialement destiné à cette fonction trouverait que la loi ou le règlement en question pourraient être raisonnablement mis en doute quant à leur conformité aux droits de l'homme. Immédiatement et dans les plus brefs délais, le juge devrait former une commission judicaire qui devrait décider du cas aussitôt que possible. Il n'y aurait aucun frais à encourir de la part des personnes ou groupes intéressés. La commission judiciaire aurait dans son sein un avocat chargé de défendre la thèse acceptée par le premier juge et éventuellemtnt un autre avocat chargé de la thèse contraire. La commission serait formée de trois juges ordinaires. On pourrait envisager la possibilité

d'avoir des juges populaires dans la dite commission. Ou encore charger les sénateurs de s'occuper de la chose. Si le juge ne reconnaissait pas le bien-fondé de la requête à cette fin, la personne ou les personnes intéressées pourraient toujours plaider devant la dite commission, mais cette fois à leurs frais. L'idéal ce serait d'institutionnaliser ce type de juge et ce genre de commission, soit au niveau de l'Etat central, soit au niveau de l'Etat associé. De toute façon, contre la décision de la commission, définitive (dans le sens qu'elle serait immédiatement applicable) on pourrait en appeler directement à la Cour constitutionnelle.

4. Egalité absolu entre les citoyens: Tous les citoyens canadiens seraient parfaitement égaux devant la loi. Il n'y aurait absolument aucune différence entre ceux qui seraient nés et ceux qui seraient devenus citoyens canadiens. Cette disposition devrait être réalisé au Pays immédiatement, sans délais.

5. La résidence, seule exception valable: Dans certains cas bien précis, on pourrait envisager certaines exceptions, mais celles-ci seraient toujours et véritablement des exceptions et jamais des mesures discriminatoires. Ainsi, on pourrait prétendre la citoyenneté et dix ans de résidence dans certains cas précis et exceptionnels, tels que ceux ayant trait à l'exercise de certaines fonctions, comme celles de président et vice-présidents

de la république ou de l'Etat central, de premier ministre de l'Etat central et des cinq Etats associés, de président de la Cour constitutionnelle, d'ambassadeurs. On pourrait prétendre ce minimum pour être le titulaire de ces postes ou de postes analogues pour des exigences de securité nationale. D'ailleurs cette disposition ne serait pas discriminatoire, car elle s'appliquerait à tous les citoyens canadiens, de naissance ou par naturalisation. Il ne faut pas oublier que plusieurs citoyens canadiens ont vécu ou vivent de nombreuses années à l'étranger, en particulier aux Etats-Unis.

6. <u>Les droits des immigrants</u>: Les immigrants, pas encore citoyens, auraient tous les droits et devoirs des citoyens, excepté ceux spécifiquement et exclusivement politiques. Avec une déclaration d'intention qu'ils pourraient signer après une année de résidence au Pays, ils pourraient, entre autres, exercer toute profession ou tout métier, en tant que membre associé de la corporation correspondante, en vertu d'un permis annuel renouvelable automatiquement à chaque année et devenant permanent le jour où l'on acquerrerait la citoyenneté. Il deviendrait permanant automatiquement. Durant sa première année de résidence, l'immigrant serait membre junior de la corporation concernée. Mais si l'immigrant ne peut pas ou ne veut pas devenir citoyen le jour dû, il perdrait automatiquement son permis annuel. Les seules restrictions qu'on pourrait poser à l'endroit des immigrants

devrait être de nature technique, mais là encore il faudrait que les autorités compétentes créent à cette fin une commission permanente indépendante qui édicte, entre autres, des règlements aussi clairs que possible à ce sujet.

7. Le problème de la double citoyenneté: Seuls les citoyens de l'Etat associé concerné auraient le droit d'exercer les privilèges politiques dudit état. On deviendrait automatiquement citoyen d'un Etat associé à deux conditions essentielles, à savoir en étant en possession de la citoyenneté canadienne et en ayant résidé au moins un ans dans l'Etat associé concerné, résidence pouvant être acquise, bien entendu, bien avant l'acquisition de la citoyenneté canadienne. Ceci pour éviter tout simplement que l'on devienne citoyen d'un Etat associé sans être citoyen de l'Etat central, ce qui serait tout à fait condamnable. Autres conditions: qu'on présente une demande à la suprême autorité de l'Etat associé concerné à cet effet;que cette demande soit acceptée. Mais on ne pourrait pas être citoyen de deux Etats associés à la fois. Mais on pourrait, le cas écheant, changer de citoyenneté particulière, en se basant comme critère toujours sur le principe de la résidence. Mais dans ce cas, il faudrait que l'Etat associé concerné avise directement l'autre Etat associé et l'Etat central, pour les fins de coordination. A ce sujet, on pourrait envisager la possibilité de collaborer avec les délégations des Etats canadiens fonctionnant dans chaque capitale. Et penser à l'éven-

tualité de la part de l'Etat central de communiquer directement aux cinq Etats associés la liste de ses citoyens et à chaque Etat associé de communiquer directement la liste de ses citoyens aux autres cinq Etats.

Il n'y aurait aucune différence de traitement, de quelque nature que ce soit, entre les citoyens des différents Etats, excepté les cas exceptionnels mentionnés précédemment et supposant toujours la résidence ou la citoyenneté particulière. Ce qui ferait qu'on pourrait garder, partout au Canada, sa citoyenneté particulière, ce qui n'est pas sans importance dans un Pays comme le nôtre, où les problèmes nationaux ont acquis un aspect primordial.

8. Réforme du système judiciaire: A tous les niveaux (Etat central et Etat associé), le Procureur Général ne devrait jamais coincider avec le ministre de la Justice. Les procureurs du département du Procureur général devraient se trouver dans la même situation que les juges, c'est-à-dire indépendants du pouvoir exécutif. La confusion entre le Procureur général et le ministre de la Justice est certainement un fait déplorable.

L'idéal ce serait que soit les juges soit les procureurs de la couronne (ou les procureurs de l'Etat) fussent nommés par concours ouvert à tous les diplômés en droit ou par examen accessible à tous les avocats pratiquant depuis au moins dix ans. Les deux systèmes sont bons. Mais dans le deuxième cas, il serait

souhaitable que les avocats nommés juges ou procureurs exercent leurs nouvelles fonctions dans un district judiciaire différent de celui où ils ont pratiqué, régulièrement ou le plus régulièrement, le droit. L'idéal ce serait aussi de ne pas permettre aux juges et aux procureurs de retourner à la pratique du droit qu'à certaines conditions. Ou dans un district judiciaire différent ou après un an de repos, période pendant laquelle ils continueraient de percevoir régulièrement leur salaire.

Il faudrait aussi penser très sérieusement à réduire les frais judiciaire et en, général, les dépenses ayant trait à l'administration de la justice. Il faudrait songer à rendre plus expéditive la justice. A créer des juges administratifs et des avocats spécialisés et à ouvrir officiellement les portes de la justice administrative et de la pratique administrative à des experts.

Pour ce qui a trait aux bills privés, la meilleure solution serait de les abolir tout simplement ou, autrement, de garder ce pouvoir aux assemblées législatives, mais à condition que les cours ordinaires, après avoir examiné le projet de loi privée, ne s'y apposent pas.

Tout ceci pourrait être convenablement discuté et recommandé au sein d'un Conseil Supérieur de la Magistature, formé de 25 membres, ainsi nommés: un tiers par les juges ordinaires, un tiers par l'Etat central, un tiers par l'Etat associé. Au moins un tiers de ces membres ne devraient être ni avocats ni

juges. Ils seraient nommés pour une période de 15 ans. Ils jouiraient d'une très grande autonomie. Ce serait l'Etat associé concerné qui lui fournirait un budget considérable pour agir comme il faut. Le président de la Cour Suprême de l'Etat associé serait automatiquement le président de ce Conseil. Les présidents des conseils supérieurs des cinq Etats associés et celui de l'Etat central formerait un comité inter-canadien à cette fin. Le Conseil Supérieur de l'Etat central serait formé de la même façon, mais le président serait le président de la Cour Suprême du Canada et administrativement il dépendrait de l'Etat central.

9. Pour un système d'incompatibilités: Un système d'incompatibilités, précis et clair, devrait être formulé et appliqué immédiatement. Toute personne exercant une fonction publique ne pourrait jamais exercer ni directement ni indirectement une fonction privée ou un privilège professionnel. Je sais que beaucoup ou pas mal d'hommes politiques auraient à en souffrir du point de vue financier, mais il auraient à gagner beaucoup de prestige et de respect!

10.. La criminalisation de notre système juridique: Pour rémédier efficacement aux différents scandales (et autres) publics et privés dont souffre notre Pays (et d'autres aussi), il faudrait songer très sérieusement à criminaliser davantage notre vie sociale et son système juridique. Il faudrait que les responsables de favoritismes poliques ou les agents du racket aillent une fois

pour toutes en prison et pour de bon! Ce serait un exemple ou des exemples salutaires. Et finir de croire ou faire croire que, dans certains cas particuliers, une éventuelle démission purge le mal! Ou si les responsables ne méritent pas la prison, alors qu'ils restent à leur place.

Certes, un système, comme le nôtre, qui considère très grave, plus grave, un erreur qu'un crime, mais ne considère pas l'erreur comme un crime, est un système qui laisse songeur!

11. Les titres et dépenses inutiles: Il faudrait abolir les titres d'honorable, conseil de la reine et autres de ce genre. En les remplaçant, éventuellement, avec d'autres, mais qui soient plus conformes à notre contexte nord-américain.

Et qu'on élimine les dépenses inutiles, celles ayant trait aux avocats et experts engagés privément par l'administration publique et celles ayant trait aux nombreuses commissions royales et d'enquêtes. Pourquoi ne pas fonctionnaliser les avocats et les experts travaillant dans la fonction publique? Pourquoi ne pas avoir recours aux députés, sénateurs, membres des comités consultatifs et juges administratifs pour des enquêtes publiques?

Pourquoi ne pas institutionnaliser des cours administratives spéciales où le citoyen pourrait faire valoir ses intérêts contre les abus politiques de l'Etat ou des Etats?

Pourquoi ne pas institutionnaliser les conseils supérieurs auprès de tous les ministères et considérer et traiter les membres de ces conseils comme fonctionnaires à temps partiel?

12. Le problème des corporations et des syndicats: Il faudrait que les incroyables (et parfois grotesques) privilèges des corporations professionnelles soient à jamais abolis et que soient abolis certains de leurs règlements qui ne sont pas dignes d'un Pays civilisé et démocratique, comme le Canada. Exemples: un contrôle de l'Etat et de la Société s'impose sur la trop grande discrétion dont jouissent les professionnels. Pourquoi prétendre un B.A. pour faire fréquenter une faculté de droit et de médecine? Pourquoi prétendre que les étudiants des facultés payent, durant leurs cours universitaires, des frais assez élevé à leurs futures corporations professionnels, dont ils deviendront peut-être un jour des membres actifs! C'est inoui! Pourquoi être citoyen canadien pour exercer une profession? Pourquoi être citoyen canadien pour présenter une requête afin d'exercer une profession le jour où l'on sera citoyen? Pour un Pays d'immigration et d'immigrants comme le Canada, c'est inoui!

Finalement, il faudrait prétendre des professionnels qu'ils n'exercent ni directement ni indirectement aucune autre fonction, ni publique, ni privée. A moins de démissioner comme membres deleurs coporations tout en continuant a y demeurer à titre honorifique.

Enfin, il faudrait que toute profession ou tout métier aient sa corporation, mais celle-ci serait administré par un Conseil Général formé d'un tiers de membres de la profession, élus par leurs pairs, d'un tiers par l'Etat central et d'un tiers par l'Etat

associé concerné. Les membres élus par les deux états ne devraient pas être des membres de la profession. Ceci servirait, entre autres, à canaliser l'influence des groupes de pression trop pressant, et pour éliminer, une fois pour toutes, le jaunisme et les mauvaises influences chez les journalistes.

Il serait aussi souhaitable que toute profession ou tout métier ait son sydicat. Dans ce cas, s'agissant de défendre les intérêts strictementéconomiques de leurs membres, il n'y aurait pas d'objection à ce que les syndicats professionnels ou de métiers soient dans les mains des intéressés. Mais un contrôle public devrait être possible même sur les syndicats. La corporation c'est autre chose, car elle doit proteger la profession au nom du Bien Commun de la société, très souvent contre les professionnels!

13. <u>Le role de l'Etat de nos jours</u>: Les temps présents ont modifié radicalement la réalité économico-sociale du monde qui nous entourné et plus particulièrement de notre Pays. L'Etat se doit d'intervenir là où le particulier ne peut ou ne veut pas fonctionner comme il faut. Soit en planifiant les activités économiques, soit en administrant un système complet de securité sociale. Et ceci d'une façon coordonnée entre tous les états concernés, car il serait très malheureux qu'il n'y ait pas à ce sujet un minimum d'uniformité. Malheureux pour tous les Canadiens dont les besoins humains devraient demeurer toujours notre première préoccupation. Mais il faudrait ne pas oublier que si l'Etat c'est le peuple, en

pratique il coincide avec une classe sociale ou un groupe politique. C'est pourquoi l'Etat risque de devenir un monstre très dangereux, si on lui donne trop de pouvoirs et s'il n'est pas suffisamment décentralisé.

14. Le problème du "contrôle étranger": Au Canada, en particulier, l'Etat, aux deux niveaux, pourrait jouer un rôle spécial, pour ce qui a trait au problème du contrôle étranger de notre économie. Il faudrait poser des conditions pour empêcher que le capital étranger, tout en étant bienvenu, ne fasse ni le beau ni le mauvais temps au Pays. Ceci à condition que les Canadiens ne soient pas encore capables par eux-mêmes de rémédier à la situation. En attendant, l'Etat ou les états canadiens pourraient prétendre de toute société controlée par des étrangers qu'un minimum de leur capital actionnaire, minimum important, soit entre les mains de citoyens canadiens, tant qu'ils le demeurent, bien entendu. Autrement, ce minimum passerait, totalement ou pour le restant, automatiquement dans les mains de l'Etat, central ou associé, selon les circonstances.

15. Notre système électoral: Il faudrait aussi songer, aussitôt que possible, à revisionner comme il faut notre système électoral, à tous les niveaux (Etat central, Etat associé, municipalité et commission scolaire). Pour qu'il soit démocratique davantage. Les seules exigences à satisfaire devraient être, au niveau de l'Etat

central et de l'Etat associé, la citoyenneté, et au niveau de la municipalité et de la commission scolaire, la résidence, cette dernière s'acquérant automatiquement après une année. Il faudrait aussi songer, très sérieusement, a ce que notre système électoral soit le plus proportionnel possible, à tous les niveaux. Ou en créant une commission mixte entre l'Etat central et les cinq Etats associés en vue de résoudre ces problèmes à tous les niveaux ou en tenant compte des districts et circonscriptions linguistiques ou en chargeant l'actuelle commission de revision fédérale de tous ces problèmes.

Il faudrait finalement éviter qu'un gouvernement fasse les élections quand mieux lui semble. Il faudrait l'empêcher de déclencher des élections pas avant cinq mois de la décision officiellement prise à cette fin. Mais il faut bien dire que tous les partis politiques canadiens, sans exception, semblent ne pas trop se soucier de ce problème!

16. Problèmes à ne pas oublier! Ce sont celles-ci quelques exigences de la démocratie et des temps présents, qu'il serait fort malheureux d'oublier. Or le phénomène du bilinguisme et du biculturalisme risque de nous les faire oublier à jamais. Ce qui est étrange, c'est que ces problèmes sont plus clairement apercus par ceux qui ne sont officiellement ni Canadiens-Français ni Canadiens-Anglais.

Tous semblent heureux de l'actuel système. Tous se

posent toujours le même problème: comment éviter que nos gouvernants n'exagèrent pas ou comment prendre le pouvoir, mais presque personne ne songe sérieusement que notre système doit être profondément modifié, si l'on veut que la démocratie ne meure pas au Pays.

Dans ces différents problèmes, on a vu que la collaboration entre les six Etats canadiens est possible et souhaitable. Ce n'est absolument pas indispensable. Les différents organismes mentionnés ici pourraient être très bien formés par un Etat, en particulier, mais quand il s'agit du Canadien, comme tel, la coopération entre les Etats est la solution idéale. Car ce sont les Canadiens et leurs besoins qui devraient dicter aux gouvernements responsables leurs actions! Or il ne fait pas de doute que les Canadiens sentent, de plus en plus, le besoin d'uniformité au Pays.

Excepté, peut-être, les Québecois au Québec, dont la situation particulière ne peut ne pas être envisagée que d'une façon particulière.

(IX)

## LA SITUATION PARTICULIERE DU QUEBEC

1. Le Québec, le centre de la crise canadienne. 2. Précédente attitude du Québec nettement défensive. 3. La révolution tranquille. 4. Pas une vague comme les autres. 5. Le Québec, problème unique en son genre. 6. Le refus a-t-il été fonctionnel? 7. La révolution industrielle du Québec. 8. Le nationalisme en général. 9. Le nationalisme canadien-français. 10. Situation combien particulière. 11. Un miracle qui n'en fut pas un. 12. Le retour aux origines. 13. Sont-ils des Français? 14. Ce sont des Québecois. 15. Pourquoi pas des relations plus vastes. 16. Les problème de Montréal et des Néos. 17. L'Etat du Québec, seule solution. 18. L'américanisation est-elle un danger? 19. Indépendance totale? 20. Un statut particulier pour le Québec. 21. Ecoles de langue française et de langue anglaise. 22. Le problème du langage au Québec. 23. Les activités extérieures du Québec. 24. La politique d'immigration au Québec. 25. La politique culturelle au Québec. 26. Pour un concordat avec l'Eglise Catholique. 27. Les deux fêtes du Québec. 28. Le contrôle étranger au Québec. 29. Les autres problèmes. 30. Solution valable.

1. Le Québec, le centre de la crise canadienne: C'est au Québec que le problème du bilinguisme et du biculturalisme se pose avec une très grande acuité. C'est le Québec qui a initié la crise politique au Pays et qui a entrainé la formation de la Commission Royale d'Enquête sur le Bilinguisme et le Biculturalisme. C'est pourquoi, le Québec et sa situation particulière méritent une étude à part.

2. Précédente attitude du Québec nettement défensive: Jusqu'en 1959-60, le Québec a toujours eu, par rapport au Canada-Anglais,

une attitude défensive. Il ne cherchait qu'à sauvegarder ou valoriser son autonomie. Ottawa était toujours à l'attaque, Québec sur la défensive. Et pour les Canadiens-Français, Ottawa c'était les Canadiens-Anglais. Devant une pareille attitude, il ne faut pas s'étonner si Ottawa et le pouvoir fédéral se sont lentement mais sûrement anglicisés.

3. La révolution tranquille: Mais le mort du premier ministre du Québec, Maurice Duplessis, en 1959, le célèbre "désormais" de son successeur, Paul Sauvé, la même année, et la victoire du parti libéral de Monsieur Lesage, aux élections provinciales du 1960, devaient donner vie et déclencher les mécanismes du phénomène politique destiné à s'appeler dorénavant "la révolution tranquille" du Québec. Le Québec passait donc à l'action. Il devenait dynamique et prospère. Il prenait ambitieusement les devants. Et il donnait un nom et un éclat sans précédent à la nouvelle et plus sérieuse crise qu'ait jamais traversé le Canada, la crise actuelle.

4. Pas une vague comme les autres: Le nationalisme canadien-français revivait à nouveau. Mais tout le monde pensait dans le fond qu'ils s'agissait là d'une autre vague temporaire. Car il y avait eu toujours des vagues nationalistes au Québec, mais à la fin elles s'étaient toujours calmées dans la grande et tranquille mer anglo-saxonne,mais surtout dans la mer canadienne-française

de l'opportunisme et de la crainte. Mais cette fois-ci, la vague était vraiment forte et impétueuse. Elle s'obstinait terriblement à ne pas se faire surmonter ou dominer. La crise, cette fois, était bel et bien grave, très grave. Elle s'était manifestée à un moment historique où d'autres phénomènes, nationaux et internationaux, s'étaient produits ou se produisaient. Il ne fallait qu'un article, mais combien important, écrit dans Le Devoir par son rédacteur-en-chef pour créér l'athmosphère favorable à l'instauration d'une commission royale d'enquête ad hoc. Le Canada Anglais avait compris.

5, Problème unique en son genre: Le problème du Québec et des Canadiens-Français, qui forment le 79% de sa population, est un problème historique unique en son genre. Le Québec est noyé dans une mer anglophone de 200 millions personnes, ses voisins sont nuls autres que les Etats-Unis et l'Anglais est aujourd'hui la langue la plus importante au monde. Le quelque million de Canadiens-Français vivant en dehors du Québec est pratiquement assimilé à l'élément anglophone et Montréal, le centre du Québec, devient de plus en plus anglais. Un problème unique! C'est pourquoi le nationalisme canadien-français a toujours été prudent et conservateur. Ouvrir ses portes ça voulait dire risquer de se faire assimiler!

6. Le refus a-t-il été fonctionnel? Mais ce refus de se faire assimiler ou de collaborer activement a-t-il été vraiment fonctionnel? Les Canadiens-Français n'auraient-ils pas pu essayer de conquérir ou reconquérir Ottawa et le reste du Pays, eux qui, dans le fond, avaient la balance du pouvoir? Mais le Québec, étant ce qu'l était, à savoir une société rurale dominé par les ecclésiastiques et les professionnels, ne pouvait pas être une société dynamique, à différence du groupe canadien-anglais, à l'esprit commercial et industriel.

7. La révolution industrielle au Québec: Puis vint pour le Québec aussi sa révolution industrielle, voulue et conçue par les autres, les Canadiens-Anglais et les étrangers. Les richesses naturelles du Québec devaient donc attirer de plus en plus de capital étranger. Puis vinrent les immigrants, d'expression non-française, qui balkanisèrent et anglicisèrent Montréal le centre du Québec. D'un côté les contacts furent inévitables, ce qui permit aux Canadiens-Français de réaliser qu'ils étaient en retard. De l'autre, ça fit comprendre aux meilleurs Canadiens-Français que le temps était venu de s'adapter à la nouvelle réalité si l'on voulait que ça ne fût trop tard. Et vint la révolution tranquille!

8. Le nationalisme en général: Mais que penser au juste du nationalisme canadien-français et des ses revendication de jour en

jour plus nombreuses et plus impérieuses? Il faudrait avant toute essayer de démystifier le problème. Le nationalisme n'est ni une bonne ni une mauvaise chose, il n'est ni à la mode ni dépassé. Il peut être à la fois souhaitable et possible, et non souhaitable et impossible. Il peut être une solution et ne pas l'être; il peut être un moyen ou une fin; il peut être le propre des pays développés et forts ou des pays qui ne le sont pas. Il peut être tout et rien à la fois! Mais il existe au Québec! C'est de ce fait il faut partir. Or nous vivons dans une société démocratique et n'importe quelle société démocratique se doit de satisfaire les exigences nationalistes de son peuple, si l'on veut éviter que le nationalisme ne devienne, à plus ou moins courte échéance, du racisme. Alors, le problème qui se pose est le suivant: comment satisfaire le nationalisme des Canadiens-Français? Ce qui suppose une question préalable: qu'est-ce au juste le nationalisme canadien-français?

9. Le nationalisme canadien-français: Ici se pose dans le fond le drame du Québec et de ses québecois d'expression française. Les Canadiens-Français ne sont pas des Américains, ils ne sont pas des Canadiens-Anglais; ils ne sont pas des Canadiens; ils ne sont pas des Anglais et surtout ils ne sont pas des Français. Qui sont-ils au juste? Ils sont certainement une nation du point de vue sociologique, mais ils n'ont pas une identité politique; ils cherchent désespérément une identité, un visage, une expres-

sion dans lesquelles se reconnaître. Tant que cette identification n'aura pas lieu, les Canadiens-Français seront toujours tourmentés, peureux, faibles, craintifs, pleins de complexes. Voilà le drame des Canadiens-Français! Ils savent qu'ils sont une nation, mais ils ne savent pas ou ils ne peuvent s'exprimer comme telle. Ca c'est le nationalisme canadien-français.

10. Situation combien particulière: Comme tous ceux qui se sentent nationalement membres d'une société à eux, les Canadiens-Français se sont créé un ennemi et qui mieux alors que les Canadiens-Anglais, ceux qui les avaient conquis et humiliés. Mais ceux aussi qui leur avait permis de survivre contre toute logique à ce moment-là (à moins que des recherches historiques ne démontrent un jour que ce n'était pas si logique que ça!). Ils ont senti aussi le besoin de s'accrocher à un protecteur contre l'ennemi. La France semblait avoir renoncé à jamais à ces terres de désolation et de froid; les Etats-Unis peut-être, mais quel danger; l'Angleterre oui, car c'était dans l'intérêt de Londres de cultiver les particularismes au Canada pour mieux le dominer. C'est pourquoi les meilleurs éléments canadiens-français (ou ceux qui étaient considérés comme tels) allaient étudier à Oxford! Quelle situation particulière au Québec!

11. Un miracle qui n'en fut pas un: La société rurale qui était le Québec a réussi à survivre, et tous ont parlé de miracle, alors

que ce n'en fut pas un. Une société rurale, dominée par les ecclesiastiques et les professionnels, n'avait aucun danger à courir et puis cette société se multipliait continuellement et le Canada-Anglais avait besoin d'eux pour éviter l'annexion aux Etats-Unis qui devenaient toujours plus forts et plus dangereux.

12. Le retour aux origines: Or cette société rurale devient une société industrielle. Elle progresse à pas de géant. Elle risque de se faire assimiler. Et les vieilles classes dirigeants risquent de perdre le contrôle de leur société. Le nationalisme canadien-français est devenu aggressif. Mais ce n'était pas suffisant. Il fallait trouver un protecteur. On l'a trouvé dans certains milieux: la France, le Pays d'origine, qui a repris, entre autres, une position importante dans le contexte mondial actuel. Un retour aux origines, quoi?

13. Sont-ils des Français? Mais les Canadien-Français sont-ils des Français? Vivent-ils, s'habillent-ils, parlent-ils, discutent-ils comme les Français? Ont-ils les mêmes goûts? Le code civil du Québec est-il vraiment français? Est-il vraiment possible un retour aux origines après deux siècles de silence? En vaut-il la peine? Non, les Canadiens-Français ne sont pas des Français, ils sont des Américains parlant Français, ce sont des Québecois! Qu'il suffise de penser, un seul instant, aux sports que les Canadiens-Français préfèrent: le hockey, le baseball et le football américain!

14. Ce sont des Québecois: Il faudrait, une fois pour toutes, ne plus utiliser les expressions Canada-Français et Canadiens-Français.

Que les Québecois s'identifient au Québec; qu'ils soient fiers et orgueilleux d'être Québecois; qu'ils valorisent leurs indéniables qualités; qu'ils se perfectionnent davantage. En ayant aussi des contacts avec le monde extérieur, sans aucune exception. En particulier, avec les états d'expression française, mais aussi avec des états non français. Pourquoi pas surtout avec ces derniers? Pour faire un exemple banal, ce qui au yeux des Français peut sembler gauche et naif, , ne le sera pas nécessairement aux yeux de ceux qui ne sont pas Français, car ils n'auront pas l'esprit franéais à ce faire ! Qu'on se rappelle, entre autres, que presque pas de Canadiens-Français n'ont vraiment eu de succès en France, alors qu'on peut compter par centaines des Canadiens-Anglais et des Canadiens-Français qui ont du succès en Angleterre et aux Etats-Unis et aussi des Canadiens qui ont du succès au Canada-Anglais. Ce sont des faits qu'on ne peut sous-estimer.

15. Pourquoi pas des relations plus vastes? Il est vrai que ce retour à la France est fait pour des raisons surtout politiques. Pemdant trop longtemps, les Canadiens-Anglais ont fait la même chose avec l'Angleterre. Ce que les Canadiens-Français critiquaient durement. Mais maintenant, ils font la même chose! Pour trouver un appui,un soutien! Mais les Français ne sont pas si "public relations men" qu'on le pense. Or,la situation locale étant

ce qu'elle est, les Français ne pourront s'empêcher de continuer à être plutôt cruels avec les Canadiens-Français!

Pourquoi le Québec n'essaie-t-il pas d'ouvrir ses portes à un monde extérieur plus vaste et très profitable, l'Allemagne et l'Italie, par exemple, où il serait grandement rentable pour le Québec d'y pénétrer en profondeur. Mais il y a aussi les Américains du Sud, les pays arabes, et les Francophones de l'Afrique. Il y a tout un monde à conquérir, pourquoi ne pas essayer? Il faut, de toute évidence, que les Canadiens-Français continuent dans leurs relations avec la France, mais avec beaucoup de vigilance, tant qu'ils n'auront pas acquis une authentique "personnalité québecoise". Alors, ces relations avec la France ne créeront pas un autre isolationnisme au Québec; ce seront des relations réciproques et adultes. Elles seront, cette fois vraiment, très fructueuses!

16. <u>Les problèmes de Montréal et des Néos</u>: Mais les Québecois réalisent, de plus en plus, que leur ville plus importante, Montréal, a le 35% de sa population qui n'est pas d'origine française et, par surcroît, que la moitiée de sa population parle courament l'Anglais. Ils réalisent, de plus en plus, qu'un demi million de Neos vivent et entendent continuer à vivre au Québec. Est-ce que ces gens sont des Québecois? Bien sur que oui! Enfin, c'est à Montréal surtout que la bataille du nationalisme canadiens-français ou québecois se gagne ou se perd, à

Montréal et non pas à Chicoutimi ou à Trois-Rivières!

17. L'Etat du Québec, seule solution: C'est pourquoi, il est absolument urgent de donner lieu, une fois pour toutes, à l'existence officielle de l'Etat du Québec et à la reconnaissance officielle de la citoyenneté québecoise. Je pense que ça peut être la réponse, ou la solution valable, au nationalisme canadien-français.

Il faut bien partir, en effet, de cette condition: comment satisfaire le nationalisme canadien-français? En rendant les Canadiens-Français fiers et orgueilleux de s'identifier!

Et ils doivent s'identifier avec leur terre et leurs semblables tout d'abord, c'est-à-dire avec le Québec et les Québecois, de n'importe quelle origine linguistique, culturelle, nationale ou raciale ces derniers soient.

Ils doivent, en outre, s'identifier davantage avec les terres et les semblables avec lesquels ils ont vécu pendant deux siècles, siècles qui n'ont pas été inutiles, car l'on peut aujourd'hui reconnaître facilement le Canadien, cet homme du nord, aux indéniables qualités, cet homme du nord qui, les circonstances aidant, pourrait rejoindre des sommets pas encore rejoints.

Si l'on accepte de part et d'autre, c'est-à-dire de la part des intéressés, ce besoin, unique et double, d'identification, les détails, même importants, ne devraient pas susciter trop de discussions ou trop d'embarras.

Les Québecois seront autant fiers d'être québecois que d'être canadiens.

18. L'américanisation est-elle un danger? Dans le fond, ce n'est pas la culture québecoise qui est en danger, mais bien plutôt la culture canadienne-anglaise, qui s'américanise de plus en plus. Mais l'américanisation n'est pas non plus un aussi terrible danger, surtout elle n'est pas un danger extérieur! Il faudrait, à ce sujet, que l'hystérie anti-américaine cesse, car dans le fond le Canadien et l'Américain ont beaucoup en commun. Mais par contre si l'on veut à tout prix éviter une américanisation trop rapide et trop brutale, le Canada a besoin du Québec et des Québecois et vice versa.

Chose intéressante à noter: un sondage de l'Institut Canadien de l'Opinion publique, rendu public le 13 août 1965, démontre qu'au Québec on considère nos meilleurs amis à l'étranger les Etats-Unis (70%), la France (9%), le Royaume-Uni (6%). En Ontario, la proportion est dans l'ordre: 50%, 1%, 35%. Qu'on se le dise, même s'il faut considérer les statistiques cum granu salis.

19. Indépendance totale? Un Québec completement indépendant est certainement possible. Mais est-ce souhaitable, mais est-ce nécessaire? Existe-t-il d'Etat vraiment indépendant et cette éventuelle indépendance ne risquerait-elle pas d'isoler le Québec

des ses voisins les plus proches? Le Québec et les Québecois peuvent s'épanouir et satisfaire leurs exigences dans le cadre d'une nouvelle, et veritable, confédération canadienne. D'ailleurs, le manque actuel d'indépendance n'a pas empêché le Québec d'être ce qu'il est présentement, un Etat en plein essor. Ca n'a pas empêché la nationalisation de l'Hydro-Québec, la Société Générale de Financement, la SidBec et les Maisons du Québec à l'étranger. Et ça n'empêche pas d'autres mouvements en ce sens.

Ce qui d'ailleurs est conforme à l'histoire. Les Italiens du 400 et 500 n'étaient pas intégralement autonomes et indépendants, surtout ils étaient politiquement désunis, mais ça n'a pas empêché la Renaissance, ce qui est tout dire. Et les Allemands et les Flamands n'ont-ils pas connu des périodes splendides, alors qu'ils étaient politiquement désunis et partiellement dominés. On peut évidement porter d'autres exemples contraires. Ce qui compte c'est d'examiner chaque situation cas par cas. Or le Québec est déjà structuré, il est, à toutes fins pratiques un Etat. Qu'il continue à se developper, qu'il ne s'arrête pas, et rien ne pourra l'empêcher d'être un Etat fort et respecté.

20. <u>Un statut particulier pour le Québec</u>: Le Québec serait donc un des cinq Etats associés de la Confédération. Il serait officiellement unilingue. Il aurait son drapeau et son hymne national. A l'intérieur de ses frontières, il n'y aurait que des Québecois d'origine culturelle différente, mais Québecois tout d'abord,

fiers et orgueilleux d'être à la fois citoyens québecois et citoyens canadiens.

Le Québec aurait, naturellement, son Président de la République ou son Président de l'Etat, élu par voix populaire. Tout ce qui a été dit précédemment au sujet des Etats associés peut valoir très bien pour le Québec. Il pourrait y avoir des variations, bien entendu.

Le Québec pourrait avoir un statut particulier, à savoir un ensemble très considérable de pouvoirs et fonctions que le Québec se verrait accorder, au sein de la future Confédération Canadienne, de par son autorité et son prestige. Cet éventuel statut particulier permettrait, il va sans dire, au Québec et aux Québecois de s'épanouir comme bon leur semblera, au sein de la future Confédération Canadienne.

21. Ecoles de langue française et de langue anglaise: Les écoles du Québec, les écoles publiques, bien sûr, devraient être, en particulier, ou de langue française ou de langue anglaise. Ce qui a été dit à ce sujet, au chapitre six de la présente étude, devrait s'appliquer surtout au Québec, particulièrement dans la région de Montréal. Et qu'on sache oui, dans certains milieux, qu'en France, par exemple, le 70% ou presque des étudiants des écoles secondaires apprennent l'Anglais. Il serait vraiment regrettable, et comment, si un jour les Français de France devaient parler même l'Anglais mieux que les Québecois!

22. Le problème du langage au Québec: Pour ce qui a trait au français parlé et écrit au Québec, il faut reconnaître que la situation est de solution presque impossible. La meilleure des choses ce serait de ne pas trop chagriner à cause de cette situation, tout d'abord. Et après et très lentement essayer de l'améliorer, au niveau des élites, lesquelles, soit dit en passant, ne sont pas sans péché à ce sujet. On a souvent dit qu'il faudrait faire une législation appropriée à cette fin. Mais une langue est un phénomène historique des plus naturels, il nait, il progresse, il tombe en décadence et meurt. In en a été ainsi de plusieurs langues et il en sera ainsi d'autres. On ne peut empêcher à l'heure actuelle, par des lois, la dégéneration du Français au Québec. On ne peut obliger les gens à parler Français ou à parler un bon Français, a part le fait que les gens qui surveilleraient l'application des lois à cet effet seraient les premiers à ne pas les respecter.

On a aussi pensé de faire venir des pays où l'on parlerait un bon Français des professeurs de Français. Mais pour avoir et sortir de bons effets, il faudrait importer peut-être des milliers de professeurs de l'étranger et mettre sur le pavé tous ou presque tous les professeurs actuellement disponibles au Québec. Avec les terribles chocs, et pénibles conséquences économiques qui s'ensuivraient inévitablement.

Qu'on soit réaliste à ce sujet et peut-être l'on pourra obtenir de meilleurs et plus durables effets. Qu'on reconnaisse,

une fois pour toutes, que le 95% de la population parle et écrit, au Québec, une langue néo-française, le Québecois.

23. Les activités extérieures du Québec: Il n'y a absolument rien qui empêche le Québec d'avoir son Service Extérieur soit dans les autres Etats Canadiens, soit aux Etats-Unis, Royaume-Uni, France, Italie, Allemagne, dans un Pays de l'Amérique Latine, dans un Pays arabe et dans un Pays francophone de l'Afrique. Dans chacun de ces Pays et dans d'autres éventuellement, il devrait y avoir une Maison du Québec, avec un Délégué général, assisté d'un conseiller commercial, d'un conseiller touristique, d'un conseiller culturel et d'un conseiller pour l'immigration. Ces Maisons devraient travailler à créér de véritables et durables relations internationales pour le Québec, à tous les niveaux.

Cette campagne de promotion se ferait non seulement à l'étranger ou à l'extérieur du Québec, mais aussi au Québec même, en utilisant, par exemple, le potentiel humain et materiel que sont les Néos.

Ce Service Extérieur pourrait être un office autonome relevant directement du premier ministre ou d'un ministre en particulier. Ou il pourrait être tout simplement une commission interministerielle. Ou la direction générale pour les relations extérieures d'un ministère en particulier. Ou encore, comprendre quelques directions de certains ministères, qui pourraient avoir une activité internationale assez appréciable,par exemple, ceux de l'éducation, des affaires culturelles, de l'industrie et du com-

merce, des affaires fédérales-provinciales et du Secrétariat d'Etat. Chacun de ces ministères pourrait avoir une direction générale pour les relations extérieures . Ces directions formeraient le Service Extérieur de l'Etat du Québec. Ou encore, le Québec pourrait avoir son Ministère des Affaires Extérieures avec quatre directions générales, celle des relations culturelles, celle de l'immigration, celle des affaires touristiques et celle des relations commerciales. Pour être fonctionnaire du Service Extérieur, il faudrait avoir tout naturellement des qualités et des qualifications supérieures. Pour créér une coordination entre ce Service ou ce Ministère et les autres ministères concernés, il y aurait un agent de liason du Service Extérieur dans les quatre ou cinq ministères concernés qui auraient une direction à cette fin. De plus les ministères concernés enverraient un agent de liason au Service ou au Ministère des Affaires Extérieures.

Pour éviter un manque dangereux et dispendieux de coordination et pour éviter des querelles dangereuses et dispendieuses entre Canadiens à l'étranger, il faudrait qu'Ottawa, à savoir l'Etat central du Canada, ait un certain pouvoir de coordination à ce sujet, mais la coordination se ferait d'une manière adulte et réciproque!

En outre, il serait grandement souhaitable que le Québec fasse partie, un jour ou l'autre, d'une future et libre Communauté Française, mais à condition, bien entendu, d'y avoir un statut d'adulte!

24. La politique d'immigration au Québec: Le gouvernement du Québec s'est finalement décidé, ces dernier temps, à faire quelque chose de concret au sujet de l'immigration. Pendant trop longtemps, le Québec a ignoré ce problème, parce que la solution éventuelle n'était pas considérée politiquement rentable. Attitude peu clairvoyante, bien sûr, car ça n'a pas emêché qu'un demi million de personnes aient immigré au Québec de 1946 à nos jours.

Maintenant, le temps est venu pour le Québec de se décider à faire quelque chose de profond à ce sujet. La solution: un Ministère de l'Immigration avec plusieurs directions générales, services, divisions et sections. Ministère au personnel nombreux et qualifié et possédant un budget considérable à cette fin. Et secondé d'un Conseil Supérieur de l'Immigration et de plusieurs comités consultatifs de travail.

Il faut surtout éviter de croire ou de faire croire qu'un petit Service, tout en étant un début très prometteur à ce sujet, puisse résoudre le problème de l'immigration au Québec. Comme il faudrait éviter de croire ou de faire croire qu'en faisant venir des immigrants d'expression française, on puisse résoudre convenablement ce problème. Les gens d'expression française ne sont pas trop portés à emigrer, c'est un fait indéniable. Il faut faire venir au Québec ceux qui veulent venir par ici et ceux dont le Québec a besoin. Et une fois installés ici, les bien accueillir et les bien traiter. La francisation ou la québecquisation des Néo-Québecois deviendrait alors une conséquence tout à fait

naturelle. Mais toujours à condition qu'on n'oublie pas que le Québec est situé en Amérique du Nord et qu'il faut laisser les Néos libres de s'intégrer avec le groupe qu'ils préfèrent. Enfin, il ne faudrait pas oublier que s'il faut intégrer les Néo-Québecois, il ne faudrait aussi ne pas oublier qu'il est absolument impérieux de sauvegarder et de valoriser leurs différents et combien enrichissants apports culturels, et ce d'une façon très concrète.

25. La politique culturelle du Québec: Ici, la meilleure chose à faire ce serait tout simplement d'augmenter continuellement les fonctions et pouvoirs de l'actuel ministère des affaires culturelles. En essayant, dans la mesure du possible, de délimiter ses activités avec celles du ministère de l'éducation, celui-ci étant surtout destiné aux aspects "instruction" et "élèves", l'autre aux aspects "diffusion" et "citoyens", de la même réalité, dans le fond,

Pourquoi ne pas envisager, en outre, d'autres services au sein du ministère des affaires culturelles; par exemple, le Service de la Radio et Télévision et le Service du Cinéma. Ces deux services devraient être secondés par deux commissions, celle de la radio et télévision et celle du cinéma.

En outre, la nouvelle constitution devrait donner au Québec le pouvoir d'avoir sa Radio-Québec, qui pourrait être un instrument exceptionnel au service du Québec et des Québecois.

26. Pour un concordat avec l'Eglise Catholique: Les problèmes du Québec et des Québecois avec l'Eglise Catholique semblent devenir, de jour en jour, plus délicats. Pourquoi alors ne pas envisager un concordat avec l'Eglise Catholique, qui délimite, comme il faut, les fonctions et pouvoirs de l'Etat du Québec et de l'Eglise Catholique dans leurs sphères de juridiction respectives?

Le concordat entre l'Italie et le Vatican, actuellement en vigueur, pourrait, peut-être, servir de modèle.

27. Les deux fêtes du Québec: La fête de Saint-Jean, du 24 juin, devrait continuer à être la fête populaire du Québec et des Québecois. Mais ça n'est pas suffisant. Il faut que le Québec et les Québecois aient leur fête nationale, au ton plus sérieux et à la forme plus prestigieuse. Pourquoi ne pas utiliser, à cette fin, le jour où Jacques Cartier, le premier Québecois, est arrivé à Montréal, le centre du Québec?

28. Le contrôle étranger au Québec: Le problème du contrôle étranger se pose, au Canada, surtout au Québec et comment! C'est pourquoi il serait plus que souhaitable que l'Etat du Québec intervienne assez énergiquement à ce sujet, d'un côté, et encourage les Québecois, par les moyens les plus appropriés à cet effet, à être plus entreprenants, de l'autre. Autrement, le statut particulier se transformera dans une pénible farce!

29. Les autres problèmes: Au Québec d'aujourd'hui, se posent des centaines de problèmes, qu'on ne peut absolument pas résoudre en quelques pages. Qu'il suffise de mentionner les très graves problèmes economico-sociaux, dont la non-solution ou la mauvaise solution risqueront de faire éclater, socialement parlant, la belle province. Il serait aussi intéressant d'étudier de plus près le phénomène de la révolution tranquille (est-elle vraiment une révolution? une révolution peut-elle être vraiment tranquille? en quoi est-elle tranquille? ou n'est-elle pas trop tranquille? etc....).

Ces problèmes, comme d'ailleurs ceux déjà mentionnés ici, mériteraient sans doute une étude à part plus détaillée. Ce dont l'auteur n'exclut pas la possibilité, dans un avenir plus ou moins rapproché.

30. Solution valable: J'ose espérer que ma solution pourra satisfaire au maximum les aspirations et les exigences du Québec et des Québecois, sans pour autant jeter dans le désarroi le Canada et les Canadiens. Avec la solution que je propose, il me semble que le séparatisme peut être dépassé. Car c'est de cette façon, et seulement de cette façon, que le séparatisme pourra être dépassé, non pas en s'attaquant à lui, en tant que tel, mais en s'attaquant aux racines du mal, qui en sont la cause première.

Dans la solution envisagée, il faut se rappeler qu'un

Québecois pourrait garder sa citoyenneté québecoise, partout au Canada, et que la citoyenneté québecoise pourrait être éventuellement accordée aux Québecois vivant et résidant à l'extérieur du Québec, ce qui serait d'une très grande importance. On pourrait même recommander au gouvernement du Québec de prétendre des autres gouvernements intéressés que les citoyens québecois, résidant à l'extérieur du Québec, puissent participer à tous les avantages de la vie sociale et politique de l'Etat associé, où ils résideraient, par le seul fait de la résidence, sans être obligés à renoncer à leur citoyenneté québecoise. Ou encore, on pourrait leur permettre de garder la citoyenneté québecoise, de toute façon.

Ainsi, on pourrait résoudre le problème, combien essentiel, du prestige du Québec et des Québecois, dont les problèmes, cependant, ne sont pas seulement d'ordre linguistique et culturel, ne l'oublions surtout pas!

Ainsi, le Québec pourra se tailler une position à la mesure de son prestige dans le grand concert des nations!

Mais à condition qu'on n'oublie pas, au Québec et ailleurs, les problèmes, combien délicats, des groupes ethniques et des Néos-Canadiens!

(X)

## LE PROBLEME DES GROUPES ETHNIQUES ET DES NEOS

1. Un tiers et plus de la population canadienne. 2. Ni isolement, ni assimilation, mais intégration. 3. Les deuxièmes et dynamiques fondateurs du Canada. 4. Le mur de l'incompréhension canadienne. 5. Ils ne sont pas venus ici pour faire la guerre. 6. Comment faciliter leur intégration. 7. Le problème de leur intégration politique. 8. Assimilation dans les deux sens, idéal à rejoindre au Pays. 9. Comment protéger les Néos et les ethniques. 10. La formation des commissions et des cours.

1. Un tiers et plus de la population canadienne: Ceux qu'on appelle les Néo-Canadiens et ceux qui constituent les groupes ethniques constituent, nous l'avons vu, un tiers de la population canadienne. De plus, les Néo-Canadiens augmentent continuellement. Dans certaines provinces, comme dans les Prairies, par exemple, le nombre des groupes ethniques et des Néos dépasse le 50% de l'entière population.

Il s'agit dans le fond de personnes qui insistent beaucoup moins que les deux groupes originaires du Pays au fameux trait d'union. Ce sont eux, dans le fond, les véritable Canadiens!

2. Ni isolement, ni assimilation, mais intégration: Il serait préférable de ne pas reconnaître officiellement leur présence, car il s'agit de personnes qui sont venues et viennent pour devenir et se sentir Canadiens. Mais il faut d'un côté favoriser leur intégration, en évitant un isolement tragique et une assimilation

brutale; de l'autre, sauvegarder et valoriser leur apport culturel différent et combien enrichissant! Si cela est admis théoriquement et réalisable concrètement, pas de problème; autrement il n'y aurait d'autres solutions que la reconnaissance officielle de tous les particularismes culturels au Pays, ce qui ferait du Canada un Pays extrêmement faible et desorienté, du point de vue strictement politique, bien entendu.

3. Les deuxièmes et dynamiques fondateurs du Canada: Ce que les groupes ethniques et les Néos ont fait au Canada mériterait des livres et des livres. Ils ont apporté au Pays quelque chose de nouveau. Sans eux, et ici je me réfère en particulier aux Néos, le Canada n'aurait jamais connu le plein essor qu'il connaît ou semble connaître présentement. Sans eux, le Canada serait encore une petit pays à deux villages où les gens se détesteraient comme chiens et chats.

Beaucoup de Néos et d'ethniques étaient et sont dépourvus d'une très bonne éducation ou de qualifications professionnelles. Mais dans le fond, c'est de ces gens que le Canada avait et a besoin, de gens prêts à tout pour se refaire une vie, capables de se sacrifier jour et nuit pour donner à leurs enfants la vie dont il avaient tant rêvé. D'autres avaient et ont une éducation supérieure et des qualifications professionnelles d'un très bon niveau. Soit les uns soit les autres ont contribué d'une façon très avantageuse à faire du Canada un Pays moderne et prospère.

Ils ont été, eh oui, les deuxièmes et dynamiques fondateurs du Pays!

4. Le mur de l'incompréhension canadienne: Tous ces gens ne voulaient et ne veulent que s'intégrer à leur nouvelle patrie, ils ne voulaient et ne veulent ni s'isoler ni s'assimiler, rien que l'intégration. Mais celle-ci a-t-elle été et est-elle possible et réalisable? Très souvent les Néos se sont battus et se battent la face devant le mur hostile de l'incompréhension canadienne. Ils ont dû et doivent s'isoler et former des ghettos où une vie infernale allait ou va très souvent les attendre. D'autres ont essayé et assaient l'assimilation. Mais tous ces gens ont souffert et souffrent leurs premières annés au Canada et beaucoup continuent de souffrir toute leur vie. Pour leurs enfants, les problèmes ne seront pas les mêmes, peut-être! Mais pour eux et pour ceux qui continuent de venir, combien de sacrifices à supporter! A part naturellement, les très mauvais traitements économiques et sociaux qu'ils reçoivent.

5. Ils ne sont pas venus ici pour faire la guerre: Ces gens auraient voulu et voudraient s'intégrer au Canada. Mais y-a-t-il un Canada et y-a-t-il un peuple canadien? En vaut-il la peine? Les Néos et les ethniques ne sont pas venus au Pays pour faire la guerre, ils vont là où les gens les acceptent bien ou là ou leur intérêt materiel les dirige. Sans le vouloir, il se sont mis du côté anglais et de ce fait ont suscité une rancune sans égale

chez les Canadiens-Français. Et ceux-ci ont créé le mythe du noyautage des Canadiens-Français fait par les Canadiens-Anglais par le mécanisme de l'immigration. Ce qui était et est complétement faux et dépourvu du moindre fait réél!

S'il y a beaucoup de Britanniques qui viennent ici, ce n'est parce qu'il y a plusieurs bureaux canadiens d'immigration au Royaume-Uni. Il y en a autant en Allemagne et pourtant les Allemands continuent de déserter, depuis quelques temps, le Canada. S'il y a très peu de Français qui viennent ici, ce n'est parce qu'il y a (il serait plus exact de dire: il y avait) un seul bureau canadien d'immigration . Il y en a (à vrai dire, il y en avait) un aussi en Italie, et pourtant combien d'Italiens émigrent par ici!

Le Canada, en effet, peut promouvoir l'immigration au Canada, à l'étranger, dans des pays où le besoin d'émigrer existe, mais il ne peut créér le besoin d'émigrer, à l'étranger!

Toute cette situation confuse, et le manque d'une véritable culture canadienne, a fait revivre chez les Néos et les ethniques la fierté de leur culture d'origine et un attachement sans pareil à leur vieille patrie. Ce qui a compliqué considérablement les choses. Les Néos, les voleurs de jobs, ont donc eux aussi contribué à accelérer la crise politique canadienne!

6. <u>Comment faciliter leur intégration</u>: Mais comment faciliter leur intégration et sauvegarder et valoriser leur apport culturel

différent? Il faudrait pour cela revisionner complètement les relations commerciales et culturelles entre le Canada et les pays d'immigration soit au Canada soit à l'étranger. En assurant un emploi digne et une assistance effective et substantielle aux Néos et aux ethniques tant qu'ils ne seront pas Canadiens ou parfaitement intégrés. En donnant aux provinces actuelles et aux futurs Etats associés les plus amples pouvoirs à cette fin, le pouvoir central gardant pour lui la fonction technique de l'admission. En collaborant étroitement et concrètement avec les états étrangers concernés, parmi lesquels, il faut bien le souligner, certains ne protègent pas comme il se doit leurs ressortissants. En punissant sans pitié les personnes et organismes qui exploitent les immigrants, qui sont, soit dit en passant, très nombreux. En encourageant l'enseignement de leurs langues maternelles dans les écoles publiques de chaque province, tous les samedis matins, là où une requête légitime est présentée à cet effet. En encourageant l'enseignement régulier de leurs langues maternelles dans les écoles secondaires. En leur donnant des cours de langues, française ou anglaise, ou des cours de civisme, ou encore des cours de récuperation scolaire ou de perfectionnement professionel. En reconnaissant, dans les plus brefs délais, leurs diplômes d'études ou leurs qualifications professionnelles. En leur donnant, tant qu'ils ne seront pas citoyens, tous les droits et devoirs dont jouissent les Canadiens, excepté ceux specifiquement politiques. Et, une fois citoyens, les traiter exactement, et sans aucune ex-

ception, absolument aucune, de la même façon que les citoyens de naissance. En s'occupant immédiatement de la réunion de leurs familles. Le tout devrait être fait de la manière la plus profonde et la plus immédiate.

En prenant en plus grande considération, surtout extra-politique, les groupements nombreux et variés des ethniques et des idéos. En créant ou en encourageant concrètement les organismes s'occupant de valoriser leurs différents apports culturels.

En empêchant, dans la mesure du possible, que l'immigration ne soit un moyen intérieur d'éviter la hausse des salaires ou d'embarasser, outre mesure, les syndicats locaux. En ne faisant pas croire que le Canada a besoin surtout d'ouvriers et de techniciens spécialisés, car ce n'est pas toujours le cas. A part le fait que les gens spécialisés n'ont pas besoin d'émigrer, il arrive, très souvent, qu'une fois arrivés par ici, ils font tout, excepté d'exercer leur métier. En imitant, si possible, ce que les Pays plus avancés de l'Europe font, en matière de travail et assistance, pour les immigrants. Exemples: leur assurer des contrats de travail, authentiques et efficaces, et les assister, gratuitement et intensément, dans tous les domaines de leur vie sociale.

En créant dans tous les organismes publics ou d'intérêt public des sections destinées a favoriser leur intégration, tout en sauvegardant leur apport culturel et ainsi de suite.

Il faut, donc, que leur différence d'origine culturelle

ne soit pas considérée comme étant une limite, mais plutôt comme étant pour les Néos et les ethniques un privilège ou un atout précieux pour mieux s'intégrer à la vie du groupe auquel ils auront choisi de s'insérer comme il faut. Il va sans dire qu'on ne pourra prétendre des Néos et des ethniques qu'ils s'intègrent obligatoirement à un des deux groupes nationaux d'origine du Pays. Ce faisant, on risquerait de tout ruiner. Et de créer certainement une situation défavorable surtout à la nation canadienne-française ou québecoise!

7. Le problème de leur intégration politique: Et puis il y a l'aspect très important de l'intégration politique des groupes ethniques et des Néos. Leurs pouvoirs, en tant que groupes de pression, varient de localité en localité et surtout de leur plus ou moins bonne organisation interne. Mais il y a un mal à la racine, qui est très grave. On a généralement la mauvaise habitude de satisfaire les aspirations et exigences des ethniques et des Néos par des cadeaux politiques. Quelques sénateurs, quelques juges, quelques procureurs de la couronne, quelques hauts-fonctionnaires ou quelques conseillers importants, et voilà, les jeux sont faits, tous les problèmes politiques des ethniques et des Néos sont réglés! Cette pratique, il va sans dire, est une des plus malheureuses au Pays. Car elle rejoint l'effet contraire, elle empêche l'intégration des Néos et des ethniques, parce que elle donne des pouvoirs très souvent à des irresponsables et perpétue

l'immigration comme un marché d'esclaves. Si on faisant des cadeaux politiques, on donnait aux Néos et aux ethniques, le double ou le triple de ce qu'ils mériteraient, comme nombre, à tous les niveaux, les critiques n'auraient pas raison d'exister ou du moins elles le seraient, mais à une échelle théorique. Mais en fait, on fait exactement le contraire!

8. Assimilation dans les deux sens, idéal à rejoindre au Pays: l'idéal c'est qu'à tous les niveaux on donne aux Néos et aux ethniques plus de ce qu'ils demandent, surtout plus de ce qu'ils méritent par leur nombre. Ce serait des minorités heureuses. Seulement de cette façon, leur intégration se fera doucement et sûrement. Et l'assimilation deviendra de plus en plus inévitable à la longue. Mais dans les deux sens, à savoir comme synthèse entre les vieux et les Néos-Canadiens. Il faudrait que la nouvelle constitution au Pays mentionne ce fait ou qu'une coutume s'inaugure à ce sujet: dans tous les organismes publics ou d'intérêt public, dans les partis, dans les Univérsités et les Syndicats ce principe devrait toujours s'appliquer. Autrement, les Néos et les ethniques seront des minorités malheureuses. Et l'on a vu quels sont les résultats qu'on obtient quand on ne traite pas bien une minorité! Dire que nous sommes tous égaux, c'est bien beau, mais pour éviter que cette égalité théorique ne devienne de la discrimination pratique, il faut une disposition de la nouvelle constitution, déclarant que les groupes ethniques et les Néos, tant qu'ils seront ou demeureont

tels, auront droit à une représentation minimum et plus que proportionnelle dans tous les organismes publics ou d'intérêt public. Autrement, ce sera le désastre au Pays! Au moins, bien entendu, qu'une coutume en ce sens ne se forme au Canada!

9. Comment protéger les Néos et les ethniques: La meilleure façon pratique de garantir cette insertion obligatoire des Néos et des ethniques dans les organismes publics ou d'intérêt public serait de créér, dans les six Etats canadiens, six commissions de 25 experts chacune. Les commission devraient, chaque année, faire et étudier le recensement des Néos et ethniques, et proposer au gouvernement et organismes publics ou d'intérêt public de laisser un minimum de positions aux ethniques et aux Néos. Le gouvernement et organismes devraient obligatoirement agir dans les trois mois de la publication du rapport annuel des dites commissions. Contre les décisions prises, on pourrait en appeler à des cours administratives, spécialement destinées à cette fin. Contre les décisions de ces cours, on pourrait en appeler directement à la Cour Constitutionnelle. Il faudrait que les actions éventuellement intentées contre les cours administratives soient exemptes de frais judiciaires, de quelque nature que ce soit. La procédure devrait être des plus expéditives.

Pour ce qui a trait à l'exploitation continuelle dont sont victimes les Néos et les ethniques, il faudrait créér des cours administratives spécialement conçues à cette fin. Il n'y

aurait aucun frais judiciaire à encourir de la part du ou des protestants. La procédure devrait être des plus expéditives.

Enfin, il faudrait songer à une véritable organisation administrative à ce sujet, d'un côté plusieurs commission avec des fonctions politiques ou presque, de l'autre des cours administratives avec des fonctions judiciaires ou quasi.

On pourrait aussi charger les sénateurs de s'occuper de ces problèmes dont la gravité ne saurait être sous-estimée.

Il va sans dire que ces commissions et ces cours agiraient comme conseillers ou juges dans les domaines de juridiction des Etats qui les nommeraient.

10. La formation des commissions et des cours: Il faudrait que la formation de ces commission et de ces cours se fasse de la façon la plus objective possible, en ayant recours surtout à des experts et non pas à des représentants des groupes de pression, qui très souvent ne jouissent d'aucune influence et d'aucun prestige. Il faudrait, en outre, que ces membres puissent jouir d'une authentique autonomie; ils devraient être nommés par conséquent pour une période de 15 ans au moins, période durant laquelle ils seraient inamovibles.

Autrement, on ne fera que du patronage, avec les résultats facilement imaginables!

Ces reformes devraitent se faire au Pays, aussitôt que possible. Mais en attendant, quoi faire au Canada, dans ce domaine et dans les autres?

(XI)

## QUOI FAIRE, EN ATTENDANT?

1. La solution envisagée, solution possible. 2. Mais quoi faire, tout de suite? 3. Les dix priorités au Pays. 4. De toute façon, agir au plus vite!

1. La solution envisagée, solution possible: La solution que j'ai envisagée dans ce mémoire, est certainement possible. Elle ne suppose qu'un peu de bonne volonté et qu'un minimum de maturité politique auprès des meilleurs éléments du Pays.

Mais il faut dire aussi qu'elle peut être réalisée dans son esprit et en partie soit dans les cadres de l'actuelle constitution canadienne soit dans les cadres d'une nouvelle constitution au Pays, dont les structures et les détails pourraient être éventuellement différents de ceux mentionnés dans la présente étude.

Mais il faudra du temps, bien sûr:alors, quoi faire, en attendant?

2. Mais quoi faire, tout de suite: Il y a évidemment des centaines de choses à faire et à refaire au Pays, dans tous les domaines. On pourrait tout faire et refaire, tout de suite, si on le veut.

Mais il est peut-être préférable de faire et de refaire des choses au Pays, qui ne supposent pas un chambardement total dans les actuelles structures du Canada. Mais à condition de considérer ce ou ces premiers pas comme un début et non pas une fin en soi!

3. Les dix priorités au Pays: Il me semble qu'on puisse déceler, au Pays, dix priorités et précisément les suivantes:

1) reconnaître officiellement le principe de binationalité de base d'origine du Canada.

2) réaliser cette binationalité au sein de l'Etat fédéral.

3) rapatrier (ou canadianiser) tout de suite la constitution de notre Pays, selon une formule se rapprochant de l'actuelle formule Favreau-Fulton, mais qui ne mette pas le Québec dans une situation embarassante.

4) attribuer au Québec un statut particulier, en le rendant un Etat unilingue, qui puisse, entre autres, accorder la citoyenneté québecoise à ses ressortissants.

5) réaliser, dans toutes les provinces, une réforme profonde des systèmes scolaires.

6) créér, à tous les niveaux, des commissions et des cours des droits de l'homme.

7) créér, à tous les niveaux, des commissions et des cours des groupes ethniques et des Néo-Canadiens.

8) institutionnaliser les actuelles conférences fédérales-provinciales. En créant, en même temps, une Cour Constitutionnelle.

9) démocratiser l'appareil de l'Etat, à tous les niveaux, et les

différents aspects de la vie sociale au Pays.

10) institutionnaliser un système de droit et de justice administrative au Pays, à tous les niveaux.

Ces dix priorités pourraient être réalisées sans changer la forme de l'actuelle constitution canadienne ou en la modifiant, seulement en partie, avec une autre formule, genre celle Favreau-Fulton.

4. De toute façon, agir au plus vite! Il va sans dire que les priorités au Pays et dans ses provinces, dans l'ordre politique, sont très nombreuses et très variées, comme on l'a vu au cours de cette étude. Mais il faut bien commencer par quelque chose! Car ce qui compte c'est d'agir au plus vite, en sachant et en faisant savoir que la crise actuelle au Pays est profonde et qu'elle suppose une réforme profonde, une solution adéquate, et ce sera la modeste conclusion de cette étude.

(XII)

# C O N C L U S I O N

## CONFIANCE DANS L'AVENIR DE LA CONFEDERATION CANADIENNE:

1. Crise profonde. 2. Solution profonde. 3. La formule de solution de l'auteur. 4. Quelques observations. 5. Les autres problèmes. 6. Confiance dans l'avenir du Canada et du Québec:

1. Crise profonde: Comme j'ai essayé de le démontrer au cours de cette étude, la crise actuelle que traverse présentement le Pays est grave, très grave. C'est une chose qu'il faudrait ne jamais oublier et dont malheureusement pas tous sont au courant. De ce point de vue aussi, la formation de l'actuelle Commission Royale d'Enquête sur le Bilinguisme et le Biculturalisme est un pas exceptionnel en avant. Par contre, les critiques qu'elle a subies, particulièrement au Canada-Anglais, démontrent que beaucoup, trop de gens s'obstinent à ne vouloir pas ouvrir les yeux!

2. Solution profonde: Cette crise ne peut et ne doit apporter au Pays tout entier qu'un solution la plus profonde et la plus détaillée possible, dans l'intérêt du Canada et de ses régions, mais aussi, et pourquoi pas, dans l'intérêt de tous les Canadiens, dont souvent on oublie les besoins et les aspirations. La qualité des présidents conjoints, des membres et des secrétaires conjoints et du personnel de la Commission Royale d'Enquête sur le Bilinguisme et le Biculturalisme sont une garantie à ce sujet.

Mais les gouvernements intéressés et les groupements concernés se décideront-ils à agir ensuite?

3. La formule de solution de l'auteur: J'ai essayé,dans la me du possible, de considérer l'actuelle crise politique canadienne dans son intégrité essentiellement et non pas exclusivement dans ses éléments strictement linguistiques et culturels, lesquels, bien sûr, revêtent une importance extrême au Pays.

Si l'esprit du mandat de la Commission est à l'effet qu'il faut résoudre l'actuelle crise au Pays, en tenant compte de ses éléments essentiels,le bilinguisme et le biculturalisme, on a bien vu que ceci n'est pas toujours le cas. Que ces problèmes-là soient essentiels, nul doute; qu'ils soient les seuls essentiels, bien sûr que non!

C'est pourquoi, ma formule de solution est une formule de solution politiquement "globale". Elle essaie de sinthétiser les différents éléments essentiels du Pays, en donnant satisfaction, on ne peut plus, à tous et à chacun et en démystifiant aussi plusieurs problèmes et phénomènes, et ce non pas pour le simple plaisir de la chose, mais parce que c'est possible et fonctionnel, voilà tout.

En effet, une Confédération Canadiennne, structurée et sanctionnée dans une nouvelle constitution, élaborée par une constituante canadienne, et prévoyant six Etats Canadiens, dont un, le Québec, à statut particulier, et institutionnalisant le

principe de la double citoyenneté, avec la concrétisation fonctionnelle du principe de la binationalité de base et d'origine du Pays, peut être une solution efficace et valable à l'actuelle crise politique qui sévit au Canada. Confédération parfaitement décentralisée et organisée, d'ailleurs, aussi pour des raisons de démocratie et d'efficacité, qui ne fasse, en outre, aucune distinction et aucune discrimination, absolument aucune, entre ses citoyens considérés, à tous les niveaux, soit en tant qu'individus, soit en tant que membres d'un ou de plusieurs groupements sociaux, de n'importe quelle nature ces derniers soient.

A noter que j'ai prévu, dans ma formule de solution, une collaboration étroite et structurée entre les six Etats canadiens. Mais il va sans dire que cette collaboration, combien essentielle à la formation d'une véritable conscience canadienne, pourrait se faire à un niveau strictement politique, à savoir sans être constitutionnellement structuré dans les moindres détails. Comme il va de soi que l'esprit de la formule de solution, envisagée par l'auteur, pourrait se structurer d'une façon différente que celle prévue dans la présente étude.

4. Quelques observations: Si parfois j'ai critiqué, et vertement, le Canada et les Canadiens, c'est parce que je me sens désormais partie intégrante de ce Pays et de cette population, dont les qualités indéniables et les défauts inévitables m'ont profondément marqué. Je l'ai fait et je le fais, parce que je crois,

très sincèrement, que c'est seulement avec une attitude critique qu'on puisse et doive résoudre nos problèmes à nous. En mettant, si l'on préfère, le doigt sur la plaie.

Que ces qualités et que ces défauts existent ou n'existent pas ailleurs, ça n'est pas si important et si essentiel que ça. Ce qui est important, ce qui est essentiel, c'est de contribuer à faire de ce Pays ce à quoi il semble destiné, à un grand futur c'est à dire. Et ceci sera possible, à condition de ne pas aveugler les gens ou de ne pas se faire aveugler par les gens!

5. Les autres problèmes: Je me suis limité dans cette étude à des problèmes essentiels et politiques. Mais il va sans dire qu'il ne faudra jamais oublier les très graves et très importants problèmes économico-sociaux qui sévissent depuis trop longtemps au Pays. Je n'ai pas non plus considéré les problèmes des premiers Canadiens, les Indiens et les Esquismauds c'est-à-dire. Je crois que ces derniers problèmes pourraient trouver un début de solution en accordant des avantages et des privilèges non indifférents à ces gens-là en vue de leur intégration nécessaire à notre société, qui ne soit pas, bien sûr, une assimilation brutale, mais qui élimine néanmoins leur tragique isolement, sans pour autant ne pas sauvegarder et valoriser leurs éventuels particularismes culturels, s'ils le desirent, bien entendu.

Ainsi, je n'ai pas étudié, dans les moindres détails,

s'il faudrait accorder à certains pouvoirs essentiels, au niveau de l'Etat central et de l'Etat associé, une autonomie constitutionnelle (indépendance et égalité entre eux) ou à certains d'autres une autonomie administrative (contrôle possible, mais à certaines conditions), ni à quels pouvoirs accorder l'une ou l'autre forme d'autonomie.

Je n'ai, non plus, examiné, dans les moindres détails, pourquoi et comment devrait fonctionner un système complet de droit et de justice administrative. Tout ceci pourrait être, très bien, l'objet d'une étude ultérieure et plus approfondie.

6. Confiance dans l'avenir du Canada et du Québec: Je suis profondément convaincu que le Canada et les Canadiens, en général, et que le Québec et les Québecois, en particulier, peuvent et doivent se tailler une position très importante à l'intérieur et à l'extérieur de leurs frontières. Ceci est possible, très possible, si on accepte l'idée qu'il y a crise sérieuse au Pays, mais que cette crise est surmontable, et comment, si on se décide d'accepter un début important de réforme substantielle. Ma formule de solution veut tout simplement être une contribution, si modeste soit-elle, à ce renouveau essentiel, destiné à faire, du Canada et du Québec, des terres où la neige et le soleil, le froid et la chaleur, ne seront des pretextes que pour mieux travailler au progrès de cette Confédération, qui répondra, j'en suis sûr, aux aspirations des Canadiens et des Québecois!

## PREMIERE ANNEXE

## N O T E S  B I B L I O G R A P H I Q U E S

Cette annexe indique certains livres, documents, essais ou articles, parmi ceux consultés par l'auteur. D'aucune façon, donc, elle ne saurait être considérée exhaustive.

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## DEUXIEME ANNEXE

## EXTRAIT DU CURRICULUM VITAE DE L'AUTEUR DU MEMOIRE

## GIUSEPPE TURI

- né à Casablanca (Maroc) , en 1934, de père italien et de mère d'origine française.

- études primaires, secondaires et collégiales à Casablanca (Maroc), Verviers et Liège (Belgique) et Naples (Italie) , où son père demeurait en sa qualité de fonctionnaire du gouvernement italien.

- diplôme de maturité classique (B.A.) , obtenu à la première session d'examens, en juin 1952, au lycée d'état Iacopo Sannazaro de Naples.

- doctorat en droit de la faculté de droit de l'Université de Naples, en 1956. Sujet de la thèse de doctorat soutenue publiquement, le 17 novemebre 1956, en droit public et en économique: "La redistribution fiscale des revenus". Résultat final: "summa cum laude".

- membre actif et directeur, en Europe, de plusieurs organisations, parmi lesquelles, la Jeunesse Fédéraliste Européenne, le Mouvement Fédéraliste Européen, l'Association Internationale des Auberges de la Jeunesse, l'Association Italienne des Etudiants Universitaires, le Comité Universitaire pour les Relations avec l'Etranger, l'Association Internationale de la Cité Universitaire de Paris, etc.... En tant que membre du Barreau, pratique le droit dans la circonscription judiciaire de Naples.... Boursier, à plusieurs reprises, de la Faculté Internationale de Droit Comparé du Luxembourg.

- en 1957-58, boursier des gouvernements, italien et français, à la Sorbonne et à la Faculté de Droit de l'Université de Paris, afin de poursuivre des recherches comparées sur le système politico-juridique français.... Certificat d'Etudes de Droit Comparé de l'Institut Catholique de Paris (mai 1958).

- arrivé au Canada, en octobre 1958, avec une bourse de recherche du Conseil des Arts du Canada, afin de poursuivre, en sa qualité d'attaché de recherche, des recherches comparées sur le système politico-juridique canadien à la faculté de droit de l'Université de Montréal. Publie un essai dans le numéro 31 de la revue juridique de Montréal, "Themis", au titre suivant: "Réflexions sur la future déclaration des droits de l'homme au Canada". En 1959-60, renouvellement de la dite bourse de recherche, pour des raisons de mérite. Publie le résumé de ses recherches, sous forme d'essai, dans le numéro 33 de la revue Themis, au titre suivant: "Le déséquilibre constitutionnel-fiscal au Canada".

- depuis 1960, fondateur et directeur général du Service International pour les Relations Publiques (International Public Relations Service), agence qui se propose de promouvoir les relations commerciales, culturelles, légales et tehniques entre le Canada et l'étranger.

- professeur de Français (de 1960 à 1965) et professeur d'Italien (de 1963 à 1965) aux cours offerts par la Commission des Ecoles Catholiques de Montréal et le Gouvernement du Québec à l'intention des Néo-Canadiens. Professeur d'Italien aux cours de perfectionnement en langue, littérature et institutions italiennes, au Service Culturel Italien, organisme officiel du gouvernement italien à Montréal, en matière culturelle (1964-1965).

- Diplôme d'Etudes Supérieures de Droit Public de la Faculté de Droit de l'Université de Montréal (mai 1963).

- membre actif ou directeur ou honoraire de plusieurs organisations, parmi lesquelles, la Chambre de Commerce du district de Montréal, l'Association des Professionnels Italo-Canadiens, l'Accord, l'Association des Diplômés de l'Université de Montréal.... Président-fondateur et président du comité exécutif de l'Union Italo-Franco-Canadienne, association qui se propose de promouvoir les échanges culturels et l'amitié entre les Canadiens-Français et les Canadiens-Italiens (1961-62 et 1962-63).

- auteur d'un mémoire, soumis au ministre des affaires culturelles du Québec, en novembre 1961, au titre suivant: "L'intégration des nouveaux-arrivés et des Néo-Canadiens au Québec".

- conseiller technique (expert-conseil), pour bon nombre de personnes et organisations, pour des questions d'ordre économique, juridique, culturel, politique, sociologique ou analogue.... Journaliste (affaires publiques - affaires culturelles).

- auteur d'un mémoire, soumis au Comité parlementaire de la Constitution du Québec, le 30 avril 1964, au titre suivant: "La promotion de l'immigration au Québec". Officiellement invité à le discuter publiquement, le 10 novembre 1964, devant les membres du Comité au Parlement du Québec.

- marié, le 28 décembre 1963, à Montréal, avec Mlle Illoma Anne Carr.

- membre du Conseil des Arts du Québec, organisme officiel du gouvernement du Québec, chargé de recommander au ministre des affaires culturelles les moyens les plus efficaces pour accentuer l'avancement des arts, des lettres et des sciences au Québec.

- professeur de langue et de littérature italienne au Département d'Italien de la Faculté des Arts et des Sciences de l'Université McGill, de Montréal.

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# APPENDICE

## RESUME DU MEMOIRE

1. Nature du mémoire: contribution personnelle de l'auteur, avec sa formule de solution globale, au dénouement de l'actuelle crise politique canadienne. 2. Considération globale de l'actuelle crise politique canadienne. 3. Les dix propositions majeures de la formule de solution globale. 4. En attendant, dix priorités, au moins, à satisfaire au Pays, dans l'ordre politique. 5. Conclusion: de toute façon, nécessité et urgence d'un renouveau en profondeur, au Canada et au Québec, et comment!

1. Nature du mémoire: contribution personnelle de l'auteur, avec sa formule de solution globale, au dénouement de l'actuelle crise politique canadienne.

Cet essai politique sur le Canada d'aujourd'hui contient 151 pages et quinze chapitres, dont deux annexes et une appendice. Il a été conçu et écrit par l'auteur, afin de lui permettre de participer, avec sa formule de solution globale, au dénouement de l'actuelle crise politique canadienne, qui sévit, au Canada, depuis trop longtemps. Il a été soumis, sous forme de mémoire, à la Commission Royale d'Enquête sur le Bilinguisme et le Biculturalisme, à Ottawa, le premier septembre 1965. Il représente, à ce sujet, la modeste contribution de l'auteur à son Pays d'adoption, le Canada, qu'il aime beaucoup, et à une de ses régions, qu'il chérit le plus, le Québec.

2. Considération globale de l'actuelle crise politique canadienne.

L'actuelle crise politique canadienne est un fait désormais incontestable. Plusieurs éléments essentiels la caractérisent. Tout d'abord, l'élément de base, la binationalité d'origine et le fait, et le conflit, entre les deux partenaires originaires du Pays, les Canadiens-Français et les Canadiens-Anglais, les premiers fondateurs du Canada, entre deux forces inégales en présence, c'est-à-

dire. Ensuite, l'élément nouveau, les groupes ethniques et les Néo-Canadiens, dont l'apport considérable et la difficile intégration ont contribué à accélérer la crise. Les ethniques d'après 1867 et les Néos d'après 1946, abstraction faite de leurs différentes et combien enrichissantes origines linguistiques et culturelles. Il faudra bien les considérer ensemble, et pour cause! Un tiers et plus de l'entière population canadienne, quoi! Un tiers, d'ailleurs, qui augmente et se multiplie continuellement et plus rapidement que les autres! Ils sont le troisième et nouveau partenaire du Pays, les deuxièmes fondateurs du Canada, et des fondateurs dynamiques! Et finalement, les éléments particuliers, les exigences de la démocratie et des temps présents; l'immensité du territoire canadien; la situation spéciale de Montréal et d'Ottawa; le contrôle étranger de notre économie; les très graves problèmes économico-sociaux; le problème de la proximité des Etats-Unis; le problème de notre ou de nos politiques extérieures; le besoin pressant d'une authentique uniformité au Pays; les tendances générales à l'unité et à la diversité et d'autres problèmes de ce genre.

Il faudra bien, de toute évidence, les considérer globalement, parce qu'ils sont tous essentiels et, qui est plus, interdépendants entre eux et aussi et surtout pour dissiper, une fois pour toutes, tout malentendu à l'effet que, du point de vue strictement politique, seuls les problèmes ayant trait au bilinguisme et au biculturalisme seraient essentiels au Canada.

C'est pourquoi, l'auteur, après avoir, dans la mesure du possible et du souhaitable, bien sûr, examiné et synthétisé les différents éléments essentiels de l'actuelle crise politique canadienne, en arrive à une formule de solution, qui se veut globale.

3. Les dix propositions majeures de la formule de solution globale.

1. Qu'une nouvelle constitution soit élaborée et approuvée, au Pays, par une Constituante Canadienne.

2. Que la nouvelle constitution fasse de notre Pays une nouvelle, et véritable, confédération, dont le nom officiel serait désormais "Confédération Canadienne" (en anglais: Canadian Confederation), constituée de six éléments essentiels, les Etats Canadiens, à savoir un état central, l'Etat Central du Canada, et cinq états associés, les Etats Canadiens du Québec, de l'Ontario, des Maritimes (Acadia?), des Prairies (Alsama?) et de la Colombie-Britannique (Colombie, tout court?).

3. Que la nouvelle constitution distribue, fonctionnellement, les compétences de juridiction entre les six Etats Canadiens et les attribue, rigidement, à chaque Etat. Tout amendement constitutionnel, qu'il soit extérieur ou intérieur, essentiel ou ordinaire, nécessiterait donc et toujours la ratification, à majorité qualifiée, du sénat ou des sénats concernés. La majorité du Sénat de l'Etat Central, en particulier, qu'elle soit simple, absolue ou qualifiée, devrait être le résultat de la somme des majorités de chacune des cinq représentations populaires (50 par état) faisant partie dudit Sénat et ayant voté, comme toujours, séparement. Que la délégation de pouvoirs soit admissible entre les Etats interessés pour tout sujet considéré non essentiel par la nouvelle constitution. Qu'une collaboration très étroite entre les six Etats Canadiens soit prévue, en vue de réaliser concrètement une certaine uniformité au Pays. Qu'une Cour Constitution-

nelle, de 18 juges (3 par Etat), soit formée, dans le but de trancher tout litige de nature constitutionnelle.

4. Que le Québec se voit attribuer, au sein de la future Confédération Canadienne, un statut particulier, à savoir un ensemble considérable de fonctions et de pouvoirs, et ce de par son prestige et de par son autorité.

5. Que l'Etat Central soit officiellement bilingue partout et intégralement bilingue dans le district confédéral (région Ottawa-Hull). Que les Etats Associés soient officiellement unilingues.

6. Que tous les citoyens canadiens aient, en plus de leur citoyenneté canadienne, la citoyenneté, particulière, de leur Etat Associé. Que la double citoyenneté ne soit pas, cependant, un moyen indirect de faire de la discrimination. Qu'il n'y ait plus aucune distinction entre les citoyens par naissance et les citoyens par naturalisation, ceci étant illogique dans un pays d'immigration et d'immigrants, tel que le Canada.

7. Que, oui, de profondes réformes scolaires soient élaborées au Pays en vue de constituer des écoles publiques, de langue française et ou de langue anglaise, au niveau primaire et au niveau secondaire, en tenant compte de districts ou de cisconscriptions linguistiques naturellement existants.

8. Que l'intégration des groupes ethniques et des Néo-Canadiens se fasse d'une façon plus que proportionnelle et, de toute façon, d'une manière constitutionnelle. Pour éviter un isolement tragique ou une assimilation brutale, mais aussi pour sauvegarder et

valoriser, concrètement, leurs précieux et combien enrichissants apports culturels. Que des commissions et des cours administratives, spécialement destinées à cette fin, soient formées, afin de promouvoir ou de surveiller leur intégration effective.

9. Que les droits de l'homme (au sens moderne du terme) soient protegés coemme il faut, à tous les niveaux, et ce pour éviter, concrètement, une éventuelle et possible discrimination entre tous les citoyens et résidants canadiens. Que des commissione et des cours administratives, spécialement destinées à cette fin, soient formées, en vue de promouvoir le même traitement social à tous et à chacun, et de surveiller que des pratiques contraires ne s'y produisent, de quelque nature que ce soient.

10. Que la nouvelle constitution n'oublie pas de mentionner, comme il se doit, dans son texte, les exigences indérogables de la démocratie et des temps présents, et ce de la façon la plus claire et la plus juste possible.

4. En attendant, dix priorités, au moins, à satisfaire au Pays, dans l'ordre politique.

1. reconnaitre officiellement le principe de la binationalité de base d'origine du Canada.

2. réaliser cette binationalité au sein de l'Etat fédéral.

3. rapatrier (ou canadianiser) tout de suite la constitution de notre Pays, selon une formule se rapprochant de l'actuelle formule Fulton-Favreau, mais qui ne mette pas le Québec dans une situation

embarassante.

4. attribuer au Québec un statut particulier, en le rendant un Etat unilingue, qui puisse, entre autres, accorder la citoyenneté québecoise à ses ressortissants.

5. réaliser, dans toutes les provinces, une réforme profonde des systèmes scolaires.

6. créér, à tous les niveaux, des commissions et des cours des droits de l'honne.

7. créér, à tous les niveaux, des commissione et des cours des groupes ethiiques et des Néo-Canadiens.

8. institutionnaliser les actuelles conférences fédérales-provinciales. En créant, en même temps, une Cour Constitutionnelle.

9. démocratiser l'appareil de l'Etat, à tous les niveaux, et les différents aspects de la vie sociale au Pays.

10. institutionnaliser un système de droit et de justice administrative au Pays, à tous les niveaux.

5. Conclusion: de toute façon, nécessité et urgence d'un renouveau en profondeur, au Canada et au Québec, et comment!

En guise de conclusion, faut-il souligner que, dans le fond, ce n'est pas seulement en formulant ou en adoptant ou en adaptant certaines solutions, qu'on peutparticiper au dénouement de l'actuelle crise politique canadienne, mais aussi et surtout en acceptant ou en faisant accepter l'idée de la nécessité et de l'urgence d'un renouveau en profondeur, au Canada et au Québec. Ce qui représente, aux yeux de l'auteur, le besoin numéro un de notre Pays.

June 28th, 1964

# B r i e f

Submitted
To The Royal Commission On
Bilingualism And Biculturalism

By The Trans-Canada Alliance
Of German Canadians.

## Summary and Recommendations.

I. - Bilingualism and Biculturalism especially attractive to German immigrants.

- Teaching of the first foreign language to commence in public schools throughout the nation.
- Existing communication media to be used for learning the two national languages.
- Student-exchange between the two languages.

II. - English and French cultures to be studied in their historical depths.

III. - Language of minority groups taught at schools as "second" foreign language if density warrants.

- Permission to use Canadian school buildings etc. free of charge for teaching German in the evening and on Saturday.

IV. - Suitable textbooks and communication media for deeper understanding of ethnic groups.

- Prevention of dissemination of ill-will.

V. - Special committees at all levels.

- The ethnic groups represented in these committees.
- Permanent body formed by Ministers of Education and/or their Deputy-Ministers.

I

The Trans-Canada Alliance of German Canadians ( TCA ) is in agreement with the policy of regarding English and French as the two national languages of Canada and of promoting both bilingualism and biculturalism.

The TCA feels safe in stating that many German immigrants are especially attracted to Canada by virtue of the country's two languages and cultures and on account of the possibility to partake in the development of a cultural life that is unique and original on the North American Continent.

The TCA welcomes and supports all steps leading to the fullest development of bilingualism on all levels of public life. It is of the opinion that for the two languages to become our national languages it s necessary to support as much as possible the use of French and English in all Provinces. The TCA deems it necessary that all Provinces provide for the teaching of one of the two languages as a first additional language - that is additional to either French or English. It wishes to suggest that such instruction be started in the public-schools, not in the high-schools. Moreover, the TCA would like to recommend that in order to make Canadians more conversant with the "other" national language regular exchange of pupils and students and meetings of students from the two language groups be arranged for. It is furthermore suggested that a number of communication media such as the press, radio and television be used to facilitate the learning and practising of the two national languages.

II

The TCA is aware of the connection that exists between bilingualism and biculturalism, but it also realises that the two concepts are not coextensive. A person acquainted with the two national languages is not, for that reason, also at home in the two cultures associated with English and French, just as it is possible that a person speaking only French, or English only, may have a considerable knowledge of the culture of both areas. This means that a special effort will have to be made to make Canada bicultural as well as bilingual. In the interest of a stronger national unity the TCA recommends that every Canadian be expected and helped to acquire the culture of his own language as well as that of the "other" language. The TCA

therefore fully supports all measures that tend to promote the knowledge of French and English culture. It believes, however, that a deeper rooting and more fruitful influence of the two cultures will be achieved if the study of these cultures is extended to their mother-countries, i.e.England and France. The TCA is convinced that there will be a greater incentive to become bicultural if the two cultures are studied in their historical depth, instead of solely in their Canadian derivations and variations.

III

The TCA notices with great satisfaction that the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism is aware of the significance pertaining to the languages and cultures of the other ethnic groups living in Canada. The TCA is, however, of the opinion that this part of the interests pursued by the Royal Commission is inadequately characterised by the terms "other cultures" and"multiculturalism". The TCA would like to point out that the ethnic minorities are as eager to cultivate their languages as they are to preserve their cultural heritage. The TCA wishes to go on record as recognising the right of these minorities to cultivate their languages, to the extent that this is compatible with existing laws and regulations. The TCA expects the greatest possible assistance from the Canadian authorities in cases where ethnic groups give instruction in their languages outside the regular school curriculum. The TCA wishes in particular to emphasize the urgency of obtaining permission to use Canadian school buildings and their facilities, free of charge, for the teaching of German in the evening or on Saturday.

The TCA proposes that wherever the density of a minority group is such as to warrant the teaching of its language in high-schools, provision be made for instruction in this language as the second additional language (additional to French and English). The TCA is strongly opposed to any attempts to reduce the teaching of German in high-schools or universities with the excuse that there are insufficient means to carry out a more elaborate foreign language programme.

IV

The TCA is convinced that the cultural efforts made by the ethnic groups are enriching the life of Canada and are therefore entitled to every official assistance. The TCA proposes that the Canadian schools endeavour, by means of suitable text-books and other ways, to acquaint all Canadian pupils and students with the culture of the ethnic groups, their history and the contribution they have made and are continuing to make to our nation. The TCA also suggests that all suitable communication media be used to further the understanding of the minorities and their achievements. It is of course part of this task to prevent all attempts to disseminate ill-will against and distrust of the ethnic groups.

V

The TCA proposes the formation of special committees- at all levels of Government, municipal, provincial and federal - that will assist in all the tasks issuing from biculturalism and bilingualism, and see to it that the energies and benefits emanating from the great variety of cultural sources be used for the common good of the country. The TCA holds that on all these committees the ethnic groups should be represented. In addition to such committees the TCA recommends that the Ministers of Education and/or their Deputy-Ministers form a permanent body that will meet regularly, to discuss ways and means of invigorating and unifying Canadian cultural activities.

June 28, 1964.

M é m o i r e

soumis à

La Commission Royale sur le

Bilinguisme et le Biculturalisme

par la

"Trans-Canada Alliance" des Canadiens Allemands.

Résumé et Recommandations.

I. - L'attrait particulier du bilinguisme et du biculturalisme sur les immigrants allemands.

- L'enseignement de la première langue étrangère dès l'école primaire, dans tout le pays.
- L'usage des techniques actuelles de communication pour l'étude des deux langues nationales.
- Les échanges entre étudiants des deux langues.

II. - L'étude, en profondeur, de l'histoire des cultures française et anglaise.

III. - L'enseignement, à l'école, de la langue des groupes minoritaires, comme langue étrangère "seconde", là où la densité du groupe est suffisante pour motiver cette mesure.

- L'autorisation d'un usage gratuit des bâtiments scolaires canadiens pour l'enseignement de l'allemand, le soir et le samedi.

IV. - Des manuels et des techniques de communication appropriés pour favoriser une plus profonde entente entre les groupes ethniques.

- Des mesures préventives contre la dissémination d'opinions malveillantes.

V. - Des comités spéciaux à tous les niveaux.

- Un conseil d'administration permanent constitué des ministres de l'Education et/ou de leurs sous-ministres.

I

L'Alliance des Canadiens allemands dite (TRANS-CANADA ALLIANCE OF GERMAN-CANADIANS) (TCA) se rallie à la ligne de conduite consistant à considérer l'anglais et le français comme les deux langues nationales du Canada ainsi qu'à promouvoir et le bilinguisme et le biculturalisme.

La TCA croit pouvoir affirmer que nombre d'immigrants allemands se sentent particulièrement attirés vers le Canada à cause de la dualité de langue et de culture de ce pays et parce qu'il leur est possible de participer au développement d'une vie culturelle unique et originale sur le continent nord-américain.

La TCA accueille avec plaisir et appuie toute mesure susceptible d'aider au parfait développement du bilinguisme à tous des niveaux de la vie publique. Pour que les deux langues deviennent nos langues nationales l'Alliance est d'avis qu'il faut appuyer autant que possible l'emploi du français et de l'anglais dans toutes les provinces. La TCA estime nécessaire que toutes les provinces pourvoient à l'enseignement de l'une des deux langues comme première langue additionnelle, c'est-à-dire additionnelle soit à l'anglais soit au français. Elle désire suggérer que cet enseignement commence dès l'école primaire, et non pas du lycée. De plus, la TCA souhaiterait recommander, dans le but d'aider les Canadiens à parler plus couramment "l'autre" langue nationale, qu'on organise des échanges réguliers d'écoliers et d'étudiants et des rencontres d'étudiants des groupes des deux langues. Elle suggère également qu'on se serve de diverses techniques de communication telles que la presse, la radio et la télévision pour faciliter l'étude et la pratique des deux langues nationales.

II

La TCA n'ignore pas le rapport qui existe entre le bilinguisme et le biculturalisme, tout en se rendant compte que les deux concepts ne sont pas de même étendue. Ce n'est pas parce qu'une

personne connaît les deux langues nationales qu'elle connaît aussi les deux cultures associées à l'anglais et au français. De même il se peut qu'une personne ne parlant que le français ou l'anglais ait de vastes connaissances de ces deux cultures. Tout ceci signifie qu'il faudra faire un effort particulier afin de rendre le Canada biculturel aussi bien que bilingue. Dans l'intérêt d'une unité nationale plus grande et plus forte, la TCA recommande que chaque Canadien soit tenu d'acquérir non seulement la culture de sa propre langue mais aussi celle de "l'autre" langue, et qu'on l'y aide. La TCA, par conséquent, appuie entièrement toutes les mesures destinées à promouvoir la connaissance des cultures françaises et anglaises. Elle croit, cependant, que les deux cultures s'enracineront plus profondément et auront une influence plus profitable, si l'étude de ces cultures s'étend à leurs mères-patries, la France et l'Angleterre. La TCA est convaincue qu'on sera plus porté au biculturalisme si l'on étudie l'histoire des deux cultures, en profondeur, au lieu de ne les étudier que dans leurs variations et leurs dérivations purement canadiennes.

III

La TCA est heureuse de voir que la Commission royale sur le bilinguisme et le biculturalisme comprend l'importance des autres groupes ethniques habitant le Canada. Cependant la TCA croit que cette partie des buts de la Commission royale n'est pas suffisamment caractérisée par les termes "autres cultures" et "multiculturalisme". La TCA aimerait souligner le fait que les minorités ethniques ont un désir aussi vif de cultiver leurs langues que de préserver leurs héritages culturels. La TCA voudrait déclarer qu'elle reconnaît, à ces minorités, le droit de cultiver leurs langues dans la mesure compatible avec les lois et les règlements actuels. La TCA attend des autorités canadiennes toute l'aide possible lorsque les groupes ethniques enseignent leurs langues en dehors des heures régulières de classe. La TCA désire surtout souligner qu'il est urgent d'obtenir l'autorisation de se servir gratuitement des bâtiments scolaires

canadiens et de leur équipement, pour enseigner l'allemand le soir ou le samedi.

La TCA propose que là où la densité d'un groupe minoritaire est suffisante pour motiver l'enseignement de sa langue au lycée, les dispositions nécessaires soient prises pour l'enseignement de cette langue comme seconde langue additionnelle (additionnelle au français et à l'anglais). La TCA s'oppose fortement à toute tentative pour réduire l'enseignement de l'allemand dans les lycées ou les universités sous prétexte qu'on manque de moyens poursuivre un programme plus détaillé d'études des langues étrangères.

IV

La TCA est convaincue que les efforts culturels des groupes ethniques enrichissent la vie du Canada et par conséquent, ont droit à l'aide officielle. La TCA propos que les écoles canadiennes s'efforcent, au moyen de manuels appropriés ou de toute autre façon, à faire connaître à tous les écoliers et les étudiants canadiens, la culture des groupes ethniques, leur histoire, et ce qu' ils ont apporté et continuent d'apporter à notre nation. La TCA propose aussi que toutes les techniques de communication appropriées servent à mieux faire comprendre les minorités et ce qu' elles accomplissent. Naturellement, une partie de cette tâche consiste à empêcher toute tentative de dissémination d'opinions malveillantes et méfiantes concernant les groupes ethniques.

V

La TCA propose la formation de comités spéciaux - à tous les niveaux du gouvernement: municipal, provincial et fédéral - comités qui accorderont leur aide à toutes des tâches dérivant du bilinguisme et du biculturalisme, et verront à faire servir au bien commun du pays, l'énergie et les avantages émanant de ces nombreuses et diverses sources culturelles. La TCA est d'avis que les groupes ethniques devraient être représentés dans tous ces comités. En plus de ces comités la TCA recommande que les ministres de l'Education et/ou leurs sous-ministres forment un conseil administratif permanent qui se rencontrera régulièrement pour discuter les moyens de revifier et d'unifier les activités culturelles du Canada.

le 28 Juin 1964

NO.: 750-459

CA1 E
-63B22

TITLE:

AUTHOR: The Trans-Canada Alliance of German Canadians

Brief of 4 pages; 5 main recommendations.

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REMARKS OF ANALYST:

This brief has been summarized by the author, on page 1.

The Trans-Canada Alliance of German Canadians favours the promotion of bilingualism and biculturalism in Canada with French and English as official languages. However, it feels that the contribution of the ethnic minorities to Canada should be taken into account, and their right "to cultivate their languages" recognized with official public assistance.

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ATT.: RESEARCH

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CONFIDENTIAL

BACKGROUND PAPERS

Brief #: 750-459

Trans Canada
Alliance of German
Canadians

TORONTO

A. INFORMATION ON ORGANIZATION

1. MEMBERSHIP

Including both old and new immigrants, the TCA has over 60 clubs and affiliated organizations. It was founded in 1951 and is the chief spokesman for the German Canadian community.

2. OBJECTS

Cultural, social and educational. The organization carried out a student exchange between Canada and Germany last year.

Other comments:
The Saturday schools operated by the Alliance receives assistance from the West German Federal Government. It strives to develop good citizenship and democratic ideals among Canadian Germans.

3. PREPARATION OF BRIEF

No information

B. QUESTIONING OF WITNESS(ES)

1. PROGRAMME AND LIAISON SECTION

p.2
para.II

Some organizations said in their briefs that it is impossible for an individual to become bicultural. For example, can a German Canadian who has chosen the English or French or both as his second language and culture, become truly bicultural? Do you think a person can become bicultural or do you think the best he can hope for is to possess a considerable understanding of two cultural traditions?

p.3

"The TCA is convinced that there will be a greater incentive to become bicultural if the two cultures are studied in their historical depth, instead of solely in their Canadian derivations and variations."

Where? In school? Press? Other cultural means?

p.3
para.III

"The TCA wishes in particular to emphasize the urgency of obtaining permission to use Canadian school buildings ..... for teaching of German in the evening or on Saturday."
Would the arrangements of Montreal public schools for teaching Italian on Saturdays, with the teacher is paid by the school-board be an acceptable or desirable form?

| | |
|---|---|
| p.3 para.III | "...strongly opposed to any attempts to reduce the teaching of German..." Would they give an example, high-school or university where such excuse was given? |
| p.4 paraIV | Specific suggestions if possible, on "all suitable communication media be used to further the understanding ..." How? |
| p.4 para.V | Some other organizations suggested a Federal Department of Culture. What does the TCA think of this suggestion? |

C. RESEARCH SECTION

re last paragraph on p. 3 - Section III (Association)

i how many qualified German teachers are there now in Canada (by province)?

ii how many children now attend after-hours German classes (by province)?

3-16-65

790-906

# ROYAL COMMISSION ON BILINGUALISM AND BICULTURALISM

## Brief submitted by Trail Chamber of Commerce

On behalf of the Trail Chamber of Commerce it is a pleasure to submit this brief to your learned Commission.

## SUMMARY

### Trail - Example for Canada

1. In Trail we have two main cultures, English Canadian and Italian Canadian. Virtually all citizens of Trail recognize that the Italian culture adds interest, variety and enrichment to our way of life in Trail. There is no discrimination against those of Italian origin. There is no discrimination in any area -- professional, business, government, education, sports, etc. The minority citizens of Italian extraction, by their own enlightened efforts, have earned equal status and equal recognition in all fields. The Italians have not given up wine making and spaghetti. The Italian culture has been preserved and even strengthened through recognition by others. Our citizens of British extraction have unconsciously paid our Italians a great compliment by copying some of their customs. For example, many homes in Trail, both Italian and other, have spaghetti at least one night a week. Every fall, carloads of Italian grapes are imported into Trail for the annual wine-making campaign. It is said there is more Italian wine made in Sunningdale, a predominantly English area, than in West Trail, a predominantly Italian area. Many Italian customs have been adopted enthusiastically by those of other origins. There are no barriers between our two ethnic groups, nor is there any sign of separatism. Trail's two main ethnic groups work and play in harmony, each enriched by the other.

2. In Trail we have one main language - English. Within the span of one generation, virtually all Italians in Trail have learned the English language. It is acknowledged that the Italian language has no legal status in Trail, whereas the French language does have a legal status in Canada. Nevertheless our Italians voluntarily -- not by force of law but voluntarily -- have learned English as their second language. By doing so they have made Trail a better place in which to live. It is acknowledged there are some five million French speaking Canadians in Canada compared to a few thousand Canadians of Italian

origin in Trail. Of Canada's total population, about 28 percent list French as their principal tongue, and no doubt many of this 28 percent are already bilingual. The world is getting smaller, travelwise at least, and our French group represents about 2½ percent of the total population of North America. On this basis, the French speaking group is far smaller percentagewise than the Italian group in Trail. We understand that large groups of French speaking settlers in the United States have adopted English as their principal language. We feel that the establishment of English as the principal language right across Canada is not only desirable but may well be essential if Canada is to survive as a nation.

3. We submit that widespread use of English in the Province of Quebec would be beneficial to Quebec for several reasons:

   A. Quebec would be part of a stronger whole.

   B. Quebec would be more inviting as a place for industry to locate, particularly those industries from America, England, Japan, etc. English is the principal language of international business.

   C. Quebec would attract more tourism than she now enjoys if the annoying language barrier were removed.

   D. The young people of Quebec would have a greater scope of opportunities in other parts of Canada or the United States if they were fluent in English.

   E. The use of English in Quebec would facilitate the spreading of French culture across Canada, in the same way that Italian culture has spread throughout Trail.

4. We respectfully submit that Trail, with the richness created by its two principal cultures and the unity created by its unilingualism, is a meaningful example for all Canada.

Biculturalism

5. We are of the opinion that the two principal cultures, English and French, and the many other cultures which exist in Canada contribute greatly to the interest, variety and enrichment of Canada. We believe these precious cultures will be perpetuated by the proud ethnic groups which make up the rich mosaic of Canadian culture. Culture is not preserved by laws; culture is preserved by people. We do not wish to see the various cultures of Canada disappear nor do we wish these cultures assimilated into one common melting pot.

6. There are virtually no French Canadians in the East and West Kootenays. Hence there is little or no French culture but this gap is filled with the fine cultures of other ethnic groups.

Bilingualism

7. At the present time between two and four years of French is being taught in most secondary schools in British Columbia. To improve communications between French and English Canadians we recommend the compulsory teaching of English for a minimum of five years in Quebec primary and secondary schools, and likewise, we recommend the compulsory teaching of French for a minimum of five years in primary and secondary schools in the rest of Canada. To improve communications and understanding we would recommend extension of the student exchange and the teacher exchange programs between Quebec and other provinces. In this way, English would become the second language in Quebec and French would become the second language in the rest of Canada.

8. We trust that your Commission has determined or will determine the amount of extra money it costs Canadians to maintain two official languages. We have not attempted a detailed estimate but it is obvious the cost is many millions of dollars each year. Canada, with its large land area and small population, has a high cost of government per citizen and we suggest that official bilingualism adds unnecessarily to the cost-of-living in Canada.

9. English is the dominant language in Canada, in North America and in the international business world. The existence of two official languages in Canada hampers communications and tends to separate Quebec from the rest of Canada. We consider the existence of two official languages to be the main point of contention between our principal ethnic groups.

10. We do not believe that senior federal officials should, of necessity, be able to understand and speak both English and French. Federal employees should be selected and promoted on the basis of experience and ability, bilingualism notwithstanding. If bilingualism were a prerequisite for federal employment, the majority of Canadians would be automatically disqualified because the majority live in unilingual areas where it is practically impossible to become and remain fluent in both languages. We protest the trend which makes bilingualism a prerequisite for employment or advancement in our civil service.

This is nothing more than a harsh and unfair form of discrimination imposed without parliamentary vote and without reasonable warning. Furthermore, many of our good Civil Servants might leave if the opportunity for advancement is limited to those who are fluently bilingual. We are against the establishment of a federal capital district in which the two official languages would prevail.

11. We contend that bilingualism on an equal basis across Canada is an unrealistic dream which simply cannot be achieved.

Conclusion

12. We urge you to simplify your objective by recommending whatsoever is best for Canada as a whole. We submit that Trail is a useful example for all Canada and that the best for Canada is a mosaic of cultures as exemplified by this community.

In conclusion we wish your Commission Godspeed.

R. F. Bailey, Chairman,
Committee on Bilingualism and Biculturalism,
Trail Chamber of Commerce.

Committee Members:

Mrs. M. R. Landucci
Messrs. M. R. Landucci
A. E. Soles
W. A. Curran
J. M. Cameron

June 18, 1964.

NO.: 790-906

TITLE: Royal Commission on Bilingualism & Biculturalism

AUTHOR: Trail Chamber of Commerce
Trail, B.C.

Brief of 4 pages; 2 recommendations

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REMARKS OF ANALYST: The author expresses the following opinions;

- In Trail, there are two cultures, English and Italian; each is enriched by the other but there is one main language, English.
- "The establishment of English as the principle language right across Canada is essential if Canada is to survive as a nation."
- Culture should be preserved by the people and not laws.
- The existence of the two languages tends to separate Quebec and Canada.
- It should not be necessary for senior federal officer to be bilingual; appointments should be made on the basis of competence only.
- We are opposed to a bilingual federal capital district.
- Bilingualism across Canada is an unrealistic dream and too expensive as well.
- English should be the second language in Quebec and French should be the second language in the rest of Canada.

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ATT.: RESEARCH

Cultural situation in Trail, B.C.

position of Italians p. 1

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CONFIDENTIAL

BACKGROUND PAPERS

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| Brief #: 790-906 |
| Trail Chamber of Commerce |
| VANCOUVER |

A. INFORMATION ON ORGANIZATION

1. MEMBERSHIP: 231

Preparation of brief: "Usually briefs are drafted by a Standing Committee appointed for that purpose, but, in connection with the brief on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, this was a specially appointed committee: its members being drawn from cultural groups in Trail and were not necessarily Chamber members. The Chairman of this B & B Committee has since left Trail so more detailed information would be difficult to forward." (from a letter dated April 8th, from Mr. W.D. Crowder, Secretary-Manager of the Trail Chamber of Commerce)

2. OBJECTIVES

It is a voluntary association of citizens to promote the commercial, industrial, agricultural and civic welfare of Trail.

B. QUESTIONING OF WITNESS(ES)

| | |
|---|---|
| p. 2 para. 2 | Do you think the French-speaking people of Canada should be forced to speak English after preserving their language for centuries? |
| p. 2 para. 3 | What is your definition of unity? |
| p. 2 para. 3(B) | What evidence is there to suggest that Quebec is at a disadvantage in terms of industry locating there because French is the main language of the province? |
| p. 2 para. 3(E) | How would the adoption by all Quebecers of the English language "facilitate the speaking of French culture across Canada"? |
| p. 3 para. 7 | " ... we recommend the compulsory teaching of English for a minimum of 5 years in Quebec primary and secondary schools," ... |

p. 3
para. 10

Are you against bilingual requirements at any level in the Federal Civil Service?

p. 4
para. 10

"We are against the establishment of a federal capital district in which the two official languages would prevail."

Why?

C. RESEARCH SECTION

p.3
para. 7

"... we recommend the compulsory teaching of English for a minimum of five years in Quebec primary and secondary schools,..."

What is the situation in Quebec regarding the teaching of English? How many years?

Answer

At least since 1948 English has been taught officially from the sixth year, although in almost every public school it begins in the fifth year or sooner, which means three years of English in elementary schools, plus four years in secondary.

22-4-65

790-903

THE SECRETARIES
ROYAL COMMISSION ON BILINGUALISM
AND BICULTURALISM,
P.O.BOX 1508,
OTTAWA,CANADA.

1 9 6 4

The Secretaries
Royal Commission on Bilingualism
and Biculturalism,
P.O.Box 1508,
Ottawa,Canada.

Dear Sirs:

I have the honour to provide herewith my thoughts in the matter of Bilingualism, which I trust may be of interest.

This Brief is a personal effort and I hope will be of some value.

Yours very truly,

G.V.Towle

G.V.Towle,
Suite 162,
2691 - East 49th Avenue,
Vancouver 16, B.C.

The Secretaries
Royal Commission on Bilingualism
and Biculturalism,
P.O.Box 1508,
Ottawa, Canada.

ON BILINGUALISM

1. As I have travelled extensively in six of our Provinces, from British Columbia to Quebec, I base this brief on my observations and our Constitution.

2. Canada,constitutionally, is a dual language country and I feel this should be acknowledged and recognized. Our Constitution clearly shows this.

3. In my travels I have literally asked several thousands of Canadians some questions and one question was,"what do you know about our Constitution ?" Their answers were astounding. A great many did not know we had a Constitution. Others knew we had one,but did not know anything about it. Some knew a little,a few understood it well. I estimate that about one in thirty thousand Canadians have a complete knowledge of our Constitution and I feel this is shocking.

4. I suggest to the Commission that they recommend to the Provincial Departments of Education that the British North America Act,which is our Constitution, be taught in the schools as a complete book in order that the students will have a thorough knowledge of the Constitution. I feel if our Constitution was well understood there would be a much better feeling and understanding between the French speaking and English speaking Canadians. It would then be clearly seen and understood that both languages are legal in Canada and should be adhered to. I am of the opinion the Canadian people as a whole would then endeavour to understand each other's language, co-operate,understand each other's problems,and live together as a Canadian family,and I feel this is very desirable.

5. I think,in time,animosity,bigotry,prejudice, fault finding and misunderstanding would be a thing of the past. Every effort should be made to see there is equal opportunity between the two groups on every subject matter,especially within the Civil Service,but no special privilege for any group.

6. In my travels I found that there is much more bilingualism with the French speaking Canadians than with the English speaking. I feel this is no credit to the English speaking Canadian, and I am English speaking.

7. It seems that the French speaking Canadians are more anxious to become bilingual than the English speaking and this should not be. As I see it,it should be thoroughly understood that we are constitutionally a bilingual country and we all should make some effort to understand each other's language. A good place to start would be with our children in the schools.

8. In my opinion the main cause of our differences and misunderstandings is that the people as a whole have little or no understanding of our Constitution. Let us hold onto the two languages.Let us understand each other. Let us assist each other as much as possible. Let us understand that there is no such thing as perfection,that the person never lived that did not make mistakes and mistakes will always be made. Let us then be tolerant and peaceful. Peace means non-interference.

9. We live within a great sphere diversity,but within diversity we can have harmony.Diversity in unity,not conformity, constitutes the fabric of democracy and democracy literally means,the people to rule,not to elect or appoint rulers and then be ruled. That is what we now do and unless we can reconcile diversity with unity we may end up as robots,(in chaos).

10. As to other ethnic peoples,there is no provision in our Constitution for them. I think it would be good if their children could hold to their languages.I think they should be encouraged and assisted to do so as in some time it may be beneficial.

11. I may say I travelled by my own car several times in the six Provinces for the purpose of seeing the country and meeting the people to learn their thinking. This brief is a personal effort and I hope it will be of some value.

G.V.TOWLE,
Suite 162,
2691 - East 49th Avenue,
Vancouver 16, B.C.

790-903

THE SECRETARIES

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Suite 162,
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The Secretaries
Royal Commission on Bilingualism
and Biculturalism,
P.O.Box 1508,
Ottawa, Canada.

ON BICULTURALISM

1. I think it is known 'bi' means two, then Biculturalism means two cultures. To me there is only one culture. What is culture ? What does it mean ? It seems that culture has been narrowed down to mean art, drama, music, the theatre and entertaining. I hold that is not culture but is commendable . It is just a training. The teacher, the doctor, the lawyer, the engineer, the agriculturalist and others are also being trained and are much more important.

2. The word 'culture' is derived from the Latin word 'cultura or cultum' meaning to cultivate. There is only one subject pertaining to each person that can be cultivated and that is mind. Mind cultivation would develop the art to cultivate, delve, analyze and enable us to think things out for ourselves and not allow the few to do it for us. I feel this is one of our greatest needs.

3. This,then, brings up the subject of education. While education comes under the jurisdiction of the Provinces, I cannot see how we can divorce education from culture, as they are closely related. If we examine closely it would be found that we are well taught,trained and instructed people, but not well educated. The word 'teach' derives from the old Anglo Saxon word 'taecaon' meaning to show. 'Prem", the Greek word, has the same meaning. When the teacher shows the student a something, and when the answer is given, the student has used the teacher's mind through his mind and memorized. He did not use his own mind. To be trained has the same effect. To be taught and trained is commendable and must be encouraged,but I also feel we should be well educated.

4. The word 'educate' derives from the Latin word 'educere' meaning to lead forth,to draw out,to pull out,not to push in. When the teacher gives the student a question but will not show,but draw, pull and lead out and when the student gives the answer it then comes out from within himself. This would

then be cultivating,delving, analyzing and thinking things out for himself and not having others do it for him. To me this is culture, cultivation of our brain power and development of an analytical mind. I feel this is very important.

5. If the ten Provincial Ministers of Education and their deputies would assemble once a year to discuss the whole school system in an endeavour to set up a Canadian standard curriculum, I think action of this kind would cultivate a much better understanding, a better feeling and closer cooperation. I also think if all Provincial governmental departments would assemble once a year it would cultivate a feeling for good. If more schools and teachers should be needed,the Federal government should supply the extra money without question and no strings attached. There is nothing to prevent them from doing this.

6. I wish to bring up a touchy subject and that is religion. I wish to make it very clear that I am not referring to Church organizations, but to the word itself. The word religion derives from the Latin word 'religara', meaning to bind, bind back, bind fast. Communism, Socialism,Conservatism, Liberalism, Facism,Nazism,Unions, business and financial organizations, secret societies and such like each are a body of religion. They have bound themselves to a dogma,an ism, a ritual, an obligation or to a something, and when people bind themselves they then cease to delve and analyze.They become one track thinkers,thinking in grooves and ruts....what I call, to coin a word, grooveology. This type of action has a tendency to divide people into factions and groups, which brings on mistrust, suspicion and disharmony. This is not good. If we were a well educated people this condition would not exist,but rather we would be cultivating, delving, analyzing and thinking things out. I feel this is a great need and would indeed be culture.

7. While this may be off the subject,I think if Ottawa and Hull became one city with a new name,separated from both Ontario and Quebec, parliament to set up its own government, this would have a psychological effect for the better.

8. There is another important subject which may not be considered to be relevant to the subject matter we are dealing with,but I feel that it does have a relationship,and that is our financial system. Finance means the art to provide the means of payment....money. This art is now in the hands of an Oligarchy who has complete control over government,industry, the country and people,directly or indirectly,by keeping them in bonds of debt.Debt at governmental level is an absurdity. Our Constitution and the Courts give this art to Parliament. Parliament gave it away free and when the money is needed it has to borrow back,creating a debt with interest. What could be more stupid. Return this art to Parliament,then let Parliament empower the Bank of Canada,through the chartered banks, to finance all government budgets, Federal,Provincial, Municipal,Cities and other governing bodies without debt or inflation. This can and should be done.The Bank of Canada would issue financial credit,not the printing press.

9. When governments go into debt,then the people are not free. They are controlled directly or indirectly,by a most esoteric,nocuous system. If we were a well educated people with cultivated minds this condition would not exist. Financial credit is a thing that belongs to the people and should be used by the people,for the people. As it is,it works the people when it should work for the people.

10. I think,along with being taught,trained and instructed, we should be well educated to be able to cultivate,delve, analyze and to think things out. To me this is Culture.There is no such thing as perfection,nor ever will be.We always can improve. Mistakes have always been made and will continue to be made. By our own mistakes we should evolve and learn lessons, to cultivate and to think things out. Let us cultivate a better understanding,a better feeling,and understand our problems.Let us have cultivated minds.I feel then we would be good Canadians. I am not interested in policy of political parties.I am interested in people. This Brief is my personal opinion and I trust will have some value.

G.V.TOWLE,
Suite 162,2691-East 49th Ave,
Vancouver 16, B.C.

CA1 E
-65 B22

NO.: 790-903

TITLE: ON BILINGUALISM

AUTHOR: G.V. TOWLE,
Vancouver, B.C.

Brief of 2 pages, 2 recommendations.

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REMARKS OF ANALYST:

In this personal brief the author, who has travelled "extensively" in six Provinces, from B.C. to Quebec, gives his opinions on bilingualism.

The author's thesis could be summarized in his own words: "Canada, constitutionally, is a dual language country and I feel this should be acknowledged and recognized".

He estimates that only about one in 30,000 Canadians has a complete knowledge of our Constitution. He proposes that the B.N.A. Act be taught in the schools, "as a complete book." This would bring better feeling and understanding between French-speaking and English-speaking Canadians.

The author suggests that "Every effort should be made to see there is equal opportunity between the two groups on every subject matter, especially within the Civil Service, but no special privilege for any group."

He feels that both groups should make equal efforts to learn the other's language.

As to the other ethnic groups, they should be encouraged and assisted so that their children could retain their languages.

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ATT.: RESEARCH

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THE TORONTO FRENCH SCHOOL

7571-468

REVISED BRIEF SUBMITTED TO THE
ROYAL COMMISSION ON
BILINGUALISM AND BICULTURALISM

December 1, 1965.

THE TORONTO FRENCH SCHOOL

750-468

REVISED BRIEF SUBMITTED TO THE
ROYAL COMMISSION ON
BILINGUALISM AND BICULTURALISM

December 1, 1965.

(ENGLISH AND FRENCH)

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# I N T R O D U C T I O N

Since our original submission to the Commission in June of 1964, certain aspects of the school's development are more clearly in focus. It is possible now to make a much fuller report on progress, and to assess more accurately the way in which the school is serving the needs of the community - both locally and, potentially, nationally. We ask the Commission's indulgence in submitting new material at this time as additions to the original brief, since we feel that any discussion of our recommendations would benefit from this fresh perspective.

# A V A N T - P R O P O S

Depuis que notre premier mémoire a été soumis à la Commission en juin 1964, certains aspects du développement de notre école ont été mis plus nettement en lumière. Il est maintenant possible de faire un rapport plus complet de ses progrès et d'évaluer de façon plus précise comment l'école sert les besoins de la communauté - sur le plan local et, potentiellement, sur le plan national. Nous espérons ne pas abuser de la bienveillance de la Commission en lui soumettant maintenant ce supplément à notre premier mémoire, car nous estimons que les nouveaux éléments qu'il contient seront utiles à l'étude de nos recommandations.

## BACKGROUND AND GROWTH OF THE TORONTO FRENCH SCHOOL

The Toronto French School was established on August 9th, 1962, registered as a private school under the Ontario Department of Education Act. The aim of the school was to provide a bilingual, non-denominational education for Canadian children based on a program of academic excellence. The school was primarily intended for children from English-speaking homes and, because of the total absence of program and methods to achieve the goals we envisaged, it has inevitably become a kind of research and developmental centre for bilingualism.

When the school started on September 2nd, 1962 it had one full-time, one part-time teacher and an enrolment of thirty (30) children. By September 1963 the registration had increased to ninety-nine (99), and by September 1964 the enrolment was Two hundred and thirty-eight (238) with appropriate increases in staff to maintain our objectives of fifteen to twenty children per class. This year the Toronto registration has reached four hundred and twenty-one (421) with a staff of twenty-eight teachers. The waiting list is about one hundred (100) children and we are enrolling children four years ahead. We are adding a grade a year, having started at the kindergarten level, and have presently reached Grade III in our growth. It is our intention that this school should continue through Grade 13 at which point it is projected that our Toronto enrolment could be as high as two thousand three hundred (2,300) students. See Appendix "A" for projection statistics)

This accelerated growth rate expresses the extraordinary interest and enthusiasm which the school has generated in this

community - a situation which is without parallel on this continent and of particular significance and importance to the cultural life of Canada. When compared with the results of other bilingual systems, it is evident that the Toronto French School is proving to be unusually successful in developing the methods and experience to deal with an evolving bilingualism. The students whom we expect to graduate from our system, in great numbers, will have potential of especial value to this country. The school has been visited in the past two years by numerous educators from Canada and abroad. They are unanimous in commending the effectiveness and high academic quality of our program.

## OUTLINE OF CURRICULUM AND LEVEL OF ACHIEVEMENT

Our children are being taught entirely in French in the Nursery, Kindergarten and Grade I classes, where the program is generally enriched. This establishes a sound working basis of French upon which to build a more sophisticated usage as the children progress through the school. In Grade II the program introduces formal instruction in the English language, involving reading, poetry, composition, arithmetic and English history, for a total of $1\frac{1}{4}$ hours out of a five-hour teaching day. In Grade III the daily timetable exceeds 5 hours, which breaks down into $3\frac{1}{2}$ hours of teaching in French (literature, grammar, history, geography, science, mathematics), $1\frac{1}{4}$ hours of English and a total of $1\frac{1}{2}$ hours of Russian per week. $1\frac{1}{2}$ hours per week is spent on music - vocal and instrumental. (See Appendix "B" for Curriculum Summaries).

Last year we began to test our students' progress in some of these areas. Using a series of tests which have been standardized with the accepted reading levels in North America, we discovered that our Grade I children achieved an average of close to Grade III reading level in English. It is important to note that these Grade I children had been taught to read <u>only</u> in French - but using methods that the children can obviously apply for themselves in English. The testing further showed that our Grade II children, with $1\frac{1}{2}$ hours of English instruction per day, could read at Grade V and VI levels.

Our testing of the children in French revealed equally striking results. Apart from their verbal prowess in the language, both in breadth of vocabulary and comprehension,

Outline of Curriculum and level of Achievement - continued

their levels in reading and knowledge of grammar is measurably in advance of levels achieved in Quebec, France and Switzerland. This fact has been substantiated by many qualified observers from these educational systems, and is all the more remarkable since over 90% of our children come from English-speaking homes. From the I.Q. testing we have done we know that our children include many bright and gifted students, but there are also many children who would fall within more average ranges and who are coping very well with our program. We have a few children with I.Q.'s in the 90's and 80's. They, too are achieving adequate results.

SUPPORT FOR THE SCHOOL

It must be stated at this point that the phenomenal growth of the school, the development of its program and the high standard of educational excellence it is maintaining in both major languages of Canada - all of this has been achieved thus far without the benefit of significant outside aid - either public or private. It has been almost entirely self-supporting, deriving most of its funds from a fee structure of very modest proportions. The fees have been kept low in order that our program should be available to families from a broad range of economic levels in the community. That we have been able to provide this public service is apparent from the families whose children are enrolled in the school. (See Appendix "C" for list of parents)

Reasons for this lack of outside aid are mainly twofold. First, it is probable that the school had to reach its present state of development to justify any widespread confidence in the effectiveness of its program. Secondly, the group of people who founded and organized the school in its early stages were dedicated but small in numbers, and their energies were appropriately almost entirely devoted to developing the curriculum, setting up classrooms and recruiting staff - with little time left to initiate the kind of effort needed for a major campaign for funds.

We submit that at this stage of its history the school can prove that its program and methods are outstandingly successful in developing a truly bilingual education in French and English. We are also rapidly forming a strong organizational

structure within the school, designed to cope with some of the immediate problems of administration and with the long-range financial planning for building and expansion. This organization is coming from the parents themselves. It is already showing positive results, and will contribute greatly to the stability and continuity of the school in the future.

PROMOTING BICULTURALISM - (Children and Adult Program)

However, for the immediate present, we still face grave problems. We need help not only to bridge this period of organization and expansion in bilingual education, but also to assist us in performing the kind of bi-cultural service to the community that we are ready to provide, and that we are convinced we should be providing.

For instance, the great shortage of French books in our own library results in most of our children doing their home reading almost entirely in English. A similar shortage of books exists for any children in the community whose mother tongue is French. We would like, therefore, to establish a French library for our children and for others. We were in fact offered a substantial French library recently, but because our present school premises offer no place to house the books we have been unable to undertake this public service. There is a parallel need for a French film library and projection facilities for its regular use, as part of our educational and cultural program.

In January of 1966 we will begin our adult education program. At the moment, because of limitations of space, it must be part-time and restricted to parents of our own students. In larger quarters we would undertake a far more ambitious program of extending French language and culture into this community, using the most modern and effective techniques yet developed for this purpose.

Each September we hold a teacher training course for new staff entering our system. For this we bring to the

school experts in French language instruction to lecture to our teachers. This year some of our own staff specialists and a professor from Laval University participated in this course. Each year the conference will widen its scope as our own school progresses. Unfortunately, our lack of space precludes any general invitation to other French language teachers in the area who might find it useful to attend. If we had the facilities we would be keenly interested in making this kind of contribution to bilingual education in this country.

The school has produced many useful by-products. Our parents inevitably become more interested and involved in French language and culture through their children. Their own use of the language tends to improve: they buy French books from the special bookstore here and this enables the proprietors to survive and to service the community in a more economical way. Our parents are beginning to join such organizations as the French Cine Club, the Alliance Francaise and France Canada, thereby strengthening the operations of these groups. Many cultural groups like these have expressed interest in sharing space with our school, but our own economic struggle has meant that we cannot house ourselves adequately, much less provide space to others.

And yet it is becoming increasingly clear that with adequate building facilities, our organization could provide a dual service to the community - as a school by day, and as a French cultural centre mainly in the evening.

The success of our program has led two Boards in Canada - one at Rockcliffe Park in Ontario, the other in St. Lambert, Quebec - to attempt to set up French language kindergartens

like our own. We have been specifically asked to set up schools in Halifax, Ottawa, Saskatoon, Montreal, Hamilton, Port Credit and Kitchener-Waterloo. The pressure was so great from the last two communities that this Fall we actually started new schools in Port Credit and Kitchener-Waterloo. With help, we would be interested in setting up and assisting the development of a chain of bilingual schools across Canada. These, again, could well serve the other function of providing a focal point for adult French cultural and educational activities.

We have learned much about what is possible in the field of bilingualism simply by existing and by attempting to solve our own problems. I think we have proved, too, that genuine and enthusiastic interest in bilingualism can be generated on a broad community base - given a constructive program of educational excellence such as the one we are working to develop. It is evident too, from our experience, that from this educational base can proceed elements of a true biculturalism in the community. It may well be that, in the future, bilingualism and academic excellence can become synonymous - and this concept could provide the key to a widespread support of Canadian biculturalism.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Since we submitted our original brief eighteen months ago, we have supplemented our earlier views to include the following. We offer you our research into curriculum and method for the research purposes of this Commission. We would be ready to work with educational bodies whom you may recommend to expand our own research projects, as a public service for the advancement of bilingual education in this country. We are prepared to work with the Commission or with whatever bodies you may recommend, in extending the bilingual and bicultural services that we are developing into communities across Canada. It may be that the Federal Government would find it feasible to promote biculturalism in various parts of Canada by extending "grants in aid" to bilingual private schools such as ours.

We ask your help and guidance in securing financial assistance to support the Toronto French School at this crucial period of its growth. At this point I would like to call again upon the members of our delegation who will outline briefly some specific aspects of our needs, and the reasons for them - and, not least important, how we are prepared to help ourselves.

LES DEBUTS ET LE DEVELOPPEMENT DE LA TORONTO FRENCH SCHOOL

La Toronto French School a été fondée le 9 août 1962 et enregistrée comme école privée aux termes de la loi du ministère de l'enseignement de l'Ontario. Le but de cette école était de fournir aux enfants canadiens un enseignement bilingue et non confessionnel, basé sur un programme d'instruction d'un niveau élevé. L'école était destinée essentiellement aux enfants de familles anglophones; étant donné l'absence totale de programme et de méthodes permettant de réaliser les objectifs que nous nous étions fixés, notre école est devenue par la force des choses une sorte de centre de recherches et de mise au point pour l'enseignement bilingue.

Quand les cours ont commencé, le 2 septembre 1962, il y avait deux instituteurs - l'un à plein temps et l'autre à temps partiel - et 30 élèves. En septembre 1963 il y avait 99 élèves, et en septembre 1964, 238 élèves; le personnel enseignant avait également augmenté de façon à maintenir une proportion de 15 à 20 élèves par classe. Cette année, nous avons 421 élèves et 28 instituteurs. La liste d'attente comprend environ 100 enfants et nous acceptons leur inscription 4 ans d'avance. Nous ajoutons chaque année les cours d'une année supérieure à notre programme; ayant commencé au niveau de l'école maternelle, nous avons atteint actuellement la troisième année. Nous avons l'intention d'étendre notre programme de cours jusqu'à la 13e année; cet objectif réalisé, le nombre de nos élèves de Toronto pourrait atteindre 2,300. (Voir l'annexe A pour l'extrapolation des statistiques).

Cette expansion accélérée témoigne de l'extraordinaire

intérêt et de l'enthousiasme que l'école a suscités à Toronto - une situation qui ne se retrouve nulle part en Amérique du Nord et qui revêt une signification et une importance particulières pour la vie culturelle du Canada. Quand on compare ses résultats avec ceux d'autres écoles bilingues, il est évident que la Toronto French School a atteint une réussite exceptionnelle dans la mise au point des méthodes et l'acquisition de l'expérience nécessaires pour répondre à l'évolution du bilinguisme. Les élèves qui sortiront diplômés en grand nombre de notre école auront des capacités particulièrement précieuses pour le Canada. De nombreux éducateurs canadiens et étrangers sont venus nous rendre visite au cours des deux dernières années. Ils ont été unanimes à faire l'éloge de l'efficacité et du niveau élevé d'instruction de notre programme.

## DESCRIPTION DES COURS ET RESULTATS OBTENUS

L'enseignement se fait entièrement en français en maternelle, dans les jardins d'enfants et dans les classes de première année où le programme est généralement plus développé que d'ordinaire. Ceci donne aux élèves une bonne connaissance de base du français pour aborder les sujets plus complexes des années suivantes. Le programme de la deuxième année comprend des cours réguliers en langue anglaise : lecture, poésie, composition, arithmétique et histoire anglaise, soit au total $1\frac{1}{4}$ heure sur cinq heures de cours par jour. Le programme de la troisième année comprend plus de 5 heures de cours par jour, se répartissant comme suit : $3\frac{1}{2}$ heures de cours en français ( littérature, grammaire, histoire, géographie, science et mathématiques), $1\frac{1}{4}$ heure en anglais, et $1\frac{1}{2}$ heure de cours de russe par semaine, ainsi que $1\frac{1}{2}$ heure de musique par semaine (chant et musique instrumentale). (Voir l'annexe B pour le sommaire des cours).

L'année dernière, nous avons commencé à vérifier les progrès de nos élèves dans certains domaines. En utilisant une série d'essais basés sur les normes reconnues en Amérique du Nord, nous avons constaté que nos élèves de première année obtenaient une moyenne proche du niveau de la troisième année en lecture anglaise. Il importe de remarquer que ces élèves de première année avaient appris à lire en français <u>seulement</u>, mais par des méthodes que les enfants peuvent facilement appliquer d'eux-mêmes à la lecture de l'anglais. Les essais ont également démontré que nos élèves de deuxième année qui ont $1\frac{1}{4}$ heure de cours en anglais par jour, pouvaient lire comme des élèves de 5e et 6e année.

Description des cours et résultats obtenus

Les essais portant sur la connaissance du français ont produit des résultats également impressionnants. En plus de leur excellente élocution française tant par l'étendue du vocabulaire que par sa compréhension, l'aptitude de nos élèves à la lecture et leur connaissance de la grammaire étaient nettement supérieures à celles obtenues dans les écoles du Québec, de France et de Suisse. Le fait a été constaté par de nombreux observateurs qualifiés venant de ces écoles, et il est d'autant plus remarquable que plus de 90 pour cent de nos élèves viennent de familles anglophones. Ayant fait des essais sur le degré d'intelligence (I.Q.) de nos élèves, nous savons qu'il y a parmi eux de nombreux sujets brillants et très doués, mais qu'il y a également beaucoup d'élèves d'intelligence moyenne qui suivent très bien notre programme. Nous avons quelques élèves dont le degré d'intelligence (I.Q.) se situe entre 80 et 100; eux aussi obtiennent des résultats convenables.

DE L'AIDE POUR L'ECOLE

Il faut constater maintenant que l'expansion extraordinaire de l'école, la mise au point de son programme et le niveau élevé de son enseignement dans les deux langues principales du Canada - tout cela a été réalisé jusqu'à présent sans aucune aide extérieure appréciable du gouvernement ou de l'entreprise privée. L'école se suffit presque entièrement a elle-même, retirant la plus grande partie de ses fonds de frais de scolarité très modestes. Ceux-ci ont été fixés à un prix réduit afin de mettre notre programme à la portée d'un grand nombre de familles de revenus très différents. La liste des familles dont les enfants sont inscrits à l'école démontre que nous avons réussi à assurer ce service d'intérêt public. (Voir l'annexe "C" pour la liste des parents).

Les raisons de ce manque d'aide extérieure sont de deux ordres principaux. D'abord, il est probable que l'école devait atteindre son développement actuel pour justifier la confiance du public dans l'efficacité de son programme. Ensuite, ceux qui ont fondé l'école et l'ont organisée à ses débuts étaient dévoués mais en petit nombre. Ils ont, comme il convenait, consacré presque entièrement leux efforts à la mise au point des cours, à l'équipement des salles de classe et à la sélection du personnel enseignant; il leur restait donc très peu de temps pour entamer le genre d'action nécessaire à une grande campagne de collecte de fonds.

Nous estimons qu'au stade actuel notre école peut prouver que son programme et ses méthodes constituent un moyen exceptionnellement efficace d'enseignement vraiment bilingue, français-anglais. Nous formons aussi rapidement une forte organisation, à l'initiative des parents eux-mêmes, qui ser-

vira à régler les problèmes actuels d'administration et à prévoir le financement à long terme pour la construction et l'expansion futures. Cette organisation produit déjà des résultats et elle contribuera considérablement à la stabilité et à la continuité de notre enseignement pour l'avenir.

Cependant, nous affrontons encore dans l'immédiat de sérieuses difficultés. Nous avons besoin d'aide non seulement pour dépasser cette phase d'organisation et d'expansion de l'enseignement bilingue, mais aussi pour offrir à la collectivité le service biculturel que nous sommes prêts à lui offrir et dont nous sommes convaincus qu'il est de notre devoir de lui offrir.

Pour citer un exemple, notons que le très petit nombre de livres français de notre bibliothèque oblige la plupart de nos élèves à lire presque uniquement de l'anglais chez eux. Tous les enfants de cette ville dont la langue maternelle est le français manquent également de livres. C'est la raison pour laquelle nous voudrions créer une bibliothèque française qui serait ouverte à nos élèves et aux autres enfants francophones. On nous a offert récemment une importante collection de livres français mais il n'y a pas de place pour eux dans nos locaux actuels, de sorte que nous n'avons pas pu offrir ce service au public. Nous avons également besoin d'une cinémathèque de films français et d'une installation de projection pour présenter régulièrement des films dans notre programme pédagogique et culturel.

Notre programme d'enseignement pour adultes commencera en janvier 1966. Pour les débuts, à cause du manque de place, il ne sera appliqué qu'à temps partiel et limité aux parents de nos élèves. Dans des locaux plus vastes nour pourrions entreprendre un programme beaucoup plus ambitieux de diffusion de la langue et de la culture françaises au moyen des techniques

les plus modernes et les plus efficaces qui ont été mises au point dans ce but.

Chaque année en septembre nous organisons un cours de formation pour les nouveaux professeurs engagés par notre école. Nous invitons à l'école des spécialistes de l'enseignement du français pour y donner des conférences à nos professeurs. Cette année, quelques spécialistes de notre propre personnel et un professeur de l'Université Laval ont participé à ce cours, dont la portée augmentera chaque année à mesure que notre école se développe. Malheureusement, le manque de place nous empêche d'adresser une invitation générale à tous les professeurs de langue française de la région qui pourraient juger utile d'y assister. Si nous avions les locaux nécessaires, nous souhaiterions vivement contribuer de la sorte à l'enseignement bilingue dans le pays.

Notre école a obtenu aussi indirectement beaucoup de résultats utiles. Grâce à leurs enfants, les parents de nos élèves éprouvent davantage d'intérêt pour la langue et la culture françaises; leur connaissance de la langue tend à s'améliorer, ils achètent des livres français de la librairie spécialement établie ici, ce qui permet à ses propriétaires de subsister et d'offrir leur service plus économiquement. Les parents de nos élèves commencent à s'inscrire aux oraganisations comme le Ciné-Club français, l'Alliance française, et France-Canada, renforçant par là ces organisations. De nombreuses organisations culturelles de ce genre ont manifesté le désir d'utiliser une partie de nos locaux, mais nos difficultés financières nous empêchant de nous loger nous-

mêmes convenablement, il nous est tout à fait impossible d'offrir des locaux à d'autres.

Et pourtant, il est de plus en plus évident qu'avec des locaux convenables nous pourrions offrir un double service : école le jour, et centre culturel français, principalement le soir.

Le succès de notre programme a amené deux commissions scolaires - l'une à Rockcliffe Park (Ontario) et l'autre à St-Lambert (P.Q.) - à essayer d'établir une école maternelle de langue française comme la nôtre. On nous a demandé d'ouvrir des écoles à Halifax, Ottawa, Saskatoon, Montréal, Hamilton, Port Credit et Kitchener-Waterloo. Les autorités de Port Credit et de Kitchener-Waterloo ont tellement insisté que nous avons effectivement ouvert de nouvelles écoles dans ces deux villes. Si nous avions une aide extérieure, nous voudrions établir et aider à développer une série d'écoles bilingues, dans tout le pays. Encore une fois, ces écoles pourraient utilement servir de centre de ralliement aux adultes, pour la diffusion de la langue et de la culture françaises.

Rien qu'en maintenant l'existence de notre école et en essayant de résoudre ses difficultés, nous avons beaucoup appris sur les possibilités du bilinguisme. Je crois que nous avons également prouvé qu'on peut susciter un véritable enthousiasme pour le bilinguisme auprès d'une grande partie du public - à condition d'offrir un programme d'enseignement d'une qualité supérieure comme celui que nous nous employons à mettre au point. Il est également évident, par notre ex-

périence, que cet enseignement peut servir de base à un véritable biculturalisme. Il se pourrait bien qu'à l'avenir, le bilinguisme et une instruction supérieure deviennent synonymes - et cette idée pourrait apporter de nombreux soutiens au biculturalisme canadien.

RECOMMANDATIONS

Depuis que nous avons soumis notre premier mémoire, il y a dix-huit mois, nous avons complété nos recommandations précédentes par ce qui suit. Nous offrons à la Commission nos recherches sur les programmes et les méthodes d'enseignement. Nous sommes prêts à collaborer avec les organismes d'enseignement que la Commission désignera en augmentant l'importance de nos travaux de recherche, afin de servir le public par le progrès de l'enseignement bilingue au Canada. Nous sommes disposés à collaborer avec la Commission ou avec tout organisme qu'elle désignera, en offrant le programme d'enseignement et de culture bilingues que nous mettons au point, dans toutes les régions du Canada. Peut-être le gouvernement fédéral jugera-t-il possible de promouvoir le biculturalisme dans différentes régions du Canada en accordant des subventions aux écoles privées bilingues comme la nôtre.

Nous vous demandons votre aide et vos conseils pour obtenir une aide financière en faveur de la Toronto French School en cette période capitale de son développement. Nous désirons maintenant faire appel à nouveau aux membres de notre délégation qui vont décrire brièvement certains aspects particuliers de nos besoins, les raisons qui les justifient - et surtout, ce que nous comptons faire nous-mêmes pour y répondre.

# APPENDIX

(A) Projection of Growth

(B) Curriculum Summaries

(C) List of Parents

(D) Selected Press Comments

Projection for 1966-67 (Toronto School)

| Teachers | | Class Level | | Class Size | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | | Grade IV | | 13 | |
| 1 | | Grade IV | | 13 | |
| 1 | | Grade IV (Int.) | | 15 | |
| | 3 | | | | 41 |
| 1 | | Grade III | | 22 | |
| 1 | | Grade III | | 22 | |
| 1 | | Grade III Sp. | | 15 | |
| 1 | | Grade III (Int.) | | 15 | |
| | 4 | | | | 74 |
| 1 | | Grade II | | 18 | |
| 1 | | Grade II | | 18 | |
| 1 | | Grade II | | 18 | |
| 1 | | Grade II | | 18 | |
| 1 | | Grade II | | 18 | |
| 1 | | Grade II | | 18 | |
| 1 | | Grade II Sp. | | 15 | |
| | 7 | | | | 123 |
| 1 | | Grade I | | 20 | |
| 1 | | Grade I | | 20 | |
| 1 | | Grade I | | 20 | |
| 1 | | Grade I | | 20 | |
| 1 | | Grade I | | 20 | |
| 1 | | Grade I Sp. | | 15 | |
| | 6 | | | | 115 |
| $3\frac{1}{2}$ | | M.P.L.G. & Fr. K. | 6 x 15 = | 90 | |
| 2 | | Eng. K. | 3 x 15 = | 45 | |
| $2\frac{1}{2}$ | | Jr. Kin. | 5 x 15 = | 75 | |
| | 7 | | | | 210 |

27 Regular Teachers
Plus $2\frac{1}{2}$ English Teachers
1 Russian Teacher
$2\frac{1}{2}$ Floaters

33 Teachers in all — Estimated Students 563

Projection for 1967-68 (Toronto School)

| Teachers | | Class Level | | Class Size | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | | Grade V | | 18 | |
| 1 | | Grade V | | 18 | |
| | 2 | | | | 36 |
| 1 | | Grade IV | | 19 | |
| 1 | | Grade IV | | 19 | |
| 1 | | Grade IV | | 19 | |
| 1 | | Grade IV (Int.) | | 15 | |
| | 4 | | | | 72 |
| 1 | | Grade III | | 20 | |
| 1 | | Grade III | | 20 | |
| 1 | | Grade III | | 20 | |
| 1 | | Grade III | | 20 | |
| 1 | | Grade III | | 20 | |
| 1 | | Grade III (Int.) | | 15 | |
| 1 | | Grade III Sp. | | 15 | |
| | 7 | | | | 130 |
| 1 | | Grade II | | 20 | |
| 1 | | Grade II | | 19 | |
| 1 | | Grade II | | 19 | |
| 1 | | Grade II | | 19 | |
| 1 | | Grade II | | 19 | |
| 1 | | Grade II | | 19 | |
| 1 | | Grade II Sp. | | 15 | |
| | 7 | | | | 130 |
| 1 | | Grade I | | 20 | |
| 1 | | Grade I | | 20 | |
| 1 | | Grade I | | 20 | |
| 1 | | Grade I | | 20 | |
| 1 | | Grade I | | 20 | |
| 1 | | Grade I | | 20 | |
| 1 | | Grade I Sp. | | 15 | |
| | 7 | | | | 135 |
| $3\frac{1}{2}$ | | M.P.L.G. & Fr. Kin. | 6 x 15 = | 90 | |
| 2 | | Eng. Kin. | 3 x 15 = | 45 | |
| $2\frac{1}{2}$ | | Jr. Kin. | 5 x 15 = | 75 | |
| | 7 | | | | 210 |
| | 34 | Regular Teachers | | | |
| Plus | $\frac{1}{2}$ | Spanish Teacher | | | |
| | $4\frac{1}{2}$ | English Teachers | | | |
| | 1 | Russian Teachers | | | |
| | $3\frac{1}{2}$ | Floaters | | | |
| | $43\frac{1}{2}$ | Teachers in all | | Estimated Students | 713 |

Projection for 1968-69 (Toronto School)

| Teachers | | Class Level | | Class Size | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | | Grade VI | | 17 | |
| 1 | | Grade VI | | 17 | |
| | 2 | | | | 34 |
| 1 | | Grade V | | 18 | |
| 1 | | Grade V | | 18 | |
| 1 | | Grade V | | 17 | |
| 1 | | Grade V | | 17 | |
| | 4 | | | | 70 |
| 1 | | Grade IV | | 19 | |
| 1 | | Grade IV | | 18 | |
| 1 | | Grade IV | | 18 | |
| 1 | | Grade IV | | 18 | |
| 1 | | Grade IV | | 18 | |
| 1 | | Grade IV | | 19 | |
| 1 | | Grade IV (Int.) | | 15 | |
| | 7 | | | | 125 |
| 1 | | Grade III | | 19 | |
| 1 | | Grade III | | 18 | |
| 1 | | Grade III | | 18 | |
| 1 | | Grade III | | 18 | |
| 1 | | Grade III | | 19 | |
| 1 | | Grade III | | 19 | |
| 1 | | Grade III (Int.) | | 15 | |
| 1 | | Grade III (Sp.) | | 15 | |
| | 8 | | | | 141 |
| 1 | | Grade II | | 19 | |
| 1 | | Grade II | | 19 | |
| 1 | | Grade II | | 19 | |
| 1 | | Grade II | | 19 | |
| 1 | | Grade II | | 19 | |
| 1 | | Grade II | | 19 | |
| 1 | | Grade II | | 19 | |
| 1 | | Grade II Sp. | | 15 | |
| | 8 | | | | 148 |
| 1 | | Grade I | | 20 | |
| 1 | | Grade I | | 20 | |
| 1 | | Grade I | | 20 | |
| 1 | | Grade I | | 20 | |
| 1 | | Grade I | | 20 | |
| 1 | | Grade 1 | | 20 | |
| 1 | | Grade I Sp. | | 15 | |
| | 7 | | | | 135 |
| $3\frac{1}{2}$ | | M.P.L.G. & Fr. Kin. | 6 x 15 = | 90 | |
| 2 | | Eng. Kin. | 3 x 15 = | 45 | |
| $2\frac{1}{2}$ | | Jr. Kin. | 5 x 15 = | 75 | |
| | 8 | | | | 210 |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | 44 | Regular Teachers in Fr. |
| Plus | 2 | Teachers in Russian |
| | $\frac{1}{2}$ | Teacher in Spanish |
| | 5 | Teachers in English |
| | 3 | Floaters |
| | $54\frac{1}{2}$ | Teachers in all |

Estimated Students 863

# THE TORONTO FRENCH SCHOOL

## Curriculum of the English Kindergarten

French vocabulary and conversation leading to a speaking knowledge of French varying from 1,000 to 1,800 words; poetry in a few simple poems.

Cut-outs, painting, manual dexterity games and projects, reading readiness projects, printing and writing of alphabet in small letters, and the printing of numbers from 1-20.

Counting from 1-100, adding to 10 and substracting elementary numbers to 5, recognition of printed numbers from 1-20. Use of the Cuisenaire method for recognition of size and its relationship and the basic number concepts.

Songs and rythmical games.

## Texts and Materials

1. Imagier du Père Castor

2. Fiches de Calcul

3. Cuisenaire Text : Manuel A., C. Gattegno, Ed. Delachaux & Niestlé.

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## THE TORONTO FRENCH SCHOOL

### Grade I - (12e Normale)

| | |
|---|---|
| 1. French 1 | Conversation, reading to a level of about 4000 words, writing, dictation and poetry. |
| 2. Arithmetic 1 | Addition and substration, multiplication, fractions, squares and square roots, and equations, from the point of view of modern and conventional mathematics using the Cuisenaire method. |
| 3. Geography 1 | An introduction to geography and geographic terms. |
| 4. Elementary drawing | |
| 5. Singing and educational games of music | Carl Orff method. |

1. "Méthode active" material, via letters and Père Castor cards
   Mico mon petit ours, Mareuil and Goupil, Istra
   Apoutsiak, le petit flocon de neige
   Mon Cahier de lecture, Furne, Hachette
   Readings from Mico, N. Corbi
2. Calcul, lère année, Cuisenaire
3. L'A.B.C. de la Géographie, lère année, Dagenais, Beauchemin

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# THE TORONTO FRENCH SCHOOL

## Special Grade I - (12e Spéciale)

| | |
|---|---|
| 1. French 1 | Bonjour Line programme, conversation, reading to a level of about 3500 words, writing, dictation and poetry. |
| 2. Arithmetic 1 | Addition and substraction, multiplication, fractions, squares and square roots, and equations, using the Cuisenaire method of modern and conventional mathematics. |
| 3. Geography 1 | An introduction to geography and geographic terms. |
| 4. Elementary drawing | |
| 5. Singing and educational games | The Carl Orff method of music and singing |

1. Books and workbooks for Bonjour Line
   "Méthode active" material - letters and Père Castor cards
   Mico mon petit ours, Mareuil and Goupil, Istra
   Apoutsiak le petit flocon de neige
   Mon Cahier de lecture, Furne, Hachette
   Readings from Mico, N. Corbi

2. Calcul, lère année, Cuisenaire

3. L'A.B.C. de la Géographie, lère année, Dagenais, Beauchemin

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# THE TORONTO FRENCH SCHOOL

## Grade II - (11e normale )

| | |
|---|---|
| 1. French II | Conversation, reading to a level of about 5,500 words, writing, spelling, poetry, vocabulary and elementary grammar. |
| 2. Arithmetic II | Conventional and modern mathematics to the level of addition, substraction, multiplication and division in written and oral problems, simple equations, and fractions using the Cuisenaire method. Francs, grams, decagrams, hectograms, litres, hectolitres, angles, vertical, horizontal, oblique, parallel, rectangle, and square. Number systems, blockgraphs, scales. |
| 3. History II | A history of France from the French point of view and an English view of history from the Cavemen to the Vikings. |
| 4. English I and II | Reading to a level of about 4000 words, spelling, poetry and vocabulary, and the composition of simple essays. |
| 5. Geography II | An elementary study of the globe, organization of life and the physical terrain. |
| 6. Science | A simple study of physical objects. |
| 7. Elementary drawing | |
| 8. Music and educational games | The Carl Orff method of music and singing, introduction to the recorder. |

1. Lisons, C.P., Houblain, Nathan
   Lisons, C.E. 1, Houblain, Nathan
   Mon Cahier de lecture, Fourne, Hachette
   Mon vocabulaire initial, Picard, Colin
   Ma grammaire, C.E., Ferry, Larousse
   Larousse des débutants, Larousse

2. Calcul, 2ème année, G. Cuisenaire, Delachaux et Niestlé
   Mathematics through Discovery, Book 1, Dora Whittaker, Harrap & Co.

3. Mon Premier livre d'histoire, Personne, Colin
   From Cavemen to Vikings, R.J. Unstead, A. & C. Black Ltd.

4. The Beacon Reading Series including The Pancake, Careful Hans, Briar Rose, William Tell, and White Magic, James Fassett, Ginn & Co.
   Better English, Intro., R. Ridout, Ginn & Co.
   Better English, Book I, R. Ridout, Ginn & Co.
   The Oxford School Dictionary, Oxford University Press
5. Ma Géographie en couleurs, Valette, Nathan

6. Leçons de choses, C.E., Lasalmonie, Delagrave

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# THE TORONTO FRENCH SCHOOL

## Special Grade II - (1le Spéciale)

| | |
|---|---|
| 1. French I and II | Conversation, reading, writing, spelling, poetry, vocabulary and elementary grammar. |
| 2. Arithmetic I and II | Conventional and modern mathematics to the level of addition, substraction, multuplication and division in written and oral problems, simple equations and fractions using the Cuisenaire method. |
| 3. Geography I and II | An introduction to the vocabulary of geography and to life in Canada. |
| 4. Science | |
| 5. Elementary drawing and art | |
| 6. Singing and Elementary games | The Carl Orff method of music and singing, instruction in the recorder, sight and harmony playing. |

1. Mico mon petit ours, Mareuil and Goupil, Istra
   "Méthode active" material via letters and Père Castor cards
   Mon cahier de lecture, Furne, Hachette
   Ma Grammaire, C.E., Ferry, Larousse
   Larousse des débutants, Larousse
   Lisons, C.P., Houblain, Nathan
   Readings from Mico, N. Corbi

2. Calcul 1ère année, et Calcul 2ème année, G. Cuisenaire, Delachaux et Niestlé.

3. L'A.B.C. de la Géographie, 1ère année, Dagenais, Beauchemin

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# THE TORONTO FRENCH SCHOOL

## Grade III - (10e Normale)

| | |
|---|---|
| 1. French III | Conversation, reading, writing, spelling, poetry, vocabulary, and elementary grammar. |
| 2. Arithmetic III | Conventional and modern mathematics, addition, substraction, multiplication and division, in written and oral problems, simple equations and fractions using the Cuisenaire method, graphs, measurement and form, area, products, prime and rectangular numbers, polygons, decimals. |
| 3. History III | A history of France from the French point of view, and an English view of the history of the Middle Ages. |
| 4. English III | Reading, spelling, poetry and vocabulary and the composition of essays. |
| 5. Geography III | A developing study of the physical terrain. |
| 6. Science | A simple study of life. |
| 7. Art | |
| 8. Music | Singing, Carl Orff for group playing, recorder sight and harmony playing. |
| 9. Russian | By the Audio-Visual method. |

1. Nouvelles Lectures françaises, Castanet, Nathan
   Belles Pages de français, C.E., Ferry, Larousse
   Ma Grammaire, C.E., Ferry, Larousse
   Mon vocabulaire initial, Picard, Colin

2. Mathematics Through Discovery, Book II, Dora E. Whittaker, Harrap & Co.

3. Images et récits d'Histoire de France, C.E., M. Cours et al., Delagrave
   The Middle Ages, R.J. Unstead, A.& C. Black Ltd.,

4. The Beacon Reading Series : White Magic, Ginn & Co.
   A Noble Company, Ginn & Co.
   Argosy, Ginn & Co.
   Better English, Book I, Ridout, Ginn & Co.
   Better English, Book II, Ridout, Ginn & Co.
   The Oxford School Dictionary, Oxford University Press

5. Ma Géographie en couleurs, Valette, Nathan

6. Leçons de choses, C.E., Lasalmonie, Delagrave

8. First Recorder Book, H. Orr

9. Chilton-Didier Audio-Visual Russian Method, A. Menac and Z. Volos

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# THE TORONTO FRENCH SCHOOL

## Intermediate Grade III - (10e Intermediaire)

| | |
|---|---|
| 1. French III | Conversation, Reading, writing, spelling, poetry, vocabulary, and elementary grammar. |
| 2. Arithmetic III | Conventional and modern mathematics, addition, substraction, multiplication and division, in written and oral problems, simple equations and fractions using the Cuisenaire method, graphs, measurement and form, area, products, prime and rectangular numbers, polygons, decimals. |
| 3. History III | A history of France from the French point of view, and an English view of the history of the Middle Ages. |
| 4. English III | Reading, spelling , poetry and vocabulary and the composition of essays. |
| 5. Geography III | A developing study of the physical terrain. |
| 6. Science | A simple study of life. |
| 7. Art | |
| 8 Music | Singing, Carl Orff for group playing, recorder sight and harmony playing. |
| 9. Russian | By the Audio-Visual method. |

1. Nouvelles lectures françaies, Castanet, Nathan
   Michel et ses bêtes, Brandicourt, Bourrelier
   Ma grammaire, C.E., Ferry, Larousse
   Mon Vocabulaire initial, Picard, Colin

2. Mathematics Through Discovery, Book II, Dora E. Whittaker, Harrap&Co.

3. Images et récits d'histoire de France, C.E., M. Cours et al., Delagrave
   The Middle Ages, R.J. Unstead, A.& C. Black Ltd.

4. The Beacon Reading Series: White Magic, Ginn & Co.
   A Noble Company, Ginn & Co.
   Argosy, Ginn & Co.
   Better English, Book I, Ridout, Ginn & Co.
   Better English, Book II, Ridout, Ginn & Co.
   The Oxford School Dictionary, Oxford University Press

5. Ma Géographie en couleurs, Valette, Nathan

6. Leçons de choses, C.E., Lasalmonie, Delagrave

8. First Recorder Book, H. Orr

9. Chilton-Didier Audio-Visual Russian Method, A. Menac and Z. Volos

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# THE TORONTO FRENCH SCHOOL

## Special Grade III (10e spéciale)

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|---|---|
| 1. French I, II & III | Conversation, reading, writing, spelling, poetry, vocabulary & elementary grammar. |
| 2. Arithmetic I, II & III | Conventional & modern mathematics to the level of addition, substraction, multiplication & division in arithmetic and oral problems, simple equations, fractions, squares and square roots using the Cuisenaire method. |
| 3. Geography I, II & III | An introduction to the vocabulary of geography and the life in Canada. |
| 4. Music & Art | The Carl Orff method of music and singing, instruction in the recorder, sight and harmony playing. Elementarydrawing and art. |

1. Mico mon petit ours, Mareuil and Goupil, Istra
   Imagier du Pere Castor, Flammarion
   Mon cahier de lecture, Furne, Hachette
   Ma grammaire, C.E., Ferry, Larousse
   Larousse des débutants, Larousse
   Readings from Mico, N. Corbi
   Bonjour Line, material
   Lisons, C.P., Houblain, Nathan
   Nouvelles lectures françaises, Castanet, Nathan

2. Calcul 2me année, G. Cuisenaire, Delachaux & Niestlé

3. L'A.B.C. de la géographie, 1ère et 2me années, Dagenais, Beauchemin

4. First recorder book, H. Orr

November 25, 1965.

LIST OF PARENTS WITH CHILDREN IN TORONTO FRENCH SCHOOL

| Name | Occupation | Children in School |
|---|---|---|
| L. Amram | Importer | One ... Grade I |
| D.C. Baillie | Prof. Maths. U. of T. | Two ... Grades III and I |
| R.J. Baird | Doctor | One ... Nursery |
| B. Bakker | Ass. Prof. Modern Lang. York Univ. | One ... Kindergarten |
| C.J. Ball | Underwriter | One ... Grade I |
| J.F. Bassett | TV / Newspaper Ed. | One ... Fr. Kindergarten |
| T.J. Bata | Shoe Manufacturer | One ... Kindergarten |
| R.L. Beatty | Statistician - U. of T. | One ... Kindergarten |
| J.M.J. Beauroy | History Instructor U. of T. | One ... Grade II |
| N.B. Bell | Investment - Bell, Gouinlock and Co. | One ... Grade I |
| R.M. Bell | Lawyer - Confed. Life | One ... Grade II |
| M. Belmonte | Male Nurse | Two ... Grades I and Inter 3 |
| J.M. Bennett | Technical Manager Fisons Ltd. | Two ... Grade I and Nursery |
| T.F. Benson | Supervising Prod. C.B.C. | One ... Special Grade II |
| W.H. Bentham | Doctor | Two ... Inter. 3 and Sp. I |
| G.R. Bentley Jr. | Prof. English U. of T. | Two ... Grade II and Maternelle pour les Grands |
| D. Bergsagel | Doctor (Chief of Med. Ont. Cancer Inst.) | Two .. Sp. Grade II and Kindergarten |
| D.E. Berlyne | Prof. U. of T. | One ... Kindergarten |
| J.T. Birkenshaw | Actuary, Confed. Life | One ... Grade III N.B. Headed the small fund - raising drive last year. |
| O.B. Bischof | Taxi Driver | One ... Nursery |

| Name | Occupation | Children in School |
|---|---|---|
| T. Blake | Estimator - George Shaw | Two ... Grade III and Grade I |
| W.G. Blythe | Asst. Cred. Mgr. MacLean Hunter | One ... Fr. Kindergarten |
| R.L. Borden | Investment Dealer | One ... Fr. Kindergarten |
| G.H. Bornet | Engineer - Ont. Research Found. | One ... Grade I |
| Mrs. H. Borchenstein | Security Analyst | One ... Grade II |
| C.D. Boultbee | Civil Servant | One ... Grade II |
| J.W. Boynton | Salesman | One ... Fr. Kindergarten |
| G. Brady | Sec. Treas. Brady and Seidner (Plumbing) | Two ... Grade I and Fr. Kindergarten |
| K.L. Bramwell | Advertising Exec. | One ... Kindergarten |
| B.L. Brenner | Engineer - Tor. Hydro | Two ... Sp. III and Grade I |
| G.W. Brigden | Lawyer | Two ... Grade III and Grade I |
| G.M. Brown | Psychiatrist | One ... Nursery |
| M.D.R. Brown | Actuary, Eckler, Brown and Company | One ... Nursery |
| J.S. Bull | Marketing Director Colgate - Palmolive | One ... Grade I |
| T.G. Butson | Edit. Dept. Tor. Star | One ... Nursery |
| W.P. Callaghan | Doctor | One ... Fr. Kindergarten |
| J.H.R. Campbell | Doctor | Two ... Grade I and Fr. Kindergarten |
| G.B. Chambers | Doctor | One ... Nursery |
| B. Chernos | Lawyer | One ... Grade I |
| C.A. Cherrington | Student, U. of T. | One... Kindergarten |
| T.A.P. Chisholm | Promotion Manager | One ... Fr. Kindergarten |
| P. Christie | Supervisor - Theatre Confections | One ... Kindergarten |

| Name | Occupation | Children in School |
|---|---|---|
| HH Clare | Engineer | One ... Sp. I |
| C.H. Clark | Architect | One ... Fr. Kindergarten |
| K.F. Clute | Doctor - School of Hygiene U. of T. | Two ... Grade II and Kindergarten |
| W. Cohen | Manufacturer | One ... Kindergarten |
| R.B. Colbert | Gen. Sales Mgr. Caravelle Carpets | One ... Kindergarten |
| L.A. Combaluzier | Asst. Manager | One ... Maternelle pour les Grands. |
| G. Conrad | Musician | One ... Grade II |
| J.F. Cotter | All State Agent | One ... Sp. Grade I |
| K.M. Croft | Film Editor, Baton Broadcasting | One ... Maternelle pour les Grands |
| F.A. Crook | Journalist, Globe and Mail | One ... Sp. Grade I |
| J.H. Crookston | Doctor | One ... Grade II |
| M. Crowe | Banker, Can. Imp. Bank of Commerce | Two ... Grade II and Sp. I (N.B. Member of Steering Committee) |
| W.H. Currie | Banker, Can. Imp. Bank of Commerce | One ... Grade I |
| W.L. Curtis | Doctor | Two ... Sp. II and Nursery |
| G. Curtis | Exec. Stone & Webster | One ... Grade I (N.B. Chairman of pro ten Board) |
| A. Dalzell | Classics Prof. U. of T. | Two ... Grade III and Grade I |
| LL Dan | Pharmaceutical Distr. | One ... Maternelle pour Grands |
| P.H. D'Arcy | Sales Manager, Travel Agency | One ... Grade I (N.B. Wife is school secretary) |
| J. Daski | Works Manager, Taymouth Ind. | One ... Sp. I |
| F.C. Davis | T.V. Performer | Three ... Grades III, I and Nursery (N.B. member of Steering Cttee.) |

| Name | Occupation | Children in School |
|---|---|---|
| F.J. Deane | Bell Te. Installer | One ... Grade I |
| J.T. Desbrisay | Lawyer | Two ... Grade I and Fr. Kindergarten (N.B. member of pro ten Board) |
| F.A. Delory | Prof. U. of T. | One ... Nursery |
| R. DeMara | Realtor | One ... Maternelle pour Grands |
| T. Desrosiers | Stationary Eng. Sunnybrook Hospital | One ... Sp. Grade II |
| B.D. Deuchars | Prof. Engineer | Two ... Sp. I and Nursery |
| L. Dewart | Prof. Phil. U. of T. | One ... Grade I |
| L. Dickie | Biologist | One ... Grade III |
| C. Dixon | Stockbroker | Three ... Grade I, Fr. Kind., Nursery |
| J.Y. Dunant | Vice-Pres. | One ... Grade I |
| E.A. Duval | Engineer, Scarborough Board of Education | One ... Grade I |
| D.B. Dyment | Exec. Dyment Ltd. | One ... Grade I |
| B. Easson | Editor(55 Univ. Ave.) | One ... Nursery |
| H.C. Eastman | Prof. U. of T. | One ... Maternelle pour Grands |
| A.Y. Eaton | Executive | One ... Grade I (N.B. Mrs. Eaton is member of pro ten Board) |
| J.C. Eaton | Merchant | Two ... Fr. Kindergarten and Nursery |
| D.A. Edge | Teacher | One ... Sp. I |
| A. Egan | Advertising | One ... Grade II |
| M. Elek | Doctor | One ... Kindergarten |
| J.P. Elliott | T.V. Producer (self-employed) | Two ... Inter. 3 and Grade II |
| C.H. Eriksen | Asst. Prof. Zoology U. of T. | One ... Nursery |
| D.D. Evans | Prof. U. of T. | Two ... Grade I, Nursery |

| Name | Occupation | Children in School |
|---|---|---|
| G.L. Evans | Musician | One ... Nursery |
| P.N. Evans | Patent Agent | One ... Kindergarten |
| S. Everard | Comm. Airline Pilot | One ... Kindergarten |
| M.B. Eveson | Psychologist, Bell Clinic | One... Sp. Grade I |
| J.B. Falls | Assoc. Prof. Zoology U. of T. | One ... Sp. III |
| G.H. Farquarhson | Lawyer | One... Grade III |
| J. Fayoux | Radio Technician | Three... Grades II and I and Fr. Kind. (Wife is teacher at school) |
| T. Ferentzy | Restauranteur | Two ... Grade I and nursery |
| B.T. Ferguson | Teacher | One ... Kindergarten |
| L.K. Ferrier | Lawyer | One ... Kindergarten |
| E. Fich | Data Processor | One ... Grade II |
| D.C. Finlayson | Doctor | Two ... Sp. Grade III and Grade II |
| M. Fischer | Psychiatrist | One ... Fr. Kindergarten |
| J. Fitzpatrick | Lawyer | Two ... Sp. III and Grade II |
| M. Fleming | Lawyer | One ... Kindergarten |
| H. Fogel | Building Contract. | One ... Sp. I |
| P. Fox | Prof. Pol Science U. of T. | Two ... Grade II and Grade I |
| S.J. Freeman | Director, Clairtone Sound Corp. | Two ... Sp. III and Sp. I |
| A. Frizon | Asst. to French Trade Comm. | One ... Nursery |
| G.R.D. Fryer | Town Planner | Two ... Grade II and Maternelle (N.B. did some work on a Building Cttee. to the School) |

| Name | Occupation | Children in School |
|---|---|---|
| J.C.E. Fuller | Gen. Sales Mgr. Armour Indust. Chem. | One ... Nursery |
| H.P. Gardiner | Asst. Editor, Globe and Mail | Two ... Grade I and Fr. Kindergarten |
| M.L. Gaterell | Time Study | One ... Nursery |
| L. Gelb | Mechanical Engineer | One ... Grade II |
| A. Gelber | Execuitve | One ... Grade II (N.B. Member of pro ten Board) |
| W.H. Giles | Lawyer | Three ... Grade III, II and Fr. Kind. (N.B. President of the School) |
| J. Gill | Doctor | One ... Grade I |
| K.J.M. Godlewski | Agric. Engineer (Massey - Ferg.) | Two ... Sp. III and Kindergarten |
| A.H. Goodman | Business Machines Mechanic | One ... Kindergarten |
| M. Gordon | Exec. Manager | One ... Maternelle pour Grands |
| E.J. Graf | Musician | One ... Nursery |
| A. Graham | Architect | One... Fr. Kindergarten |
| Mrs. Graham | Nurse | One ... Nursery |
| O.M. Grant | Electronic Techn. | One ... Sp. III |
| D.S. Gray | Economist | Two ... Sp. III and Grade II |
| J.R. Greco | Sales - I.B.M. | One ... Nursery |
| J.A. Grieve | Marketing - Gen. Foods | One ... Grade I |
| A. Grozbord | Prof. Engineer | One ... Kindergarten |
| K. Gunton | T.V. Producer Rabko T.V. Prodtns. | One ... Grade I |
| M. Gurvey | Export Merchant | One ... Grade II |
| O. Hafner | Manufacturer's Agent | Two ... Grade II and I |

| Name | Occupation | Children in School |
|---|---|---|
| H.B. Hall | Pres. Canadian Lab. Supplies | One ... Grade I |
| J.D. Hamilton | Broadcaster, CBC | One ... Sp. II |
| M.E. Hardisty | Lawyer | One ... Nursery |
| R.E. Harris | Vice-Pres. F.H. Hayhurst Co. | One ... Kindergarten |
| H. Hartley | Chartered Accountant McDonald Currie | One ... Grade II |
| J.R. Hatch | Engineer | Two ... Grade I and Nursery |
| W.L. Hayhurst | Lawyer | Two ... Grade I and Nursery |
| J. Heaman | Chem. Engineer | One ... Grade II |
| Heck | Architect | Two ... Grade III |
| J.D. Heintzman | Manufacturer | One ... Maternelle pour les Grands |
| W.L. Heisey | Advtg. Exec. Proctor and Gamble | One ... Grade II (N.B. Member of Steering Committee) |
| R.J. Helmstadter | Asst. Prof. U. of T. | One ... Fr. Kindergarten |
| R.G. Henderson | Stockbroker (Bache) | One ... Sp. III |
| G.A. Herz | Technician | One ... Grade I |
| M.R. Hickl - Szabo | Ass. Curator R.O.M. | Two ... Inter. 3 and Sp. III |
| M.R. Hicks | Investment Dealer (Ames) | One ... Kindergarten |
| L. Higgins | Economist, Ont. Hydro | One ... Sp. III |
| J. Hill | Asst. Treasurer, Bulova | One ... Grade I |
| M.E. Hoderek | Accountant, Bank of Montreal | One ... Nursery |
| D.Hoffman | Asst. Prof. York | One ... Sp. II |
| E.L. Hofstadter | Doctor | Two ... Inter 3, Sp. I |

| Name | Occupation | Children in School |
|---|---|---|
| W.D. Holford | Investment Dealer | One ... Nursery |
| R. Houston | Lawyer | One ... Kindergarten |
| R.G. Hutcheson | Engineer and Salesman | One ... Kindergarten |
| K. Irwin | Advertising Exec. | Two ... Grade I and Nursery |
| J.A. Jansen | Doctor | Two ... Grade I and Maternelle |
| M. Jansen | Doctor | Two ... Inter 3 and Grade II |
| G.J. Jarvis | Doctor | One ... Grade I |
| K.P. Jarvis | Lawyer | One ... Maternelle pour Grands |
| W.H. Johnston | Engineer (Shell) | One ... Nursery |
| Kalmusky A.T. | Dental Surgeon | One ... Maternelle pour Grands |
| B. Kayfetz | Nat. Dir. Community Relations, Can. Jewish Congress | One... Sp. Grade II |
| B. Kelly | Lawyer (O'Driscoll, Kelly and McCrae) | One ... Kindergarten |
| J.G. Kelton | Architect | Two ... Sp. I |
| A.G. Keresteci | Surgeon | One ... Kindergarten |
| J.E. Kleins | Computer Sales Rep. | One ... Sp. I |
| J. Lambert | Administrator, Molsons | One ... Fr. Kindergarten |
| A.P. Lang | Doctor | One ... Inter III |
| M. Laufer | Stage Designer CBC | One ... Fr. Kindergarten |
| D.J. Lawrence | Food Broker | One ... Sp. II |
| J.R. Leach | Artist | One ... Kindergarten |
| J.G. Lefebvre | Director, la Haye-Holland | One ... Grade I |
| V.W. Leistner | Toolmaker | One ... Fr. Kindergarten |
| H. Leistner | Self-employed | One ... Fr. Kindergarten |

| Name | Occupation | Children in School |
|---|---|---|
| A.S.L. LeMesurier | Lawyer | One ... Kindergarten |
| M.B. Lennox | Computer Programmer | Two ... Grade II and Kindergarten |
| J.J. Leonard | Car Dealer (Leonard Dodge, Chrysler) | One ... Nursery |
| J.M. Lewis | Stockbroker | Two ... Grade II and Fr. Kindergarten |
| M.D. Lipson | Architect | One ... Inter 3 (N.B. Member of Steering Committee) |
| H.R. Locke | Lawyer | One ... Maternelle pour Grands |
| F. Loesgen | Musician | Two ... Sp. II and Maternelle |
| N.A. Lowe | Advertising Copy-writer | One ... Sp. II |
| C. Luttor | Doctor | One ... Grade I |
| D. Lyons | Lawyer | One ... Sp. I |
| F.G. Mabey | Financial Analyst | One ... Kindergarten |
| D. MacDonald | M.P. Rosedale | One ... Nursery |
| A. MacFarlane | Man. Edit. Telegram | One ... Kindergarten |
| Mrs. Mackenzie | Teacher | Two ... Grade II |
| M. Mackenzie | Chartered Accountant | One ... Maternelle pour Grands |
| B.J. MacKinnon | Lawyer | One ... Nursery |
| P.C. Mailath | Int. & Ext. Designer | One ... Sp. I |
| C.F. Malette | Airport Electrician | One ... Fr. Kindergarten |
| A. Maloney | Lawyer | One ... Grade II |
| G.J. Marois | Sales Rep. | One ... Kindergarten |
| R. Marriott | Editor, Ginn & Co. | One ... Sp. II (N.B. Wife teaches English at School) |
| K. Martitsch | Civil Engineer - Vice-Pres. Stone and Webster | One ... Grade I |

| Name | Occupation | Children in School |
|---|---|---|
| D.C. Matthews | Investment Consultant | One ... Nursery |
| W.R. Maxwell | Lawyer | One ... Kindergarten |
| E. Mazzoleni | Principal, Royal Con. of Music | One ... Grade I |
| R.N. McBurney | Engineer (I.B.M.) | One ... Sp. I |
| J.G. McClelland | Publisher (McClelland Stewart) | One ... Nursery |
| G. McGaffrey | Journalist Tor. Star | One ... Grade II |
| P.D. McGarry | Doctor | One ... Kindergarten |
| J.A. McGeachie | Exec. Custom - Aire Alum. | One ... Kindergarten |
| Mrs. J.A. McInnes | Teletypist | One ... Nursery |
| D.J. McLennen | Mortgage Department | One ... Grade I |
| W.D.A. McCuaig | Public School Inspector | One ... Nursery |
| S.B. McQuillan | Salesman | One ... Grade II |
| C. Metz | Translator (French) | One ... Fr. Kindergarten |
| E. Mezei | Actuary | One ... Grade I |
| H. Mierins | Self-employed | One ... Kindergarten |
| D.A. Miles | Life Underwriter | One ... Nursery |
| W.O.C. Miller | Lawyer | Two ... Grade I and Nursery (N.B. Member of pro ten Board) |
| R.I. Mitchell | Doctor | One ... Maternelle |
| D. Morgan | Teacher | One ... Fr. Kindergarten |
| J. Morra | Teacher N. York Board of Education | One ... Nursery |
| P. Morizot | Consul of France | One ... Grade II |
| M. Morrison | Director, Construction Co. | One ... Kindergarten |

| Name | Occupation | Children at School |
|---|---|---|
| J.D. Mossop | Prof. Engineer (Vice-Pres.) Allcock Laight Westwood | One ... Fr. Kindergarten |
| F.R. Mott-Trille | Lawyer | One ... Nursery |
| D. Murnaghen | Doctor | One ... Grade III |
| J.H. Mylrea | Insurance Broker | One ... Fr. Kindergarten |
| A.S. Nease | Prof. of Education | Three ... Sp. III, Grade I, Nursery |
| A. Ness | Advertising Exec. | One ... Sp. I |
| R.R. Newman | T.V. Engineer CBC | Two ... Kindergarten and Fr. Kindergarten |
| V.L. Olesen | Vice-Pres. Advertising Agency, David, Olesen Fell | One... Kindergarten |
| K.W. O'Neill | Maintenance | One ... Inter 3 |
| P.G. Opler | Prof. Engineer | One ... Nursery |
| G.P. Osler | Investment Manager | One ... Sp. 1 |
| L.H. Papineau | Draftsman (Bell Tel) | One ... Kindergarten |
| M.A. Papp | Scenic Artist | One ... Nursery |
| T. Parish | Advertising Exec. | One ... Sp. II |
| R.G. Paterson | Insurance Agent | One ... Sp. II |
| S.D. Patterson | Teacher | Two ... Grade I, Fr. Kindergarten |
| G.B. Pearson | Prof. Engineer - Ontario Hydro | Two ... Grade II, Fr. Kindergarten |
| S.J. Peerless | Doctor (Banting Inst.) | One ... Fr. Kindergarten |
| W.J. Pegg | Theatrical Dir./ Designer | One ... Maternelle |
| T.W. Pierce | Marketing, Proctor and Gamble | Two ... Sp. II and kindergarten |
| D. Penny | Teacher | One ... Grade 1 |

| Name | Occupation | Children in School |
|---|---|---|
| N. Penturn | Realtor | One ... Grade I |
| A. Peters | Doctor | One ... Kindergarten |
| T.H.O. Pettem | Teacher | One ... Kindergarten |
| J.H. Phillips | RCAF Officer | One ... Grade III |
| M.H. Phillips | Investment Counsellor | One ... Grade II |
| A.S. Phillips | Police Constable | One ... Nursery |
| J.H. Phin | Sales Manager, Phin Universal | Two ... Sp. I and Nursery |
| H.I. Pike | RCAF Officer | One ... Inter 3 |
| R.H. Pitfield | (engineer) Investment Dealer | One ... Grade I |
| A.G. Plock | Artist | One ... Grade II |
| W.G. Poolman | Lawyer | Two ... Sp. III , Sp. I |
| J.J. Pope | Banking - Pope and Co. | One ... Grade I |
| J.H. Potts | Lawyer | One ... Grade II |
| D. Poulos | Manager Spadina Hotel | One ... Kindergarten |
| J.D. Prentice | Physicist | One ... Nursery |
| L. Prezes | Production Manager, Diament Knitting | Two ... Grade I, Fr. Kindergarten |
| P.S. Price | Civil Engineer | One ... Fr. Kindergarten |
| Mrs. M. Rafferty | Singer | One ... Grade II |
| G.N. Ranking | Doctor | One ... Grade II (N.B. Member of Steering Committee) |
| D.B. Redford | Teacher, U. of T. | One ... Grade I |
| B.B. Reid | Sun Life | One ... Grade I |
| A.C. Rice | Securities Salesman | One ... Nursery |
| B.H. Rich | Manufacturers Agent | One ... Grade II |

| Name | Occupation | Children in School |
|---|---|---|
| F.P.J. Rimrott | Engineer Prof. U. of T. | One ... Nursery |
| A. Robertson | Industrial Real Estate | One ... Grade I |
| J.D. Robertson | Doctor | One ... Nursery |
| E. Robinsky | Prof. U. of T. | One ... Kindergarten |
| P.J. Robinson | Insurance Agent | Two ... Sp. I and Kindergarten |
| K. Rotenberg | Builder | One ... Nursery |
| H.C.N. Rowe | Personnel Manager | One ... Grade I |
| M. Rubin | Pharmacist | Two ... Grade I and Nursery |
| C.R.B. Salter | Lawyer | Two ... Grade III, Sp. I |
| W. Saunderson | Chartered Accountant | One ... Grade II |
| T.B. Scott | Darmatologist | Two ... Grade I, Fr. Kindergarten |
| H.R. Secor | Assoc. Prof. Fr. U. of T. | One ... Nursery |
| P.J. Seger | Lumber Merchant | One ... Sp. I |
| D. Sellier | Ballet Master (National Ballet) | One ... Grade I |
| J. Sheinin | Civil Engineer | One ... Grade I |
| B. Shandling | Doctor | One ... Kindergarten |
| E.T. Silcox | Detective (Tor. Police Force) | One ... Nursery |
| M.D. Silver | Asst. Prof. Banting Inst. | One ... Nursery |
| J.R.N. Sintzel | Lawyer | One ... Fr. Kindergarten |
| W.H. Slater | Civil Engineer | One ... Nursery |
| W.J. Sopinka | Lawyer | One ... Nursery |
| Mrs. Sorensen | Systems Analyst | One ... Grade II |
| W. Spira | Business Owner - Ferro Structural Steel | One ... Sp. I |

| Name | Occupation | Children in School |
|---|---|---|
| P. Spriet | Prof. Fr. U. of T. | One ... Grade III |
| H.C. Stancer | Psychiatrist, U. of T. | Two ... Grade I and Nursery |
| A.B. Stapells | Lawyer | Two ... Sp. III and Grade I |
| P. Stewart | Leather Manufacturer | One ... Nursery |
| W. Straiton | Copywriter, Foster Agency | One ... Fr. Kindergarten |
| H. Straka | Comptroller | One ... Grade II |
| B.V. Surtees | President, Book Cellar | One ... Kindergarten |
| G. Sutherland | Electrical Engineer and Doctor | One ... Nursery |
| V. Svarc | Accountant | Two ... Grade II and Kindergarten |
| E.K. Tarczy | Research Chemist | One ... Kindergarten |
| P. Tatay | Chartered Accountant | One ... Grade I |
| R.A. Taylor | Prof. Fr. U. of T. | One... Nursery |
| D.W. Thompson | Teacher | One ... Kindergarten |
| J.E. Thomson | Investment Dealer | One ... Grade I |
| T. Thomson | Sales Mgr. (Imperial Oil) | One ... Kindergarten |
| F.A. Tibbold | Chemist | One ... Nursery |
| D.Y. Timbrell | Chartered Accountant (McDonald Currie) | Two ... Grade I and Nursery |
| W.G. Timmis | Exec. Proctor and Gamble | One ... Nursery |
| J.H. Tory | Lawyer | Two ... Sp. III and Nursery |
| J. Toth | Musician | One ... Nursery |
| R. Toth | Musician | One ... Nursery |
| J.L. Trapman | Doctor | Three ... Grade II, Sp. I, Kindergarten |
| S.G. Triantis | Prof. Economics, U. of T. | One ... Nursery |

| Name | Occupation | Children in School |
|---|---|---|
| J.D. Trim | Sales | One ... Grade I |
| H.A. Tyber | Doctor | One ... Fr. Kindergarten |
| V. Uvakov | Dental Technician | One ... Grade I |
| L. Vamossy | Restauranteur | One ... Sp. III |
| T.B. Vande Mark | Doctor | Two ... Sp. I and Nursery |
| R. Vander Hoop | Park Superintendent | One ... Maternelle pour Grands |
| T. Verspyck | Re - Insurance Exec. - Con . Re-Insurance | Two ... Grade I and Kindergarten |
| A. Villers | Draftsman | One ... Kindergarten |
| T.A.R. Virany | Teacher | One ... Nursery |
| Z. Vizintin | Engineering Technologist | One ... Nursery |
| N. Volk | Director, U.S. Information Service Consulate | One... Kindergarten |
| W. Wakeman | Supervisor Bell Tel. | One ... Sp. I |
| J.H. Warkentin | Assoc. Prof. Geog. York | One ... Fr. Kindergarten |
| P. Webb | Lawyer | One ... Kindergarten |
| J.A.L. White | Mineral Economist | One ... Kindergarten |
| J.A. W. Whiteacre | Lawyer | One ... Grade II |
| C. Wideman | Chauffeur | Two ... Inter 3, Grade I |
| H. Wileman | Salesman, Central Scientific | Two ... Inter 3, Sp. I |
| S.T. Wills | Computor Systems Analyst | One ... Nursery |
| M.W. Wormley | Publicity / photographer | One ... Fr. Kindergarten |
| P. Yates | Prof. U. of T. | One ... Fr. Kindergarten |
| R.E. York | Sales Rep. | One ... Grade I |

| Name | Occupation | Children in School |
|---|---|---|
| P.R. Young | Graphic Artist | One ... Fr. Kindergarten |
| E.H. Zeidler | Architect | One ... Nursery |
| M. Zenon | Actor | One ... Grade I |
| B. Zuker | Jeweller | One ... Grade I |

MONTREAL STAR - NOVEMBER 7TH 1962

# Toronto Pioneers Seek Aid For Bilingual School Plan

AN DE GUISE

...ors from Toronto ...e a special trip to Mont... yesterday, hoping to find ... t they already had ... Montreal—a truly

...ironic for this ... French-Canadian ... Montreal, to inter... Giles, a 32-year... and Marcel La...

...ever they had ... something that ... still groping

... with the ... getting a "true ...cation" in Que... have saved them

... Mary Road, ... their ar... ...rnoon, they ... Weston

... all that erro... this rueful

ers and school material of all kinds."

All this is for "The Toronto French School Inc." set up as a non-profit corporation last summer and recognized as a charitable trust for income tax purposes.

"Its organization," he added, "is similar to that of most universities, in that an advisory committee of academicians deals with questions ...rriculum and staff with the board of directors or governors, who look after financial matters."

He listed an impressive number of Toronto University professors as members of the advisory committe, himself as president of the board, Mr. Lagrenade as vice-president and another Toronto lawyer, G. W. Brigden, as treasurer.

Then Mr. Giles proceeded to tell me, in a matter-of-fact way, something astonishing.

"At the present time we have a junior kindergarten, a senior kindergarten and a Grade 1. The first class is conducted for English-speaking children largely in French, with the children learning how to count and to sing French songs and to gradually build up their vocabulary in a play-school atmosphere. In the next class, most of the instruction is in French, with the children being taught part of a normal Grade I program."

"In grade one we are employing texts normally used in the Province of Quebec in that grade, and the class is being conducted solely in French, with half the children coming from homes where English is the basic tongue, and half coming from homes where French is the chief ...."

Mr. Lagrenade mentioned in passing that the school, in its first normal year, has 32 pupils, "but we expect to have ...0 next year, with six kinder... classes."

Mr. Giles followed up with: "We are attempting to set up 15 grades — junior kindergarten, for three to four-year-olds, senior kindergarten, for children from four to five and a half years old, and thereafter 13 regular school years leading to two sets of examinations, the senior matriculation in English and the 'baccalaureat Francais,' as set by the Government of France."

## High Standards

"The standards we are attempting to achieve are unusually high," he acknowledged, "but we feel it appropriate that they should be attempted in a school which is founded upon a true concept of bilingualism."

Mr. Giles outlined the difficulties facing the school. "During the early years," he said, "we expect to be operating classes in various locations—the present classes are being held in two different churches."

He felt, however, that the results already outweighed the burdens and justified the attempt.

As for the immediate h... ...aimed at raising ... ...funds to be able to establish several endowed chairs at the school. This would enable us to keep our fees sufficiently low, so that more parents could send their children to take part in our program."

And speaking of programs, these pioneers set their ambitions high. "We have two general programs in mind," they said, "one dealing with the courses to be specifically given in our school, and a future kindergarten prog... which contemplates the ...lishment of 20 or 30 k... ...gartens in Metro Toronto.

The young lawyer concluded with: "Because our school will probably be the focal point for bilingual learning in Ontario, it ...portant that we ha... ...standing teachers, and ... of these will natural... found only in Quebe...

The English-s... ...dren in Ontario, Mr. ... felt, should be able to attend a quality school where French is spoken, "so as to be better able to participate in ... ...dual culture."

He saw it as equally important that French-speaking children should be able to receive in Ontario as ... French education ... might get in Quebec. ... in our school, we will be providing a bilingual educati... in a true sense."

THE TELEGRAM - NOVEMBER 15th 1962

# Bilingualism For Toronto 3-Year-Olds Succeeds

By JACK HUTTON
Telegram Staff Reporter

lingual French-school that includes d children of English- parents succeed in ...?

Toronto French School, a parent-organized venture which opened its doors for the first time this fall, is approving that one

began in Sep- seven Grade 1 most of whom aking conversa- ...al days a uple of years.

This week e school's or- ers announced that an- oungsters are in a ergarten for 3 and s, and 15 are in a

OREL CLASSES

. H. Giles, president ganizing parents'

"We're doing even better had hoped. Next hope to offer six rten classes and 1, 2 and 3."

Grade 1 children, by Mme. Nicole ni, are a mixture of French and English-speaking children. But all have adjusted to a mixture of the two languages in their classes.

"By Easter," said Mr. Giles, "they will have completed Quebec's Grade 1 course if they keep up their present rate of progress. After that they'll take more difficult material."

This means that the children will be reading stories by De Maupassant and other French authors — a level which the Toronto French School claims isn't matched by English-speaking classes.

"We're keeping the classes small," said Mr. Giles. "But we do have room for one more child in senior kindergarten. And we could consider other applications."

## IN THE SCHOOLS

COMPLETE EDUCATION

How far does the Toronto French School hope to go? Mr. Giles and the other parents believe that the school can eventually offer a complete bilingual education that will be unique in North America.

"We'll be eventually preparing our senior high school students for two papers — the senior matriculation examination in English and the French baccalaureate examination," he said.

Quebec has two schools offering the French baccalaureate examination, but the Toronto French School feels it will be different.

"We hope to have a transfer program in which students with either language can enter the school," he said.

"Our hope is to make all the students bilingual — not just French-speaking."

$30 A MONTH

Who are the parents ing $30 each month to eir children the ex lingual training?

On the parents' advisory committee are five professors of French at the University of Toronto, all of whom are sending the children to the sch who hope to eventually.

The Toronto French sch school which hop parents will come said Mr. Giles.

"With parents like ones," he said "they can the rest of us a lot."

**LA PRESSE   SPRING OF1964**

# Des Torontois réalisent l'importance du bilinguisme

Toronto (PC) — Une école si[illegible] au centre canadien [illegible] comptait [illegible] une de bambins à qui on enseignait [illegible] anglicane, pro[illegible] nienant son enseigne[illegible] à une centaine d'élèves, [illegible] liste d'attente de 200. [illegible] hain.

[illegible] le doit son succès à [illegible] avec laquelle les [illegible] es apprennent le [illegible] un très bon ac[illegible] une maman qui avait ap[illegible] français au high school [illegible] ion et ses fautes de [illegible] cours de [illegible] les écoles [illegible] dont on leur avai[illegible] seigné le français, ont voulu que [illegible]rs enfants soient des "Canadiens véritablement bilingues".

## NÉO-CANADIENS

M. et Mme Marcel [illegible]nade, Néo-Canadiens d'origine française, étant d'avis que l[illegible] de française commence trop tard dans les écoles publiques, se sont joints aux couples anglais, pour former cette entreprise scolaire. Les parents payent $30 par mois pour permettre à leurs enfants de suivre un cours mettant le français à l'honneur, en classe et même en récréation, mais qui comprend aussi d[illegible] sujets d'enseignement [illegible] l'arithmétique et la musique.

Cette année, l'école compte deux classes de première année, [illegible]s maternelles, et un jardin d'enfants. L'an prochain, on commencera une classe de deuxième année, et l'anglais sera [illegible] chant de [illegible] tant un [illegible] ce.

THE TELEGRAM JULY 4TH 1964

# rench From The Word Go

all from English-speaking families and have learned their French in the past two years.

LES PETITS

In a recent demonstration the 5 and 6-year-olds went through exercises in grammar, spelling, reading, word recognition and arithmetic.

Not one word was spoken in English by the students who appeared, to enjoy the spectators. When a student answered what seemed like a hard question the onlookers applauded.

Many of the parents did not understand what was being said but beamed with pride when they thought their child answered a question correctly.

Two groups of children performed. The first group 6-year-olds under the guidance of Mrs. Jacques Spooner have been studying French since October. A second group supervised by Miss Nicole Corbi learned French in the school's kindergarten program.

TWO YEARS OLD

The Toronto French school is now in its second year.

It was started by a group of parents who felt their children were not adequately challenged in the regular public schools.

Every subject taught is on a more advanced level than in the public schools. In the exhibition the children showed they could write and print, multiply, and conjugate irregular French verbs. Courses in history and geography are also taught.

"Our children achieve levels which are considered by most authorities to be unusual in Canadian education," said Harry Giles, a member of the school's board of directors. "According to the Supervisor of Elementary Education for one school board in Quebec, our children are reading at above Grade 4 level for that province."

He said students at the school were doing mathematics compara[illegible]e 3 students in [illegible]

DIFFERENT METHODS

"The teachers at the school," Mr. Giles [illegible], "use several [illegible] teach one [illegible] way, if one [illegible] with a child, he s[illegible] a chance to learn fr[illegible] ferent method.

Each year the school [illegible] add one more grade [illegible] eventually they will have a complete school.

[illegible] Davis, 6, replies in French.

XERO COPY XERO COPY XERO COPY

THE TELEGRAM - SEPTEMBER 24TH 1964

# French Comes Easily

By ISABEL GORDON
Telegram Staff Reporter

The grade two children quickly worked the problem (½x2) + (½x4) = 3 correctly and answered it in French.

They were the 15 Grade two English-speaking children who earned not less than a 72 per cent average in Grade one last year in Toronto's French School.

They already know short division, adding and subtracting horizontally and vertically and the five times table — work normally taught in grade four.

They spoke, read and wrote the fluent French of their age group, switching just as easily to speaking English.

This year the school will use a day-and-half of English classes, probably in history.

The children have fulfilled the aims of the schools two founders Harry Giles and Clara Brigden.

"I was bored with school until I reached university and I didn't want the same thing to happen to my two children," said Mr. Giles.

"I watched too many of my bright and gifted friends drop out of school because they were bored. So I wanted my children to have interesting, stimulating classes, as well as French."

Toronto's French School started three years ago with six pupils and a French-speaking friend in a North Toronto home.

September, 1962, it opened with 16 pupils and one

Looking over the shoulder of Mark Burns, 7, Margaret Bentham, 7, studies the progress of his drawing during their art class. They attend a children's French class at the First Unitarian Church at St. Clair ave. and Avenue rd.

teacher in St. Leonard's Church at $300 a year per pupil.

This September 260 children are enrolled — mostly children of professors, teachers, actors and members of the arts, but also of ordinary people. "But first come, first served," said Mr. Giles. The children, aged three-and-a-half to eight, are in junior kindergarten to grade two, in the school's one main and four branches, under 12 teachers.

The teachers — four French-born, five Swiss, one Egyptian and two Canadian — receive the going wages of $4,200 to $5,200. Tuition fees now are between $375 and $400.

The founding families charge nothing for their administrative time and take no profit out of the school.

Textbooks come from Switzerland, France, England, Belgium and Quebec.

Teachers use whatever teaching method best suits the child; for instance reading by phonics, sight and syllables or arithmetic by the Cusinaire method, supplemented by Montessori. Children progress at their own rate.

The school's founders hope to raise funds to become an experimental school attached to the University.

THE TELEGRAM

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 9, 1965

# French With

By YVONNE CRITTENDEN
Special To The Telegram

A SCHOOL in Toronto where English-speaking pre-schoolers can speak between 1200 and 4000 words of French by age six. . .

A SCHOOL where Grade 2 students study Grade 4 level Canadian history. . .

OL where 3 year-olds learn to it the alphabet and numbers, and udy simple arithmetic. . .

A SCHOOL which bans English in the first two years of classes. . .

And a school which plans to throw in ussian and Spanish in Grade 3 next

behind this bold new experiment in education?

He's Harry Giles, 35-year-old Toronto awyer and father of three, who, fed up with Canada's attitude towards bilingualism and education and bored by his own public school experience, founded the unique Toronto French School.

The school started three years ago with six pupils and one teacher. Next year, its enrolment should reach 400 — a jump from 238 this year. And Giles' plan is to add a new grade each year to eventually take pupils up to university level.

## PROTOTYPE

The aims of the school? As Giles phrases it, "balanced bilingualism" and the hope that the school will eventually stand as a prototype for all French-language schools outside Quebec.

For a school so young, it has impressive credentials. It has a distinguished advisory committee of top University of Toronto educators, and the French Government has accepted its standards as those of a lycee in France.

It has a charter from the Board of Education and is incorporated as a non-profit organization. Most of its 16 teachers have French or Swiss backgrounds.

A child picks out French words which fit pictures she has been shown.

Here's how it operates.

"We start taking children as young as 3½ years old," Giles said, "and at the kindergarten stage they start learning French vocabulary and conversation, leading to a speaking knowledge of French from 1200 to 4,000 words by the time they reach Grade 1.

"They also learn simple poetry, printing alphabet and numbers, counting, adding and subtracting, besides the usual painting, songs, manual dexterity games and so on."

The whole program is taught entirely in French until the children reach Grade 2, when an English course is introduced as well.

## STAGGERING

"At the end of Grade 1, they've finished a program that is staggering in its implications," Giles said. "They read French at the same level as a French child reads its mother tongue."

He explained the aim of "balanced bilingualism" this way:

"We have to recognize that for nearly all the children, there is no French influence or exposure except in the school — of the 238 enrolled this year only about 12 children come from French-speaking homes.

"At weekends they play in English, speak nothing but English at home and all of the cultural influences are in English. Therefore, to achieve bilingualism the bulk of their formal education must be in French.

"It's nonsense to assume that we can become bilingual by learning French as a language at, say, 8 or 9," he said. "When we teach subjects in French while the children's minds are still fresh, they can accept it as easily as they accept English as babies."

Giles feels Canada is moving towards bilingualism without an understanding of the problems involved in teaching children.

## SPONTANEOUS

"Bilingualism has got to be for all Canadians, or it might create more problems than it solves for our children," he said. "And I feel our school represents the only spontaneous step taken by English-speaking Canadians out of a real and genuine desire for bilingualism.

"I was bored with school until I reached university," said Giles, "and I didn't want the same thing to happen to my own children. I wanted them to have interesting, stimulating classes as well as to learn French."

His own three children's educational futures are invested in the school — Christa, 4, is in the junior kindergarten, Kathy, 6, is in Grade 1, and David, 7, in Grade 2.

The school's experimental nature has had its critics, but they don't faze Harry Giles. "Some of these critics, themselves teachers, feel the school is too restrictive in its methods, but others say our teachers are too permissive!"

Take the Giles children: "They look forward to school," says their father. "They're not being forced, but they're learning good work habits, to pay attention and to work constructively."

Textbooks for a school with such advanced ideas have been a problem, and most of them have been imported from England and Europe.

"Most French-Canadian texts are strongly oriented towards religion, and we haven't found what we consider adequate English-language texts here," Mr. Giles said.

"For instance, as our students are about two years ahead of their contemporaries in public schools, we have to introduce the first Canadian history (Grade 4 level) in Grade 2."

## *RUSSIAN*

Giles plans to introduce Russian to the pupils when Grade 3 starts next year.

"We feel children who've started at the kindergaten level can cope with a harder language," he said, "and for those who start in Grade 1, we plan to introduce a third language such as Spanish because it is similar to French.

"Our teaching methods are unusual — but they do work. The children learn to read in three ways — not only the sight or 'look-see' method, which has less merit when used by itself, but by the basic phonetic and syllabic methods."

He claims that children seem to become more intelligent when taught in the bilingual fashion. "Children in our Grade 2 this year are in the middle of their fifth general reading book in English, which has taken them to Grade 4 level by Ontario Public School standards."

At the rate the registrations keep growing, the main problems in the future will be finance and an ever more urgent need of accommodation.

The school is presently located in five centres — Don Mills, Willowdale, North Toronto, Rosedale and St. Clair-Avenue rd., but Mr. Giles feels it soon will have to rent more commercial space, which is expensive.

He hopes for eventual Government

Julia Bentley and Kathy Giles work at their French lessons in the school.

support and plans to have a public fund-raising drive next year.

"We don't want to be regarded just as a private, independent school," he said.

"I hope what we're doing may have some influence on the development of bilingualism in this country, and I hope the provincial government will eventually do research work with us in that whole area — not because of any political expediency but because of the soundness of the idea."

And what effect do these bilingual tots have on the rest of their English-speaking families?

"There's been a bit of jealousy among some older brothers and sisters, apparently," Giles smiled. "Quite a few parents have transferred or are planning to transfer them to our school.

## ADULTS

"We've even had considerable agitation from the parents to begin an adult training course. This may start next year."

For children who come in later without knowing any French, there are special classes in Grades 1, 2 and 3 which are kept even smaller than the usual 15 to help them catch up.

Fees are $350 a year for pre-schoolers, and $400 for grade school, and Giles feels these are low compared to most private schools.

What about a child whose parents leave the country or go to another part of Canada where he doesn't have the opportunity to keep up his bilingual schooling?

"Some parents arrange for private lessons so that the children can retain their French," Giles said. "The only problem would be that the child would likely be a year or two ahead of his classmates in another school."

What does Mr. Giles himself feel about bilingualism as it's been approached up to now by English-speaking Canada?

"Bilingualism will never unite Canada if it's used as a political tool," he said. "It should be made to enrich our children's education and lives."

To him, the success of his school indicates a need for reform in our education system.

"Education on a mass basis seems to hinge on the idea that we must aim at the lowest common denominator, and I'm convinced that this is bad — not only for the bright students but the slower ones as well."

## *After French — Russian And Spanish*

A class at the Toronto French School is put through its mathematical paces by Miss Yolande Terrattaz. For the first two years of classes, all lessons are taught in French.

Children can practise their native tongue, English, at home. Founder of the school, Harry Giles, says he plans to introduce Russian and Spanish to Grade 3 pupils next year.

The school accepts children at 3½ years old and expects 400 pupils next year.

★ THE BATTLE for bilingualism has been increasing this year, not only in Quebec but in English Canada, as parents protest the lack of French classes in school. NOW there's a man in Toronto who's doing something about it. He hopes his school will become a prototype for the rest of Canada . . .

XERO COPY XERO COPY

THE GLOBE AND MAIL, THURSDAY, JULY 15, 1965

# One Man Campaigns for Bilingualism

One man's personal battle to make Canada genuinely bilingual will be expanded when the school year opens.

Harry Giles, 35, a Toronto lawyer, is opening new branches of his Toronto French School, and is adding Grade three to the school's curriculum. Pupils in the new grade, will be taught Russian in addition to the two languages now used.

While the idea of having seven-year-old moppets racing around and yelling in three languages may make some parents blanch, it apparently delights others. The private school has grown in three years from five pupils taught in a basement recreation room to more than 400 pupils in northern and eastern Toronto.

Mr. Giles says that requests for branches have come from parents in Londin, Hamilton, Kitcchner and Oakville and the school is considering opening in Waterloo in September.

Present plans call for continual expansion — adding one grade a year — until the school is up to the graduate university level.

The school's emphasis, Mr. Giles says, is not simply on providing a bilingual education; the content and style of teaching are radically different than those used in public schools.

A Toronto French School pupil in grade two has already had his entire education in French and is starting one hour daily in English. He is taking English conversation, reading with a vocabulary of 4,000 words, writing his own stories and taking spelling and elementary grammar. He has history lessons (the history of numbers and of writing as well as of people) and has already mastered writing in grade one. His French vocabulary is about 6,000 words; he is studying French grammar and spelling and reading in French, the poetry of Victor Hugo, Rimbaud, Daudet and others.

His arithmetic lessons include: addition, subtraction with two and three columns of numbers, finding fractions of numbers higher than 100 and [illegible] the French metric and monetary systems. Music [illegible] and harmony playing.

(By contrast, a child in an Ontario public school is reading about 800 words, is printing, taking part in see-and-tell lessons — describing his own experiences to his classmates — is counting to 1,000, writing numbers to 100, learning linear measure and liquid measure; learning to tell time and distinguish Canadian coins.

Mr. Giles is scrupulous in avoiding criticism of the Ontario Department of Education: "Some people in the department are trying to effect as quickly as possible, improvements to the educational program and they are motivated by the desire to give Ontario the best educational system in North America. I don't think they're succeeding but they're trying."

Mr. Giles believes that "education problems are at the bottom of matrimonial difficulties, economic ill-health, juvenile delinquency and the inability to retrain people who desperately need retraining.

"Only in North America are children incapable of reading. We introduce it too late and out teachers are not good enough."

Mr. Giles says the differing standards between his school and others is a different outlook on education.

"In North America the child is seen as needing enormous security; he is put in an environment he already knows, but which in no way stimulates him, and in which there is less for the brighter child."

Mr. Giles, who sets the courses at the school, believes that children should be constantly stimulated. In grade two, students are using an Oxford dictionary designed for 11-year-olds and this is meant to whet their appetites for using encyclopedia.

"Motivation — this is the crux of educating children. You have to make them respond to what they're being taught and then to act on their own.

"At the core of all this is an educated, informed, intelligent, excited person — the teacher. The teacher is the forgotten person in education today. She is too often loaded with large classes and tied down with administrative paperwork.

"Our teachers get slightly less than the going rate of pay in Toronto schools, but they know they are creating something of great value; their relationship with their pupils is unique and with the school administration it is that of fellow venturers."

Toronto French School classes reflect the Giles' belief in excitement: drama, mime, games are used extensively. There is no one system of education: some methods are borrowed from Dr. Maria Montessori, who established schools with heavy academic programs for the very young, and from methods are used in England, France, South Africa, Russia and Switzerland.

Most of the school's English tests come from England, French tests from all over the world.

Mr. Giles was deeply involved in establishing a law practice when his wife, who is a professional psychologist, and some neighbors hired a teacher or five children.

At the end of the school year, the group defined its goals and Mr. Giles decided to embody his educational views in a school. He took over as principal (a post he still holds in addition to his law work) and by the end of the first full year about 30 students, mostly children of teachers and university professors were enrolled.

"If we have failed in North America it is because we have placed more emphasis on placing the child in the social stream than in motivating him to develop," Mr. Giles says.

"As a Canadian nationalist I firmly believe in biculturalism and bilingualism; apart from the consideration of a French-speaking province, there is the fact that the French culture is a great one and that potentially having this as part of our own culture is the thing that will make this country go. Should we fail to become seriously bilingual, this country will not continue to exist.

"The misunderstandings between French and English-speaking Canadians will continue if we make the mistake of setting up French-language schools only for French-Canadians. In that way we will destroy Canada — we will make sure that it breaks up."

Mr. Giles says that the reason for so much misunderstanding between Quebec and the rest of Canada is that, literally, we do not speak the same language.

MONTREAL STAR - JULY 27TH 1965

# Toronto Children Enjoying French

Canadian Press

TORONTO — Balanced bilingualism is the aim of the Toronto French school, where English-speaking pre-school children can speak between 1,200 and 4,000 words of French by the age of six.

It's a school where three-year-olds learn to print the alphabet and numbers and study simple arithmetic, a school that bans English in the first two years of classes.

Henry Giles, 35-year-old Toronto lawyer and father of three, said he started the school three years ago because he was fed up with Canada's attitude toward bilingualism.

The school began with six pupils and one teacher. Next year its enrolment should reach 400. A jump from 238 this year. Mr. Giles plans to add a new grade each year, eventually reaching the college level.

"We start taking children as young as 3½ years old," he said in an interview. "At the kindergarten stage they start learning French vocabulary and conversation, building to a speaking knowledge of French from 1,200 to 4,000 words by the time they reach grade 1.

All in French

"They also learn simple poetry, printing the alphabet and numbers, counting, adding and subtracting, besides the usual painting, songs, manual dexterity games and so on."

The whole program is taught entirely in French until the children reach grade 2 when an English course is introduced as well.

"At the end of grade 1, they have finished a program that is staggering in its implications," Giles said. "They read French at the same level as a French child reads its mother tongue."

He explained what he called "balanced bilingualism:"

"We have to recognize that for nearly all the children there is no French influence or exposure except in the school—of the 238 enrolled this year only about 12 children come from French-speaking homes.

"At weekends they play in English, speak nothing but English at home and all of the cultural influences are in English. Therefore, to achieve bilingualism the bulk of their formal education must be in French.

"It's nonsense to assume that we can become bilingual by learning French as a language at, say eight or nine," he said. "When we teach subjects in French while the children's minds are still fresh, they can accept it as easily as they accept English as babies."

His own three children's educational futures are involved in the school. Christa, 4, is in the junior kindergarten; Kathy, 6, is in grade 1, and David, 7, in grade 2.

He says that children seem to become more intelligent when taught in the bilingual fashion.

"Children in our grade 2 this year are in the middle of their fifth general reading book in English, which has taken them to grade 4 level by Ontario Public School standards."

He hopes for eventual government support for his private school. He also hopes it will eventually stand as a model for all French-language schools outside of Quebec province.

THE TORONTO DAILY STAR - JULY OF 1965

# French school for Port Credit

[illegible] CREDIT—Local [illegible] open a [illegible] Toronto [illegible] the nur[illegible] and kindergar[illegible] this September.

Paul Statler, a meth[illegible] two pre-[illegible] school [illegible] [illegible] Queen [illegible]

[illegible] parents [illegible] nursery [illegible] to 4½ [illegible] kindergar[illegible] to on[illegible]

[illegible] the school is an alternative to having the pre-school children commute back and forth to the Toronto-based school or one of its five branches.

Curriculum of the French kindergarten at the school includes French vocabulary and conversation leading to a speaking knowledge of French with 1,000 to 1,800 words, reading readiness projects, counting from 1 to 100 and use of the Cuisenaire method, a new method of learning mathematics.

In nursery classes lessons are conducted in French where the children learn French songs and are introduced to elementary counting and arithmetic in the varied program.

The Toronto French School was founded in August, 1962 to provide an enriched bilingual education for children. It places a heavy emphasis on languages, science and mathematics.

It is registered as a private school under the Department of Education Act and also serves as a day nursery.

Brief

June 29th, 1964.

The Royal Commission on
Bilingualism and Biculturalism,
Ottawa, Ontario.

Dear Sirs:

Our School was created in order to bring about a greater measure of bilingualism and biculturalism. In the course of its development, the School has had to face many hurdles and these hurdles are the same hurdles which every school seriously concerned with bilingualism must face.

The brief contains a number of underlying assumptions, including the following:

(1) That Canada is in a uniquely favourable position in the western world in the possession of the French and English cultures as basic elements in our daily lives;

(2) That Canada is unlikely to survive as an independent country without more bilingualism and biculturalism in all parts of the country;

(3) That the spread of bilingualism and biculturalism is not practicable for most adults and that the only way to bring about a real and effective measure of bilingualism is to try to culturally support the second language, whether English or French, in areas in which that language is in a minority position, and to bring into existence the means by which all children in Canada will be able to participate in both cultures, as mother cultures, without imposing unreasonable hardships upon the children's parents;

(4) That the French language in Canada will decline unless it plays an important part in all sections of this country, and that the decline would be a serious loss for all of the people in this country.

In August of 1962, a number of parents decided that they would attempt to establish in Toronto a school with good standards in which the basic language would be French. The aim was the production of well educated, bilingual students. At the time of the inception of the school, there were a number of schools in the Metropolitan Toronto area in which French was taught, but in all cases the standards present were those established by the Department of Education in Ontario. These standards are minimum standards which have not produced students having that degree of excellence in English and French which was thought necessary. At the same time, the schools were limited to Roman Catholic children whose mother tongue was French. No provision existed for children from the homes where the mother tongue was English but whose parents wanted French for the children.

In establishing the school, the problem of curriculum and methods created great obstacles. We first examined Ontario texts but we quickly found that these were not adequate for our purposes. In our first tentative year, almost all of the text books for our Grade I were drawn from those used in the Province of Quebec. The Quebec texts employed, listed in Schedule A, were fairly good but they had errors in French, misprints and were oriented towards Roman Catholic schools. It became quickly apparent to us that for us to set up a non-denominational program, we could not rely upon Canadian texts. We, accordingly, began to examine texts and programs from Switzerland and France. The Lycee Francais de New York, like other schools in London, England, and Washington, prepares children for the college entrance examinations in English or the Baccalaureat examinations in French. A large percentage of these children have come from homes where English was the mother tongue. It was clear the levels achieved in both languages were amply satisfactory and we began to adopt the program of these schools, making some changes in keeping with the situation in our own country. The texts and program adopted are set forth as Schedule B. The new Grade I program has proved to be an unqualified success, with children from English-speaking homes reading and reaching levels now reached by French language children in Quebec Province at the Grade III and IV level. Most of these children, who had French in kindergarten, are now speaking and thinking in the French language as if it were their mother tongue.

We also set up a Grade I for children who had previously no French whatever. The children in this class also managed to complete the same program as the children in the regular Grade I. The program was organized and run in a different manner and it started later, but the results were, nevertheless, very satisfactory. For our Grade I's, however, no precedent existed in all of Canada and it was necessary for those responsible for the program to develop the methods, find the texts, and establish the program. This represented a monumental task which, while it produced satisfactory results, had to be brought into existence at enormous personal sacrifices on the part of those concerned with the problem.

After some years of experience, we have also developed a Grade II of very high standards, which is, in the main, founded on that of France. This program is described in Schedule C.

Although the grade school program is of great importance, the pre-school program is its foundation. No school in Canada was ever in a position to offer useful suggestions as to how the problem might be approached. Initially, our approach was hit and miss and was based on trial and error. Gradually, some pattern began to develop and extensive readings on methods employed outside of Canada in South Africa, Sweden, France, Holland and Russia began to effect our program. Our vocabulary lists were composed of words drawn from vocabulary texts employed in kindergartens in France, plus a large number of words drawn from "Le Francais Fondamental", which seemed appropriate to the pre-school child. The methods were those of common sense and our teacher's experience and adapted methods used elsewhere. (For a summary of these approaches, see Schedule D). Except in the Soviet Union, it would seem that no serious attempt has been employed at the pre-school level to produce children which would be reasonably bilingual in a second language by the time

they entered Grade I. Most of our method conclusions fitted in with the theories of the Nursery Educators in respect to the pre-school child, but, essentially, the theory ran into the teeth of most professional educators and a large number of psychologists. Because of our results, we have helped to establish that the opponents of childhood bilingualism are wrong. In Quebec, the chief centre on bilingualism (perhaps under the assumption that our school catered solely to French language children) advised us not to introduce the second language until Grade V. This has been the main approach in Ontario as well, with most educators being agreed on introducing the second language at the 5th Grade. The only apparent reason for this is that in Switzerland it is customary to introduce the second and third languages at this level. In this area, as in most areas, far too little had been done by education in this country. The general approaches employed in some other countries are set forth in Schedule E.

There were many reasons why some educators were opposed to childhood bilingualism, including the following:

(1) In those schools which were seriously inclined to bilingualism (i.e., the schools for children whose mother tongue was French), teachers often attempted to teach a language in which they were not competent and which was not their mother tongue.

(2) Texts in French have often not been suitable, with the result that texts in English were employed but instruction remained in French.

(3) The same old methods, which have failed for fifty years, were applied.

(4) Some psychological reports seemed to imply that childhood bilingualism created more problems than it solved.

(5) In English speaking Canada, there was a failure to recognize the importance of the French language as a means of enriching the heritage of the whole country. In French Canada, there was a fear that the earlier introduction of English would result in the French speaking child rejecting his cultural heritage for economic advantage.

(6) The professional educators have been ignorant of what has been taking place outside of this country in the many areas of education.

In the main, the psychological reports are now balancing out and the adverse criticism of infant bilingualism seems to have been founded upon social, economic, or emotional factors rather than upon anything else. The adverse reports seem to be based upon poor immigrant children who were Mexican, Puerto Rican, etc., who were experiencing the problems of social disorganization and poverty as a group which judged itself to be inferior. These children often had to struggle with poorer teachers and seldom, if ever, did special methods exist for dealing with their language problems. A list of significant reports in this area are to be found in Schedule F.

In the establishment of any program, the existence of good teachers is fundamental. How is an Ontario school situated in Toronto to find good teachers? One might advertise in the Toronto newspapers but few, if any, teachers would result. We first advertised in a Quebec pedagogical periodical. We received over eighty applications for teaching posts from this. We hired one of these and she was, and is, an outstanding teacher who made a significant contribution to the school. Many who applied did so in letters in which they made one or more grammatical errors of some consequence. How could we process teachers who lived six hundred miles away, without facing enormous costs? We solved the problem by drawing our teachers mainly from Europe. In France and Switzerland, 80% of the teachers who applied could be hired.

With texts, programs and teachers, we were driven from Canada. It is a sad commentary on a country when a school, distinctly Canadian, has had to go beyond its borders to that extent. At the present time, there is too little serious interest in meaningful bilingualism in Canada and too little serious work being done to bring it about. The problem is a complex one which will require the expenditure of money and the work of dedicated people who believe in the evolution of these concepts. Although education is a Provincial matter, the Federal Government will have to act in the interests of national unity in the creation of instruments by which very serious work can be done in the area of formalizing texts, programs, methods and teachers and the dissemination. The problems are complex and will require many years of serious work, with the steadily changing programs, before the end is achieved, but some things can and should be started now. The steps to be taken should not be solely directed towards the French speaking persons outside of Quebec. If that is the proposed approach, then it is safe to predict that any attempts in that area will waste a great deal of money and will be a complete failure. If bilingualism and biculturalism are to mean anything at all, then these ideas can only be worthwhile if they are open to all.

The Federal Government should:

(1) Establish for English speaking Canada a centre in Toronto (preferably endow our own school) to help develop methods, programs, texts and teachers of French, in the creation of bilingual schools and students. This centre would, initially, certify as to the standards of excellence of the teachers trained at school and provide schools across Canada with teachers on whom the hiring school could rely. As the school developed, local branches could be set up in the other English speaking provinces. This type of centre should be headed by an English speaking Canadian.

(2) Establish in French speaking Canada a centre in Montreal or Quebec City to adapt and develop methods, programs, texts and teachers for French speaking Canada. This school would help serve the needs of French speaking Canada and it should be directed by a French speaking Canadian.

(3) Each of the centres would be concerned with programs which depart radically from current standards in Canada. At the present time, many of the children who proceed through our elementary and secondary monolingual systems are virtually incompetent in that language. If we are to keep current standards and take part of the time now directed to instruction in the English (or French) language and apply this time to the other language, our already low standards will drop, producing illiteracy in both languages.

(4) As other schools - public, separate or private - adopt an adequate proportion of the standards and reach adequate levels in bilingualism, they would receive subsidies through their Board of Education or to their school. Texts could be provided at the cost of the Federal Government.

(5) In the alternative to (4), those parents who send their children to bilingual private schools could deduct their fees from taxes or that portion of their realty taxes attributable to public education at the elementary secondary school and university level, if bilingual.

In the writer's opinion, much of what has been said on this subject, even by the Commission, is nonsense. Bilingualism is impossible in this country at the present time because we lack the methods, the program, the texts, the teachers and the will. It can only be created through the children. It is time that the means for a future bilingualism are created, and this commission has in this brief many of the necessary recommendations for a serious beginning.

Yours truly,

W. H. GILES,
President,
The Toronto French School.

## SCHEDULE A

French I. Conversation, reading, writing, diction, poetry, and vocabulary.

Texts Mon premier livre de lecture, Forest et Ouimet
Mon deuxieme livre de lecture

Arithmetic I. Addition and subtraction in written and oral problems.

Texts Mon cahier de calcul, lre annee, lre partie et 2e partie, F. S. C.

History I. A simple introduction to the early history of Canada, and a simple history of France.

Texts Chez les indiens, C. S. V.

Mon premier livre d'histoire de France, Personne, lstra.

Geography I. An introduction to geographical terms.

L'A B C de la geographie lre annee, Dagenais

Music and Art Singing, mime, drawing, painting and handwork.

## SCHEDULE B

### Douzieme (Grade I)

French I. Converstion, reading, writing, diction, poetry, vocabulary, and elementary grammar.

Texts include:

Mico Mon Petit Ours, M. Goupil, Istra in 2 vol.
Methode active, : Lettres mobiles avec les Albums du Pere Castor, Flammarion.
Mon Cahier de Lecture, Fourne, Hachette.

Arithmetic I. Conventional and Modern Mathematics, including the Cuisenaire Method, to the level of addition, subtraction and elementary multiplication in written and oral problems.

Texts include:

Cahier de Calcul 1-2-3- lre annee, lre partie Beaudry, Beauchemin.
Cahier de Calcul 1-2-3 2$^{e}$ partie, Beaudry, Beauchemin.
Mathematiques avec les Nombres en couleurs les nombres de 1 a 20 et jusqu'a 100.
C. Gattegno, Editions Delachaux et Niestle.

History I. An elementary history from the French point of view.

Texts include:

Mon premier Livre d'Histoire, Personne, Colin.

Geography I. The rudiments of Geography and geographic terms.

Texts include:

L'A B C de la Geographie lre annee, Dagenais
L'A B C de la Geographie, 2e annee, Dagenais

Art and Music

Handicrafts, pottery, drawing, water colours

Singing, mime and the Carl Orff system of Music.

## SCHEDULE C

### ONZIEME, (Grade II)

**French II** Conversation, reading, writing, diction, spelling, poetry, vocabulary, grammer.

Texts include:
- Lisons, Cours elementaire lre annee, Houblain, lstra
- Belles Pages de Francais Ferry, Larousse,
- Ma Grammaire, Ferry, Larousse
- Mon cahier de Lecture, Fourne, Hachette
- Mon Vocabulaire Initial, Picard, Colin

**Arithmetic II.** The units of the metric system including the franc, metre, centimetre, kilometre, litre, centiletre, hictoletre, gramme, kilogram, continued addition, multiplication and division, the study of geometric figures, including the square, the rectangle, triangle, circle and cube.

Texts include:
- Mathematiques anec les nombres en couleurs: Manuel A & B, C. Gattegno, Delachaux et Niestle.

**History II.** An elementary history of France from the French point of view, and a general history from the English point of view.

Texts include:
- Images et Recits d' Histoire de la France, Chaudanges, Delagrave,
- History First Series, Book II - From Romansto Normans, A. F. Titterton, Ginn & Co.

**English I & II.** Reading, spelling, poetry and vocabulary

Texts include:
- The Pancake, Beacon Reading Series, Ginn & Co.
- Careful Hans, Beacon Reading Series, Ginn & Co.
- Briar Rose, Beacon Reading Series, Ginn & Co.
- William Tell, Beacon Reading Series, Ginn & Co.

**Geography II.** Elementary Geography.

Texts include:
- Ma Geographie en Couleurs, Valette, Nathan

**Science** A history of sound and communication, the influence of the Magnet and the telephone in English with a study of biological and psysiological terms related to every day life and observation in French.

Texts include:
- The telephone: Henry Briton, Widdifield and Nicholson (Educational) Limited
- Lecons de choses, Orieux, Hachette.

**Art & Music** The Carl Orff system of music, singing, mime, handicrafts, pottery and watercolours.

## SCHEDULE D

### Methods

At the pre-school level our approach can be best called the "active method". The children are taught in the second language from the very beginning and after a very short time the teachers cease to understand requests in English. In the nursery, (or junior kindergarten) the children are not permitted to converse with each other in English after Easter. In the kindergarten, English conversation between children ceases by Christmas. The children and the teacher each play an active and dramatic role, with individual situations known to the child being acted out in French. This includes stories which are not told but acted, by the teacher, and the students. If a child is learning an action verb, it acts out that verb. In the learning of the name of an object, it uses the object, or a facsimile of it. The pre-school play material we have relates to the experience of the child. From the beginning the child is taught to think in French, and from his teacher (after the first day in kindergarten, and the first week in junior kindergarten) hears only French. Words are not introduced separately, but in natural context and a noun is introduced with its gender. The verbs are acted out: "I stand" and the child stands, - "You stand" and another nearby child stands, - "he stands", etc. The child learns to use sentences properly, by learning whole, if short sentences. The play acting sequence, used with fully developed sentences, seems to result in a ready acquisition of the language at the pre-school level. This summary is necessarily short, but it suffices to say that the method works, and works well. When it is not applied, then the children acquire fluency at about one half the speed, and they learn to speak only haltingly. The key to our approach is based on the research of Piaget, which has been re-affirmed by our experience in the language learning area, that learning is more effective when the pupils are actively engaged in the learning situation, as opposed to sitting like little robots and just listening. Active involvement produces a better learning situation than a static approach in this area as in others.

## SCHEDULE E

### Bilingual Systems

| | |
|---|---|
| U. S. S. R. | Russian is taught as a second language, either from the second half of the first grade, or in the second grade, according to local conditions and thereafter until the 11th grade. |
| UNITED KINGDOM - WALES | The second language, English or Welsh, is introduced at about the age of 7-8. |
| SWITZERLAND | As a general rule, the second language is introduced at the level of the 5th grade. |
| SWEDEN | English is taught in Grade IV. |
| SOUTH AFRICA | From the age of five the second language is introduced to at least the minimum of 25% of the total teaching time available, and this is increased wherever possible. |

SCHEDULE F


1. Bilingualism in The Americas - Einar Haugen Ph.D., University of Alabama Press, 1956

2. Bilingualism and Biculturalism, Soffietti, Journal of Educational Psychology, 46:222-27, 1955

3. Bilingualism - Some Psychological Considerations - Ministry of Education, Report of the Central Advisory for Education, P. 40 - 48

4. Bilinguality and Emotional Adjustment: D. T. Spoerl, Journal of Abnormal Psychology 38: 37-57, 1943

5. Bilingualism: H. T. Manuel, Encyclopedia of Education Research, 1958 pp 146-149

6. Bilingualism - Psychological and Cultural Considerations Ministry of Education, The Place of Welsh and English in the Schools of Wales

7. Psycholinguistics, S. Saporta, cd., Holt, Rinehart & Winston 1961

   Especially: The Influence of Language Acquisition Contexts on Bilingualism - W. E. Lambert, J. Harelka, and C. Crosby

   The Bilingual Individual: E. Haugen

8. Some Effects of Bilingualism upon the Intelligence Test Performance of Puerto Rican Children in New York City. Anne Anastasi and Fernado A. Cordova, Journal of Educational Psychology, Jan. 1944

9. The Differential Effects of Word & Object Stimuli on the Learning of Paired Associates, C. C. Wimer and W. E. Lambert, Journal of Experimental Psychology, 1959 pp 31-36

10. Social and Psychological Variables in Learning Hebrew Anisfeld and W. E. Lambert, Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 1961 pp. 524-529

11. A Pilot Study of Aphasia among bilinguals, W. E. Lambert and S. Fillenbaum, Canad. J. Psychology 1959 pp. 28-34

12. Motivational Variables in Second Language Acquisition Robert C. Gardner and W. E. Lamber, Canad. J. Psychology 1959 pp. 266-270

13. Attitudinal and Cognitive Aspects of Intensive Study of a Second Language: W. E. Lambert, R. C. Gardner, H. C. Barek and K. Tunstall

14. A Review of the Literature on the Effects of Bilingualism Upon the Measurement of Intelligence: N. T. Darcy, The Journal of Genetic Psychology, 153, 82, 21-57

15. Effects of Childhood Bilingualism I, J. V. Jensen, Elementary English 39 (2) 132-143 1962

16. Effects of Childhood Bilingualism, J. V. Jensen, Elementary English 39 (4) 358-366, 1962.

MINISTER OF TRADE AND COMMERCE

LE MINISTRE DU COMMERCE

CANADA

OTTAWA 4

April 8, 1965

Mr. Royce Frith,
The Royal Commission on
Bilingualism and Biculturalism,
O t t a w a.

Dear Royce:

I am writing you in your capacity as a Commissioner. I am in the process of reviving a project which has lain dormant for too long.

In the summer of 1964, Mr. W.H. Giles, President of the Toronto French School Inc., wrote to Mr. Sharp about the Toronto French School. Mr. Sharp was interested at the time, but somehow our pursuit of this matter bogged down.

I notice that the School made a submission to the Commission on June 29, 1964. I would appreciate it if you feel you could give me your views as to how Mr. Sharp might usefully proceed to support this endeavour.

Yours sincerely,

Michael J.McCabe
Executive Assistant

750-468

8 Clarendon Avenue
Toronto 7, Ontario
May 20, 1966

Mr. Royce H. Frith
10 Ancroft Place
Toronto, Ontario

Dear Royce:

Thank you for taking the time earlier this week to talk about the French School.

To help brief you more fully than I was able the other night, I am enclosing the following:

(1) The Board of Governors--a very new body that is beginning to take some of the burden of Mr. Giles, the founder and President.

(2) A memo outlining the shape of the school to Grade VIII which has Board agreement as an objective as to size. The fee prognosis is strictly blue sky at this point.

(3) A sheet of current statistics about the school.

(4) Copies of correspondence that has passed between Mr. Hellyer, Minister of National Defence and the School.

In regard to this last material, you might well be able to offer us some assistance. You will see we have put some pressure on the Minister since we still have no quarters for our necessary classroom expansion next year. Mr. Sharp has also been pressed by Mr. Borden. If you think there is some way you might help here, perhaps we could talk.

You asked specifically if you could see the Fingold property and visit the school during classes. Since Mr. Giles is in France (an International Schools Meeting) until early June, I suggest we put it off for two weeks.

Kindest regards,

[illegible]
[illegible]

P.S. You will be hearing shortly from the French Week Committee about that event. I hope your plans change and you will be able to attend.

750-468

February 28, 1966

The Honourable Mr. Paul Hellyer
Minister of National Defence
Department of National Defence
Ottawa, Ontario

RE: Toronto French School Facilities

Dear Mr. Minister:

On the recommendation of your Mr. Lee and Col. Wain, we are here placing a request before you on behalf of The Toronto French School for assistance in obtaining classroom facilities from your Department for the Toronto French School. The School currently utilizes rented facilities and must continue with this type of arrangement at least for the next two years until its major fund raising plans come to fruition. (These capital fund projects will begin this Fall and continue through centennial year. The funds acquired will be used for the acquisition of School property.)

This request is predicated on the possibility that there may be space available currently or space that could be made available within your Toronto establishments for rental on a short term basis, with a possible option to purchase.

The School currently has

| Students | Classrooms | Space |
|---|---|---|
| 491 | 20 | 9,100 sq. ft. |

By September, 1967, (for the academic year 1967/68) the School will need further facilities for an additional 290 students.

| Classrooms | Space | Recreational/Administration area |
|---|---|---|
| 10* | 9,200 sq. ft. | 3,300 sq. ft. |

bringing the total facilities needed as of September 1, 1967, for 700 students to

| Classrooms | Classroom Space | Other | Total Space |
|---|---|---|---|
| 30 | 18,000 sq. ft. | 3,500 sq. ft. | 21,500 sq. ft. |

* As these additional classrooms are for full day students, the ratio of students to classrooms is lower than in current facilities which include half day nursery and kindergarten students.

continued.....

Our specific request then, is this.

Could your Department loan to the School either

(1) The incremental facilities for a period beginning September, 1966, through June, 1967, or preferably

(2) The total facilities required for the same period?

These facilities would be used for cultural activities (adult education, library, films, etc.) as well as educational purposes.

The current quarters are near Yonge and St. Clair, a location that has proved central enough to cope with the transportation problem for young children coming from many parts of the city. Any new facilities for the School would need to be reasonably central if the current students are to continue in attendance.

Your rooms land and teachers space facilities would certainly be excellent from the viewpoint of our location requirements.

BACKGROUND

The Toronto French School

In order that you may have the fullest possible information about the institution, I am attaching a copy of our letter to the M- and M- Corporation. You will see that the School's goals are far-reaching and go well beyond the "private school" concept. Our thesis is that to develop true bilingualism and biculturalism in an English-speaking community, we must not only educate the children in the second language from an early age, but must at the same time develop the cultural environment in which that language can be used and experienced in the community. This is why the school is intended to grow into the kind of "cultural centre" as Deerfield in the United--offering French library, film, theatre, discussion group facilities to children and adults in the community at large. We are also evolving a teacher-training program as a public service to improve the teaching of French in Ontario. In fact, this program will be initiated this summer in spite of our present facilities--which are woefully inadequate in terms of physical accommodation.

The only public support that the institution now receives is a modest annual grant from the Department of Culture of the Province of Quebec. Overtures have been made to the Federal Government for support on the basis of the School's cultural aspects and the Honorable Mr. Lamontagne (the then Minister) was encouraging but felt obliged to wait for the report of the M- and M- Corporation before taking any action. The Provincial Government (Mr. William Davis) indicated to our Mr. Giles, President of the School, and Mr. Curtis, Chairman of the Board of Governors, that it would not be opposed to Federal support to the School on a cultural basis.

continued.....

It is clear from the attached Brief to the M-and-H Commission that the School has moved into a significant new phase of its expansion. The program is established, with a growing reputation nationally and internationally. The numbers of students enrolled already, the lengthy waiting-lists, all testify to the remarkable results the School is achieving.

The parents' list (which is part of the Brief) clearly indicates not only the breadth of backgrounds from which School families have come but also indicates the large number of families with academic and professional futures who are supporting the School.

We know that these families share a concern not only about education, but, as well, about the future character of their country.

It is not impossible that the School's bilingual educational and cultural expansion will serve as models for the growing bicultural that will influence the shape of our nationhood.

We are not asking that your Department support us either as an educational or cultural institution but that you enter into a leasing arrangement with us with the possibility of property purchase at some future date.

We hope, Mr. Minister, that you will find it possible to assist in the development of this project which we believe has lasting significance to our national life.

Very truly yours,

F. Dante V.I. McLeay
The Toronto Jewish Schools Committee

mjt'd.

750-468

MINISTER OF NATIONAL DEFENCE MINISTRE DE LA DEFENSE NATIONALE

Ottawa 4, April 18, 1966

Dear Mr. Davis and Mr. Heisey:

I am sorry to have been rather a long time in writing to you again about the Toronto French School and its need for accommodation. However, I wanted to be sure that the situation was thoroughly investigated and I have now had an opportunity to study a report on our property situation in Toronto.

The accommodation which we are occupying at present falls into two categories - the property which we own and the property which we have on lease. The leased property, of course, could not be made available for your use because we only rent what we need for our own immediate purposes. With regard to the owned property, the situation is rather fluid at present because we are in the process of disposing of certain buildings which will not be required after the Moss Park Armoury opens next month.

As you know, we are required by statute when property becomes surplus to our needs to declare it at once to the Crown Assets Disposal Corporation so that it can be sold or otherwise disposed of. Consequently my first suggestion would be to recommend that you should advise the Corporation of your needs because they of course dispose of property which becomes surplus to the needs of other government departments in addition to the Department of National Defence. The address is - Crown Assets Disposal Corporation, 219 Argyle Avenue, Ottawa. I am sending a copy of this letter to the Honourable C.M. Drury, because the Crown Assets Disposal Corporation comes under the jurisdiction of the Department of Defence Production. In this way, he will be aware of your interest.

Messrs. F. Davis and W.L. Heisey,
The Toronto French School Committee,
1375 Yonge Street,
Toronto 7, Ontario.

.../2

Naturally the moves into the Moss Park Armoury will also result in other moves affecting property which we own, but at the moment our needs have not been completely clarified. Unfortunately therefore I am not in a position now to suggest how your needs may be met even on a short-term basis. In the long term, however, I am sure that the best course would be to deal directly with the Crown Assets Disposal Corporation as I have suggested. If in the future it should become apparent that we can assist you with accommodation, you may be sure that we shall let you know.

I should like to add that I think the work you are doing is very important and timely. I have read your brief to the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism with great interest and wish you every success in this significant venture which you have undertaken.

Yours sincerely,

Paul T. Hellyer

Paul T. Hellyer

750-468

# The Toronto French School Inc.

Business Office. Suite 919, 2 Carlton Street
Toronto 2, Ontario

May 18 ,1966

The Honourable Paul T. Hellyer,
Minister of National Defence,
Ottawa, Ontario.

Dear Mr. Hellyer:

With reference to your letter of April 18th I have been in contact with Mr. [illegible] Blaard, General Manager of Power Waste Disposal Corporation and he advises us that no facilities are currently available and inquiries to rental facilities are considered there are only residuals through your Department. I would be grateful therefore that if any space should become available if you could lease it to us.

At the present time we face a space crisis which stands as a very dangerous threat to the school's continuance. I am confident that these will be resolved but which will not be resolved unless we obtain some really accommodation or unless we get some assistance from you.

It is our hope that some space might be available in the property at 1207 Avenue Road or a wing of [illegible] A small part of it might be available to us on a lease basis. This would enable us to continue the school pending the acquisition of adequate facilities and pending assistance from other sources.

Yours sincerely,

W. Harry Giles.
President.

WHG/ss

760-468

From: W.L. Kelsey

To: Mr. H. Giles

THE SHAPE OF THE SCHOOL - Stage I

This will set out some proposals about the size and financing of the Toronto French School in its first stage up to and including grade VIII. They should serve as a basis for discussion if not agreement.

It is therefore recommended that

1) The basic grade school should have between 650 and 700 students in grades I to VIII and that this body should be housed in one establishment (a possible pattern of classes is set out in Exhibit I).

This total establishment would require about 37 classrooms with related facilities and about 45 teachers. In addition, a full time administration staff of 5 would probably be needed.

Given the fact of our first grade IV in 1966/67, this full complement would be reached in September, 1970, for the year 1970/71.

Classroom requirements (for grade school only) prior to that time will probably run as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| 1966/67 | 19 |
| 1967/68 | 24 |
| 1968/69 | 29 |
| 1969/70 | 32 |
| 1970/71 | 37 |

Conclusion: Any property purchased should have expandable classroom capacity to 37 and if agreed, the Board should look to this objective.

2) Pre-school Enrolment should be targeted at 300 students, requiring 10 teachers, out of which each year 120 students (or less to permit special grades) should be brought into the grade school.

Ideally, if classroom facilities were available in the grade school, some of these pre-school classes could be held there. Most, as in the past, can be in local churches, etc.

Discussion

A rough assessment of revenues and expenditures for 1970/71 suggests that fees will have to be increased by 20 per cent by then to cover operating expenses, assuming capital expenses are handled separately.

continued.....

This seems a tenable future but it is based on very general and perhaps suspect ratios. The intervening years could prove exceedingly difficult ones for covering operating expenses if in any proposed establishment, the revenue from fees is short of 1970/71 because of less than optimal usage and a high ratio of non-classroom to classroom space.

This indicates

1) The short term operating position will need careful review in any new property.

2) That any capital drive should aim for coverage of expansion needs to full class potential.

LH:lh
5/9/66

EXHIBIT I

TORONTO FRENCH SCHOOL - SCHOOL SIZE PROJECTION TO GRADE 8

| | Classes | Students | Avg. #/Class | Proj. 66/7 Avg. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Grade 8 | 3 | 57 | 19 | |
| 7 | 4 | 64 | 16 | |
| 6 | 4 | 75 | 18 | |
| 5 | 4 | 80 | 20 | |
| 4 | 5 | 90 | 18 | 14/18 |
| 3 | 5 | 100 | 20 | 18½ |
| 2 | 6 | 108 | 18 | 17½ |
| 1 | 6 | 120 | 20 | 19 |
| | 37 | 694 | | |
| Less short classes each year | | 24 | | |
| | | 670 | | |

Pre-School 10 (teachers/rooms) 300

WLH:lh
5/9/66

EXHIBIT II

REVENUE ESTIMATE IN 1970/71
(based on current fees)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Grade pupils | - 675 at $400 | $270,000 |
| Pre-school pupils | - 300 at $375 | 112,500 |
| Operating donations | | 5,000 |
| Auxiliary/cultural centre revenues | | 20,000 |
| | | $427,500 |

PROBABLE STAFF EXPENDITURE 1970/71

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Grade school teachers | - 45 at $5.5M | $247,500 |
| Pre-school teachers | - 10 at $5.0M | 50,000 |
| Principal | | 10,000 |
| Chief administrator | | 15,000 |
| Office staff | - 4 at $4.5M | 18,000 |
| | | $340,500 |

Non-salary expense in 1964/65 = 33% of teacher salaries
Non-salary expense in 1965/66 est. = 46% of teacher salaries

If we assume 1970/71 non-salary expense to be 45% of teacher salaries, then we must add $135,000 to above bringing operating expense to

$475,000

This suggests, by 1970, fees will have to rise about 20% to cover operating expense.

MLH:lh
5/9/66

750-428

# BOARD OF GOVERNORS - THE TORONTO FRENCH SCHOOL INC.

MAY 12, 1966

W.L. HEISEY - Acting Chairman
8 Clarendon Avenue — Office: 924-4661
Toronto 7, Ontario — Home: 921-7231

W.H. GILES - President
319 Lytton Boulevard — Office: 366-6444
Toronto 12, Ontario — Home: 489-2851

R.L. BORDEN
Contact Director - Finance Committee
19 Balding Court — Office: 362-7311
Willowdale, Ontario — Home: 222-2448

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Contact Director - Property Committee
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J.C. EATON
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Toronto 5, Ontario — Home: [illegible]

MRS. A.Y. EATON
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Toronto 10, Ontario — Home: [illegible]

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Toronto 12, Ontario — Home: 483-9282

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Toronto 12, Ontario — Home: 489-6873

K.L. MARKON
500 Avenue Road — Office: 368-1322
Toronto 7, Ontario — Home: 923-3119

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P.O. Box 100
H.H. Robertson Ltd.
Hamilton, Ontario — Office: [illegible]

DR. G.N. RANKING
354 Russell Hill Road — Office: 368-7227
Toronto, Ontario — Home: 485-7765

ROY SHARP, Q.C.
64 Glengowan Road — Office: 368-6135
Toronto 12, Ontario — Home: [illegible]

750-468

FACT SHEET - TORONTO FRENCH SCHOOL

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Locations: | 1375 Yonge Street | - 12 classrooms |
| | St. Leonard's Church | - 1 classroom |
| | Yonge Street United Church | - 4 classrooms |
| | Beth El Synagogue, Don Mills | - 4 classrooms |

Facilities also in use in Port Credit.

Enrolment: 240 in grade school--Grades I to III.
About 200 in pre-school levels.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Fees: | Grade School | $400 annually |
| | Pre-School Classes | $350 annually |

Current Financial Status:

The school will generate a $15,000 surplus in the current school year which will bring its accumulated surplus to about $40,000. 1966/67 is forecast to yield a $5,000 operating surplus with no fee increase planned.

Capital Funds and 1966/67:

"French Week" at Yorkdale Plaza - June 15-18 - is expected to yield $50,000 toward a capital building fund.

If a property for permanent location of the school can be found in the near future, an extended capital fund raising project will be undertaken beginning this summer. French Week revenues should more than provide funds for an option.

Two permanent locations are of interest:

(1) Fingold Estate - Bayview Avenue opposite Lawrence
Large house on 5 acres of very attractive grounds, adjacent to York University. Owners claim refusal of $5,000,000.00 offer and property is not officially for sale. Most attractive of all sites seen. Present house allows possible immediate use of 14-15 classrooms for our classroom requirements. Domestic ceiling heights create some lighting problems. Some additional plumbing required. Connections to sewer required. Extensive classroom lighting required.
Additional smaller spaces for offices and storage rooms, services, etc.
House built in 1929 has traditional character but could have very pleasant atmosphere. Well maintained till now.
Projection room in basement with built in 35 MM equipment. Entertainment facilities.
Excellent grounds. Present zoning allows schools but should be checked.
Taxes (1966) $4200.00. Heating $1500-$2000.
Transportation and location are excellent.
Should be considered.

(2) Shaarey Shomayim Synagogue - St. Clair Avenue West
Investigated by Committee.
Large open spaces and probably 20± immediate classes with minor alterations.
Two auditoriums and kitchens lead to dining and cultural centre facilities.
Gymnasium.
No land, and interior alterations.
Although possible would be expensive and awkward.
1 acre park 1 block away.
Transportation excellent.
Estimated price $500,000.00±
Try for one year rent with option to buy would be worthwhile possibility.

Rental facilities are being pursued for 1966/67 at:

(1) Wickstead Avenue, Leaside
An excellent temporary space in a poor location.
5500 sq. ft. space, 1.50 per sq. ft.
Two year lease only. Play areas adequate.
Minimum of alterations provide 8-10 classrooms and large high play area, good washrooms, office facilities.
T.T.C. available nearby at morning and evening only. Entry is past heavy industry and not attractive.
Reasonable as an alternative to other locations but not attractive.
Present zoning C-1+ must be changed.

(2) Kilgour Estate
Excellent army buildings and spacious grounds make this area ideal in many ways.
Gymnasium and swimming pool.
Rental only and then only politically as it is not Metro Park policy to rent grounds.
Should try for one or two year basis.
Transportation to Sunnybrook entrance would have to be supplemented by shuttle service.
Pleasant learning environment.

(3) Avenue Road Hunt Club
Being pursued with Department of National Defence. See attached correspondence.

WLH:
5/20/66

NO.: 750-468

TITLE: (Additional Material To Brief Previously summarized)

AUTHOR: The Toronto French School
W. H. Giles, President.

Addition to Brief of 10 pages ;

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REMARKS OF ANALYST:

This material consists of supplemental material to the brief submitted on June 30, 1964, a summary of which was made some time ago. Included in the new material are, - a copy of a letter from the school's president to the Education Editor of the Toronto Star giving a short description of the present ( September 1964) condition, enrolment and teaching staff of the school; and secondly an eight page history of the school, its policies and practices.

This material is really an appendix to the main brief to which it is a supplement rather than a modification.

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ATT.: RESEARCH

-The letter to the education editor of the Toronto Star for a short description of the school's present status.

-The eight page history for a summary of the institution's experience and policies.

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No.: 750-468

TITLE: Brief submitted to the
Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism by
The Toronto French School

AUTHOR: W.H. Giles
President
The Toronto French School.

Brief of 5 pages; 5 recommendation(s)
plus 6 pages of schedules

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REMARKS OF ANALYST: This well presented submission gives a picture of the problems associated with the organization of a bilingual, non-denominational school in an area such as Toronto when this is done as a private venture without government assistance. The particular problems associated with this venture involved adequate staff and texts suitable to non-denominational schools. The Brief concludes with the observation that despite difficulties bilingualism can be successfully achieved through children, but that proper methods, programs, texts and teachers along with the right will must be brought to the task.

The brief itself has not been summarized because of its brevity.

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ATT.: RESEARCH The whole brief should be examined for the insight it gives into the problems involved in setting up a bilingual school especially with regard to teachers and texts.

Schedules A, B & C: Curricula & Texts
Schedule D: Methods in teaching second language to young children
Schedule E: Bilingual systems in the U.S.S.R., U.K.-Wales, Switzerland, Sweden and South Africa
Schedule F: Bibliography on bilingual education

Verify:
How many children and staff members are involved in this school?
What is the background of its founders and supporters?

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# BRIEF

# TO THE

# ROYAL COMMISSION ON BILINGUALISM AND BICULTURALISM

from

Janet Katherine Tieman

Chapleau, Ontario October , 1965.

INTRODUCTION

I live in the small Northern Ontario town of Chapleau, a community which has a sizeable French Canadian population. I should like to record my personal observations and feelings on the matter of French Canadian - English Canadian relations - both as a citizen of this community, and on the broader scale, as a citizen of Canada.

I do not claim to be an expert, but only one Canadian who is passionately interested in seeing her country solve the problems of today to face the challenges of another day. It is this concern, and perhaps also the intolerance I have seen all around me that has prompted me to write to this Commission.

Though of British ancestry myself, I have become increasingly impatient with the less than generous behavior of many of my English speaking compatriots. There are criticisms to be made on all sides in the present crisis, but I am more familiar with what I consider to be the shortcomings of the English majority.

I have divided this brief into four sections under the headings of education, communications, historical, and constitutional questions. In many instances I may be underscoring the obvious, or saying much that is repetitious to this Commission, but if these are inadequacies, the Commissioners will perhaps forgive them.

EDUCATION

While education will be the final solution to this problem, it is at present one of the touchiest issues.

Two things are desirable here - education in the French language for French minorities, and some French taught to English speaking students. In Ontario, most communities with a French Canadian population now have French schools at the primary level. These are Roman Catholic separate schools and only French Catholics attend. On the other hand, not many public grade schools provide instruction in French. The Ontario Department of Education has laid out a course of study providing for the introduction of French in public schools - beginning at Grade 3; but education being a local matter, it is still up to the individual municipal school boards to introduce this program in their schools. In many of the larger municipalities in Ontario this is being done. Several cities have had French classes for Grades 7 and 8 for a number of years, and are introducing the teaching of French at lower grades all the time. The scarcity of qualified French teachers seems to be a valid argument for not offering this program, but this is not always a legitimate complaint. Here in Chapleau, my husband and I tried to approach our Public School Board with a brief requesting

the introduction of French teaching - at any level in the public school. We had secured the services of a fully qualified French teacher, but the local board would not even give us a hearing. I mention this to illustrate that although progressive legislation may be passed at the top, the decisions of the Ontario Department of Education (with all its good intentions) are not binding on individual boards.

The Secondary School here shares a similar problem. Though the Ontario Department of Education prescribes that its courses in literature, composition, history, geography and others may be taught in the French language in Ontario High Schools, these subjects are taught only in the English language here. In a community of about fifty percent French people, the only French offered in the local high school is the ordinary introductory French course taught all over the province. This means that students graduating from the French grade school and wishing to continue their education in French are forced to leave home and attend French boarding schools in other centres. They must make the choice to do this, or take their secondary education entirely in English. When the French people in Chapleau talk of plans to build their own high school, the English-speaking citizenry is outraged because they say the community cannot support two secondary schools. This is true, but it occurs

to practically no one to suggest making the existing high school bilingual. This is again the case of forward-looking legislation at the provincial level not being taken up at the municipal level. I do not advocate the abandonnment of municipal autonomy in education, but we shall have to overcome a good deal of prejudice and suspicion in local areas before making some of these programs workable.

A partial solution would be for people who think as we do to try to get elected (or appointed, as the case may be) to these school boards and work from there to introduce French in the schools. This might only be partially effective as school boards generally reflect the opinions of their electors.

COMMUNICATIONS

The role of communications in this "great debate" is second only to that of education. All our systems of communications - press, radio, television, and books, etc., have a job to do in informing and educating the public on developments in the present crisis. But communicating is a two-way affair. There needs to be an enlightened and receptive public for our various systems of communications to do an adequate job. This is, of course, where education comes in.

Still, I feel the news reporters have an obligation to be fair, accurate and responsible in their reporting of news events. From my own observations this is not always the case, and reporters, writers and analysists leave themselves open to criticism when they do not measure up to this responsibility.

A constant complaint against the press is that it publishes the sensational - particularly on the front page. This is true not only in the field of French - English relations but in other fields as well. I do get the impression, though, that the French issue (separatism, etc.) gets more than its share of headlines and publicity, particularly in the English Canadian press. (Similarly, English Canadian extremist opinion receives more publicity than it warrants in the French Canadian press.)

The visit of the Queen to Quebec in the fall 1964 was an example of this extraordinary publicity given to events in Quebec by the English press. Very much was made of the fact that some French Canadians were not in favor of her visit, and that militant French separatists might pose a threat to her life. This news story was blown beyond proportions in such a manner that the whole world was watching the North American visit of the monarch with anxiety. And it certainly had the effect of solidifving English Canadian feeling against Quebec. There were people all across Canada who were unenthusiastic about the visit of the Queen at that time, and likewise, there were French Canadians who were very much in favor of it, but one never read of these people in the press.

Another example of this sort of coverage occurred in connection with the Victoria Day celebrations in Montreal in May, 1965. Several hundred representatives of a separatist group gathered in Lafontaine Park in Montreal, and though there was little or no vandalism, extraordinary coverage was given to the speeches and events of the day - especially on the front pages of Toronto newspapers. But in coverage of that day's events, I noticed buried in the back pages of the Toronto papers a news story about vandalism and sheer destruction by a

large group of youths in a Toronto public park. The youths set fire to one or two public buildings and then ringed the area so that police and firemen could not combat the damage. This story did not make Page One probably because it did not have the separatist and political overtones of the Montreal story, but it was a much more serious affair. Both stories concerned gatherings of youths in public parks in Canada's two largest cities on the same day.

Representatives of newspapers claim that they only give the public what it wants to read, and that they do a good job in trying to explain the constitutional and political issues of the day to their readers. This may be true to some extent (and here we come back to the question of a more enlightened public) - yet contention, argument, friction, and conflict rate the news space with the average editor - not the accomplishments quietly achieved, and I think they must assume some of the responsibility for mis-direction of the public attention while purporting to report the whole spectrum of Canadian activities.

The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, with its radio and television link from coast to coast probably does the best job of informing listeners and viewers of the pressing contemporary social and political questions in Canada. I think we have in the CBC the greatest potential

instrument for unity, without uniformity, in the country. It has the facilities, the personnel, and the mandate to do the job, and perhaps needs only a receptive audience to be completely successful.

And yet, the CBC news department is guilty of many of the same charges as are levelled at the press.

In June of 1964, the huge St. Jean Baptiste Day parade in Montreal was infiltrated by six separatists at the head of the procession - shouting separatist slogans and aiming some of their vituperation against Governor-General Vanier who was in the audience. The CBC national television newscast at 11:00 that evening carried a lengthy film and story of these youths, but not one word was mentioned about the rest of the parade which lasted for several hours and which was peaceful and successful. The one small nasty incident was blown up and presented in such a manner that the ordinary viewer was left with only that one impression of the whole St. Jean Baptiste Day festivities.

In the winter of 1965, I heard on CBC radio's "Capital Report", Robert Needham, then Ottawa correspondent for the London Free Press, giving a summary of the week's events on Capital Hill. He began his report by saying that around Parliament Hill these days a French

Canadian will invariably announce "Je demande .....". When he went on to translate this as "I demand....", I feel he engaged, not only in bad reporting and inaccuracy, but outright irresponsibility. I was very surprised to hear this on the air, and especially on the CBC.

At the Couchiching Conference in the past summer of 1965, Dr. Eugene Forsey gave an interesting speech in which he exhorted both French and English Canadians to work together, and made specific proposals to each group. In the course of his speech, which I heard in its entirety, Dr. Forsey said that if French Canadians insisted on forming their own state, then English Canadians' answer should be in Oliver Cromwell's words "In the name of God, go!" The day after this speech, I heard a CBC newscaster say that Eugene Forsey had told French Canadians to leave Confederation, and the Cromwell reference was quoted. That was all there was in that news item -(CBC radio, 4:00 p.m., Tuesday, August 3, 1965.). Knowing that Dr. Forsey had said so much more, I was outraged that this was all that would be reported.

I am certain that the Research staff of this Commission can provide many more examples of the kind of thing I have mentioned, but these are instances I have noticed myself.

In reading the Preliminary Report of this Commission, I am struck by the number of people in English Canadian centres who have told the hearings that they are sympathetic to French Canadian desires but that the press or other communications systems have just not kept them informed, and that they are unaware of what Quebec wants or what is going on in Quebec at the present time. This may be another indictment against the press, but I still find this difficult to understand because there are so many books on the market today explaining the "Quiet Revolution", what is taking place in Quebec today, and what Quebec wants. Anyone with any interest at all in this current debate can get books at any public library or the nearest book store which will be most informative.

HISTORICAL EXPLANATIONS

In the Preliminary Report mention is made of "an actual barrier between the cultures" over and above the barrier presented by language. This is undeniably true, and a cursory survey of incidents in Canadian history can offer some explanation.

French Canadians, in their settlements on the banks of the St. Lawrence were concerned mainly with the protection of their rights (under the Quebec Act of 1774, the Constitutional Act of 1791, the Act of Union of 1840, and within Confederation) and for almost two centuries paid little attention to events outside the borders of their own area. English Canadians, on the other hand, were constantly looking outward - to England and Europe, and to the United States. Indeed, a continuing fear and jealousy of the giant republic to the south had the effect of making English Canadians cling to the protection of Britain, while congratulating themselves on the privilege of participation in the British Empire, where they imagined themselves to be part of a great group of people destined to rule the world. It was with this attitude that English Canada leapt to Britain's side in all her wars - caring little for the justice or cause of the fight.

French Canadians can be pardoned in retrospect if they did not see the need for Canadian participation in the Boer War. Canadian territory was not threatened, and it is difficult to see what conceivable interest Canada had in that South African conflict, outside an emotional involvement in Britain's cause.

This same dichotomy of attitudes was apparent in Canada in the two world wars. French Canadians could not become enthused about battles which again did not threaten Canadian territory(though this was more true of World War I, an essentially European conflict, than of World War II). Yet the English Canadian position in both cases was to rush to Britain's side practically without question. The Conscription Acts of 1917 and 1944, to which French Canadians were violently opposed, produced a great deal of bitterness. It is not for me to say whether these measures were necessary, but I do get the impression from some wartime speeches that many English Canadians were less concerned with winning the war than in making French Canadians fight.

These differences of attitude took their toll of good will between the races, and many a political upheaval was the result.

On the purely domestic scene, the hanging of Louis Riel in 1885 probably stands out as a high point (or a low point) in the split between English and French Canadians. The whole affair was the result of monumental ineptness, and it grew out of all proportions, but it pitted Ontario's strong Orangemen against French Catholics in the fight for Riel's life. With Riel's execution, French Canadians thought they saw the Orangemen's first successful step in trying to oppress and destroy them. Indeed, the Orange Lodge in Ontario in the late 1800's was a powerful political force, and the Lodge's harassment of French Catholics probably had the effect of forcing French Canadians to withdraw further to themselves for protection of their rights and language.

With the diminuation of the importance of the Orange Lodge in the last few decades, this sort of overt threat has been reduced.

The British Empire, too, within this century, has ceased to exist in its old form. The many English Canadians who formerly thought of Empire first, Canada second, are a small minority today. English Canadians, by and large, are concerned primarily with the interests of their own nation (as French Canadians always have been).

Still the barrier exists. I have found personally in any group where discussion of English-French relations comes up, so many people automatically stiffen at the mention of Quebec and French Canadians, and by no means all of them owe any loyalty to an Anglo-Saxon heritage. At every turn, they will refer to Quebec's authoritarian church system which has kept its people in ignorance and submission for decades, and they cite in disapproval Quebec's antiquated system of education not as yet geared to the 20th century, and nor as yet turning out qualified people for the positions French Canadians think they should occupy.

While these arguments have unquestionably had validity in the past, the repetition with which I still hear them leads me to believe they are dragged into discussions now partly as a disguise for individual prejudices.

The French Canadian reliance on the church for leadership can be so easily explained, in that after the conquest in 1759, the Church was the only French institution left to the French people in North America (the British taking over all civil and military administration). It was natural that they should have

looked to this quarter for guidance in all areas of their lives. If, at the present time, French Canadians no longer desire this complete reliance on their religion, new organizations and institutions should be available to fill the need formerly satisfied by the church.

The argument regarding education does not carry the weight it used to because French Canadian universities have been graduating specialists in every field in recent years. With the province of Quebec establishing a governmental Department of Education, the signs for progress in education in that province are even more encouraging.

CONSTITUTIONAL QUESTIONS

The British North America Act, Canada's written constitution, seems very outmoded in that to read it literally would give one a totally inaccurate picture of the actual operation of government in Canada today. A constitution which makes no mention of the office of Prime Minister, the Cabinet and political parties (the effective means of government in this country) would on the surface seem to be out of date and useless. But these institutions and the method in which they operate - the Prime Minister and Cabinet having seats in, and belonging to the majority party in the House of Commons and having the support of that body - are part of the unwritten portion of our constitution. That the unwritten portion or non-documentary aspects of the constitution provide for effective government probably accounts for the fact that there has not been a great demand for the scrapping of the BNA Act. It has served us well in that it provided for the union of the four original provinces, and made provisions for the entry into Confederation of additional provinces; and enumerated and allotted in detail, specific powers to the federal and to the provincial governments.

If we have been able to make our constitution workable through usage, convention, and modern legal interpretation, there really seems to be little point in doing away with it entirely now. If the various governments in Canada can agree on an acceptable amending formula, and therefore patriation of the BNA Act, then it should serve us well for years ahead. To start rewriting the entire constitution now might lead to complete disagreement and disharmony. It has taken us long enough to develop an amending formula - to develop a whole new constitution looks like an almost impossible task at this stage.

I, personally, do not accept the theory of associate-state status, or separatism, as the means whereby Quebec can achieve its aims. I think this can be done within the framework of the existing constitution, as is presently being done. Revision of the BNA Act may be necessary, but the present government in Quebec has shown that it can make rapid and substantial progress with its program within its existing powers. French language and cultural rights are already entrenched in the province of Quebec, and for the further rights and powers the province seeks, it can look to Dominion-Provincial conferences rather than to constitutional

change, as it is now doing successfully.

I do not think we need an amendment to the BNA Act to define Quebec's status within confederation. It is an established fact that Quebec is not a province like the other nine. As the "homeland" of the French Canadians, one of our two founding races, it IS different.

The trouble with the associate-state theory, along with its other impracticabilities, is that it would isolate French Canadian culture to the one geographic area, and would therefore isolate the French minorities in the rest of Canada.

Many Canadians have become alarmed at what they think is an erosion of the powers of the federal government - not by constitutional definition, but by negotiation by the provinces at the conference table. I feel that this is a fear without foundation or else a misconception of confederation. It is certainly true that the country has become more decentralized than the Fathers of Confederation probably intended, but the country has expanded and changed so greatly in the intervening 98 years. The vastness and diversity of Canada dictates widely different attitudes toward, and treatment of equally diverse regions. Provincial governments were originally set up as regional

governments, and with the increasing complexity of society and governmental function, they need more powers to act on behalf of their people. This is not to say that the federal government will become weaker in the powers within its jurisdiction. The situation has to be appreciated in light of the fact that we have two distinct levels of government - federal and provincial - and both can be equally strong in their fields.

There can be some overlapping though, without harm, as the need arises. For instance, in the field of international agreements, it seems natural to me that the province of Quebec should want to do some direct negotiating with other countries on matters within its jurisdiction. French Canadians have a new awareness of their link with the international French-speaking community (about 150 million people), and there are practical and emotional reasons for their wanting to deal directly with them. Agreements on education, technical assistance, etc., with other French-speaking countries will help Quebec further fulfill its "national" ambitions within the provincial structure. As leading French Canadian spokesmen point out, our federal government represents more an English speaking entity than French speaking, and is naturally more oriented to

the English speaking world. If we all accept the theory of equal partnership (between the French and English in Canada), then we shall have to accept the intention of the Quebec government to deal directly with other countries on matters within its jurisdiction.

Earlier in this section, I said that I saw no need to do away entirely with the BNA Act to accomplish the changes we wish and must have in the country now. Where I do envision the scrapping of the Act is in the event that Canada should become a parliamentary republic. I am convinced that this will come about, though perhaps not in the near future. In that event, however, the BNA Act will not do. A literal reading of the Act suggests that Canada is governed autocratically by the Sovereign or her representatives, and where in fact this is not the case, all legislation in the country is still enacted in the name of the Crown. When the British monarch is no longer our head of state, then there will probably have to be a brand new constitution.

CONCLUSION

The fundamental point in this crisis (in its simplest terms) is that the French Canadian wants to be accepted in this country. He has always desired this, but in the 1960's he has been more vociferous in his demand for it. The English Canadian majority in this country, with notable exceptions, has not always been magnanimous or tolerant, and the onus to a great extent is now on the English Canadians to make generous overtures of acceptance to the French Canadian minority.

Much of the problem that exists between French and English Canadians, however, is due to ignorance of each other and misunderstanding on both sides.

So many English Canadians view French Canadian aspirations as a demand for bilingualism on the part of every Canadian. This is, of course, not the case, but English Canadians must understand the necessity for bilingualism in the federal civil service, and in other administrations serving a bicultural population.

Similarly, the French Canadian request for equal partnership in government and business does not mean equality of numbers, but rather equality of opportunity. The French Canadian must have equal opportunity to participate in all areas of Canadian life.

On the other side, French Canadians tend to lump English Canadians all together as one group (as even I have done for purposes of this discussion). But English Canadians are anything but a homogeneous lot. Within what is loosely termed English Canada, there are various ethnic and national groups, and people whose regional interests separate them in attitudes from those of other geographical areas. In any given situation, residents of British Columbia may be inclined to think or act differently from people in Ontario, and people on the prairies have different concerns from those in the Maritimes. The bond of common language and history is not nearly so strong among English Canadians (as among French Canadians) and their outlook and feelings are more prone to be shaped by common economic or geographical interests and problems. I think French Canadians generally do not readily understand this. Frequently I hear a French Canadian saying "You English Canadians should do this.....", but we English Canadians in these times almost never act as one mind or one group.

Education, better communications, and increased social contact should help to correct many of these misunderstandings. Barring social contacts, individuals depend largely on what they read and hear in forming

their opinions, and as I have already pointed out, what they read and hear is not representative, and often inaccurate. It is gratifying that many of the Centennial projects include large scale exchange visits of French and English Canadians. These programs may be far more effective in bringing about good will and understanding than all the exhortations for moderation from our leaders.

In conclusion, I should like to say that we all, French and English Canadians, do have a great deal in common. We are all Canadians, and though in the past, history has divided us, the future could unite us. The things we hold in common should be stronger and more durable than the issues which separate us. If we can minimize our differences or come to a better understanding of them, then, hopefully, there will be no problem.

A BRIEF FOR PRESENTATION TO THE
COMMISSION ON BILINGUALISM AND BICULTURALISM
PREPARED BY

The Reverend Rupert Leslie Taylor, B.A, B.D,
Sometime Dean of Saskatchewan

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Commission:

It is indeed a privilege to make this presentation to your Commission. I shall briefly sketch the beginnings of settlement in Western Canada in which there was a form of Bilingualism and a close and intimate relationship between the French-speaking and English-speaking communities. This was due to the basic difference in the types who settled Western Canada and those who first settled in what is now the Province of Quebec.

May I first pay tribute to the debt which the whole of Canada owes to the first French explorers, Raddison, Grosseilliers and the LaVeranderies. The latter discovered an area larger than France and opened up the country for the fur-traders who later travelled the waterways from Montreal right through to the Caledonia district in the Western Mountains.

The first contacts between the French and English were on the routes of the Fur Trade from Three Rivers in Quebec, Fort Albany on James Bay and York Factory. These meetings were marked by the rivalry of the several trading companies of the late eighteenth Century. The Journal of Donald McKay recounting his journey from Albany across Northern Ontairo to establish Brandon House in 1793 near the junction of the Souris and Assiniboine rivers records his despair of ever making as efficient and daring boatmen out of his Orkney crew as the French Voyageurs who swept past them on Lake Winnipeg.

Despite the rivalry between the traders of the North West and Hudson's Bay Company with their posts nearly always within hailing distance the servants visited to and fro and were always ready to help each other in a crisis.

As time went on this rivalry grew more bitter and the clash in temperament between the French and English was a cause for anxiety. But when, in 1821, the amalgamation of the two companies took place there was sufficient good-will to make possible the combining of the man-power of both companies.

As a result of this union French and English servants worked together on the boat brigades and when the time of retirement came they settled side by side in the Red River valley. They formed their communities on the basis of language and religion and therefore established their own churches and schools and traditional community life. Education was provided by the churches according to the policy of each. There were a few private schools for those who could afford the fee.

There was a free and easy mingling between the members of these closely knit communities because they knew each other in the Fur Trade and most of the people were able to speak French, English and Cree. My grandfather spoke all three languages equally well and his farm home was a rendezvous for his French neighbours and Indians who had known him as a school teacher often visited him.

The simple life of the settlers in the 1820's and later with common hardships and limited resources became more complex as time went on and the problems of social organisation changed with the sale of Rupert's Land to Canada by the Hudson's Bay Company. At this time the French-speaking settlers greatly outnumbered the English.

This was the reason that the settlers who lived Northwards along the Red River were willing to go along with Louis Riel's provisional government. These settlers, with the exception of the Selkirk Settlers, had much the same background as the peasant stock from Quebec. Even the Selkirk Settlers had been crofters and were displaced from their small holdings. This made for a basic understanding and sympathy even though there was a marked difference in culture. It was hard for the dour Scots to go along with the free and easy attitude of the French to Sunday. This was the day for gaiety and sporting events with horse races on the Red River each Sunday afternoon. The tension which led to Riel's use of force was due to the influence of a few Ontario settlers along the Assiniboine river who brought along the Ontario-Quebec feud with them.

An added cause of friction was the new survey which seemed to threaten the original surveys by which the land holdings of the first settlers were established.

The first clash over the language question occurred in 1878 when Mr. Royal and his French-speaking Colleagues withdrew their support of the Government of Manitoba when the English speaking Majority refused to allow French as an alternate language in the legislature.

By this time the influence of the more highly organized church life with the ancient differences made for a further division. This was aggravated by the plebiscite in the Province of Manitoba to determine whether a dual or unified school system would be established. The preponderance of the English speaking community supported, as it was, by the anti-clericalism which first appeared at the time of the Riel uprising in 1869-70, and strengthned by the immigrants from France, resulted in the establishment of a single school system.

The main reason for the strong support of the ~~dual~~ system was the realisation that the Church schools had not the resources needed to provide the best education. With the limited numbers and the severe hardships of the early settlers it was generally recognized that a single school system would provide the best results without in any way handicapping the minority groups. I think it ought to be made very clear that the single school system in Manitoba is not a conspiracy on the part of the English-speaking community to deny any privilege to their French-speaking colleagues. I doubt very much that there is any feeling on the part of French-canadians in Western Canada that they need aid from the Province of Quebec to help them thwart the attempts of English-speaking and other nationals to swallow up the French-speaking minority.

The fact of the matter is that the French-speaking colonies from Quebec have been easily established and freely expanded in Western Canada without let or hindrance. So much so that there has been a deep anxiety on the part of the non-French communities because of the tendency of these new communities to live almost entirely to themselves under the influence of their own Church.

While this anxiety has never resulted in bitter feuds, it is a fact that they come to the surface each time there is an undue nationalistic agitation in Quebec. This does harden the attitude, as I have found on my recent travels across Western Canada, towards the citizens of Quebec. To a Westerner there seems to be ample evidence that down through the years the Quebec Block has succeeded in getting far more than its share of the political and economic advantages based on the relative number of French-speaking

to English-speaking Canadians in Canada.

One thing must be admitted at once, that is that there can be no going back to the simple ways of the first settlements. Understanding and friendship is much easier when numbers are smaller. But principles don't change. The basis of co-operation between the two main races in Canada must be understanding, sympathy and good-will. The trust which is needed doesn't just happen. It must be created. This can only be done by intelligent men who are willing to make the effort and give of their time and resources to foster deeper insights into the backgrounds and modes of thought of the two races. We cannot affort to sit back and let the bigots and agitators, of which there are plenty on both sides, have a free go at mudding the waters of discontent.

It is my personal opinion that your Commission has already made a massive contribution to a better understanding of the complexities involved in a multi-racial nation such as Canada is. The exposing and airing of prejudices reveals them for what these are - the products of little minds with purely selfish interests in view.

I have struggled over the years to remain bilingual and I know that with the best intentions in the world it is quite impossible to keep two languages unless there is ample occasion to use both. I have visited Quebec on several occasions and I have honestly tried to understand the problems my friends there have raised. But there seems to be a lack of the characteristic French logic and a super-charge of French emotionalism when sensitive issues are under discussion.

It has been my good fortune to travel abroad often enough to make me proud of the inheritance we share in Canada from the British Isles and France, and the other nations of Europe as well. But I am often hard pressed to explain intelligently the reason for the violence in this good land.

I am especially proud to be a fourth generation Canadian. And I believe that there is a bright and glorious future ahead for this young nation if we can restrain the hot-heads, and let men of wisdom and experience work together from all parts of Canada to establish good-will as a foundation for progress.

R. L. Taylor.

ADDENDA TO BRIEF PRESENTED BY The Rev. R. L. Taylor.

May I respectfully suggest that in my opinion the manner in which the phrase "apparently enjoying the game of numbers" found on page 99 in paragraph 94, as said. leaves an impression that there is a bias on the part of members of the Commission against the vastly larger numbers of non-French speaking people in Canada. If there is even the slightest ground for such a suspicion the value of the findings of this commission would be put in doubt. It might even add to the dangerous confusion which now exists.

The concept of an "equal partnership" between the French-speaking canadians and those who came from the British Isles, founders not only on the disparity of numbers, but, as well upon the diversity of people from Europe and Asia.

My reading of Sir Wilfred Laurier may not be that of an expert in history, but it seemed obvious to me that he faced the fact of the English-speaking majority with a political realism which is lacking in the leaders of French thought at the present time.

I recall the advice of the late Cardinal Villeneuve that if his compatriots wanted to take their proper place in the political, economic and commercial life on this continent they must learn to speak English.

Secondly, permit me, if you please, to underline the admission by the Hon. Jean Lesage, that the people of Quebec have brought many of their ills upon themselves. And I realise that this admission does nothing to alleviate the present tension in Quebec.

I am quite sure that it is almost impossible for a person living in Quebec to understand that in the West the fear of the Quebec block is one of the political facts with which Western politicians have to live. There is also resentment of Ontario's wealth but not the same fear of her political strength. Westerners are absolutely convinced that Quebec has always managed to get a fair share of the wealth which is in large part produced in the West. The Stamp Commission found that there were two funnels through which the surplus wealth of the prairies was drained eastward. One ended in Toronto the other in Montreal.

Concerning the indifference of Westerners to the French fact in Canada it ought to be made clear that this is due in large measure to the policy of segregation on the part of the Roman Church. As late as

1910 a young colleague of mine was removed from a class in French becuase the parish priest insisted that the French language was only for French-speaking children. It would be wrong to generalise from this particular, but this was not an isolated attitude but quite the normal one amongst a large part of the French-speaking population of the Red River valley, after the new-comers from Quebec out-numbered the Métis.

The first girl I ever escorted home from a dance was a pretty and charming 'demoiselle. She was a cousin of the two brothers and sister who provided such lively music that I followed them around. This was not only the last time she let me escort her, but it was the last time she appeared at a dance where there was any danger of mingling with English-speaking boys. My parents would probably have been a bit concerned had I told them. But this has now changed greatly.

The report in the Press of the presentation of the brief to this Commission by a group of 'Teen Agers from Quebec who hitch-hiked accross Canada was indeed pleasant reading. Mr. Lesage experienced the same hospitality, with a few incidents of frank discussion. We in the West are not sitting up nights scheming the economic or other destruction of Quebec. The welfare of Quebec is too closely related to our own to wish any harm to the citizens of that province.

Troisièmement, je voudrais bien présenter un morceau de l'evidence contre l'assomption de l'exposé prelininaire que la crise presente entre le monde Quebecois et le reste des cityoens canadiens est la plus dangereuse dans l'histoire du Canada. Ce n'est pas à dire qu'il n'est pas assez serieuse.

Le citation qui suit est de "La Vérité sur la Question Métis au Nord-ouest", écrit en 1889 par B.A.T. deMontigny, à la page 5.

"Les journaux anglais et protestants, imbus des préjugés et du fanatisme de leur race, déversaient à pleines mains, l'injure et l'insulte sur la cause Métisse et ses défenseurs. Avec une arrogance qui n'égalait que leur haine, ils ne parlaient ni plus ni moins, que d'abolir la langue française, déchirer le traité et les capitulations de Québec et de Montreal, et de faire par la force des armes, la conquête de notre Province.

La situation était tellement tendue, que l'on craignit pendant quelque temps un soulèvement général, une guerre de races, dont l'effet immediat eut été la ruine complète de la Confederation Canadienne.

Heureusement cette catastrophe fut prévenue, grâceaux conseils de personnes sageset prudentes qui réusirent à calmer l'effervescence populaire. Et à part quelques attaques pérodiques du journalisme haut-canadien lancées à notre adresse, la tranquillité reparut au milieu de nos populations."

A rough translation for the Press:

Thirdly, I would very much like to present a piece of evidence against the assumption of the Preliminary Report that the crisis at the present time between Quebec and the rest of Canada is the most dangerous in the history of Canada. This is not to say that it isn't serious enough.

The quotation which follows is from "The Truth about the Métis question in the North-west, written in 1889 by B.A.T. deMontigny, on page 5.

The english and protestant press, imbued with the prejudices and fanaticism of their race, cast freely abuse and insult on the Métis cause and its defenders. With an arrogance which is only equalled by their hate, they speak, no more no less, than of abolishing the French language, tear up the treaty and the conventions of Quebec and of Montreal, and to achieve by force of arms the conquest of our Provence.

The situation is so tense that one has for some time a general uprising, a war of races, of which the immediate effect must be the complete ruin of the Canadian Federation.

Happily this catastrophy was prevented thanks to the determination of wise and prudent people who were successful in calming the popular excitement, and apart from periodic attacks by the press of upper-Canada hurled in our direction, calm has now descended again.

NO: 760-603

TITLE: A brief for presentation to the Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism.

AUTHOR: The Reverend Rupert Leslie Taylor, B.A., B.D.,
Sometime Dean of Saskatchewan
Winnipeg, Man.

Brief of 4 pages ; No recommendation

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REMARKS OF ANALYST: Because of its brevity no summary has been made of this brief. Its main thesis is that goodwill can solve the problems which have arisen between the French and English speaking communities. The author's attitude is best expressed in his own words namely: - "That the single school system in Manitoba is not a conspiracy on the part of the English-speaking community to deny any privilege to their French-speaking colleagues". Furthermore the author says "I doubt very much that there is any feeling on the part of French-canadians in Western Canada that they need aid from the Province of Quebec to help them thwart the attempts of English-speaking and other nationals to swallow up the French-speaking minority."

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ATT.: RESEARCH

P. 3 Claim that the single school system in Manitoba was due in part to (a) anti-clericalism (b) immigrants from France.

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Brief #: 760-603

The Reverend Rupert Taylor

WINNIPEG

A. INFORMATION ON INDIVIDUAL

MEMBERSHIP

1. Sometime Dean of Saskatchewan University.

2. Claims contact with many French-speaking Canadians.

3. Bilingual

4. Family - beginning of Western Canada.

OBJECTIVES

1. To solve problems arisen between the French and English speaking communities by good will.

B. QUESTIONING OF WITNESS(ES)

p. 4 Re: The basis of co-operation between the two main races in Canada must be understanding, sympathy and good will (repeated several times throughout the brief.

Question Has the writer of the brief any specific suggestions to make with regard to the problem of achieving better understanding?

PROGRAMME & LIAISON

July 21, 1965

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PROGRAMME & LIAISON

CA1

ROYAL COMMISSION ON BILINGUALISM AND BICULTURALISM

1. Before embarking upon the more salient material contained in this brief allow me to extend to this Commission my humble gratitude for permitting this second opportunity to submit this material.

2. By condensing much of my original material I now intend to present this material under two headings:

(A) Discussion of the terms of references;

(B) The economic consequences of bilingualism and biculturalism.

TERMS OF REFERENCE

3. It is appreciated that the terms of reference, of course, are not the results of this Commission, however, it becomes necessary to comment upon evident short comings, particularly when so fundamentally disastrous to any cogent recommendations.

4. To any reader of the terms one must conclude that this Commission has been restricted to directing investigation along preconceived lines towards preconceived goals when it is requested; "to recommend what steps should be taken to develop the Canadian confederation on the basis of an equal partnership between the two founding races".

5. Here gentlemen you have been told what to find, where to change and what to arrive at rather than being equipped with terms which would allow you to make recommendations which may be opposed to the already prescribed conclusions.

6. Again in paragraph one of the terms you must find only "recommendations designed to ensure the bilingual and basically bicultural character of the federal administration". To my knowledge the federal administration is not that now, it

never was, I doubt if it was ever intended to be and furthermore, as I hope to demonstrate in view of the enormous cost and changing social patterns it never should be. Paragraph three again presupposes that what the terms recommend are necessarily the most advantages when it is suggested that this commission recommend "what could be done to enable Canadians to become bilingual". One cannot quarrel with the intellectual advantage which may befall an individual who is bilingual, however, this paragraph of the terms suggests that English and French should be the desired ends without regard to any other language and indeed, recommends a course without regard to cost or the present trends.

7. Upon the presentation of this brief it is my intention if the Commission desires to demonstrate further by use of this Commission's reléases to emphasize the apolegetic veil this Commission has enveloped itself as a result of the terms of reference.

(B) ECONOMIC CONSEQUENCES

8. From the outset of this brief there will be no attempt to discuss biculturism since this to my thinking, as it is to many others appears beyond definition, of little concern and furthermore it lacks concrete legislative possibilities. This submission concerns bilingualism and how the perpetuation, extension and preservation of the French language in Canada drains the country financially in the public and private spheres.

9. As we are all aware when this country was created, constitutionally the official use of the French language was delineated in the B. N. A. Act which upon reading sets out clearly, expressly and quite limited purposes the areas of use for the French language. However, developing now as there has been in the past to the requests of a vociferous minority is a

general spreading of the use of the French language by the federal administration oblivious to the surrounding social changes or the inevitable economic consequences of such action. Therefore, the growth in the use of the French language by the federal administration is my major concern to say nothing about the possible recommendations which appear to be forthcoming from this Commission. Of course, coupled with this growth emerges enormous costs which far outweigh the benefits.

10. To many who have submitted briefs previously they have concerned themselves primarily with the emotional aspects to the problem of bilingualism and biculturalism, however, trying now to divorce emotion from the cold pragmatic facts of government economics and the costs to institute the proposed recommendations provides for considerations other than emotion.

11. For an enlightening history of the use of the French language by Governments I would refer the Commission to John D. Honsberger's article in Vol. XLll P. 314-321, May 1965 of The Canadian Bar Review.

12. When considering the economics of governments I request the liberty to present some primary rules of economics which are self evident to the most elementary scholar:

(i) to operate a government is costly

(ii) the operating costs increase not decrease

(iii) to have a bilingual nation or Federal administration increases the costs as compared to a unilingual nation.

When viewing the situation upon a cost factor the number of individuals directly concerned is drastically reduced from those which this Commission and others put forward. Using the 1961 census I would submit that the cost of bilingualism applies for the benefit of individuals who speak French only ie: 3,489,866 of which 3,254,850 are situated within the province of Quebec.

Therefore, I would submit that the cost of a bi-lingual federal administration is for the benefit of an extremely small precentage of the total population. These figures, of course, can be broken down for theindividual provinces to numbers which are virtually insignificant in relation of cost to total population. Undeniably, the cost of operating the Country with two languages from coast to coast or even the extension that is presently being carried out should not be necessary. When looking at the history and development of bilingualism in this country compared to present trends of the world to be Anglicized or Americanized how regretable it is for this nation that we now are stepping backwards by the perpetuation of the French language through unwarranted legistlation.

13. In the private sphere of life is bilingualism necessary? Suppose we consider as a fact that most educated English speaking people in Canada have studied the French language but few possess more than a grammatical knowledge of the language with very little opportunity to perfect a working knowledge of the French language. Coupled with this problem is present the characteristic that most bilingual French speaking people when conversing with English speaking individuals speak English better than most English speaking persons speak French so inevitably they converse in English. This is compounded by the desire of the French speaking individual to improve his English still more. I would submit the reason for this trait results from the financial advantage the ability to speak English has for the French speaking individual whereas for the English speaking individual speaking French is simply an intellectual achievement which may add very little if any reward to him financially.

14. Undoubtedly in the business world the drive today for the use of the English language for the French speaking individual primarily rests I submit upon

an economic basis. After many years in a state of doldrums the French speaking individual residing in Quebec have now discovered as his counterparts residing elsewhere had previously realized, (most likely by the bombardment from the mass communication facilities), that they are behind other areas of the country and North America. The entrepreneurs they discovered are mainly from the English speaking world and possess a superior standard of living, jobs and in some instances education. These factions now aspire to some standard. To attain this standard I would submit that it would be absurd for this Commission to recommend for the French speaking indiviual anything else but to proceed as quickly as possible to acquire a working knowledge of the English language. For the French speaking individual we must conclude that for advancement in the business world a working fluency and knowledge of English is necessary.

15. Again suppose we are given as a basic fact that mobility is one of the indispensable conditions to the attainment of the maximum return from the human sector of our economy. How do we achieve this needed mobility? It is submitted that to encourage greater mobility necessitates a program whereby this country proceeds rapidly to educate the citizens in the English language which is the primary language of commerce. As a hypothetical I would suggest that equals in ability stop at the Quebec border, for indeed if one individual possesses a fluency in English and the other individual only French surely, to advance beyond the border in a national enterprise English is the working language and to extole other ideas to the French speaking citizens smacks of fraud and misrepresentation. It is deceitful for this Government or this Commission to promote bilingualism outside the province of Quebec when it is not that now and never will be except possibly for token gestures. I suggest it would be more expedient and

truthful to put the plain facts before this nation being that Quebec is bilingual to a great extent and some small pockets of the country the citizens are bilingual, however, if you the French speaking individual desire a place outside Quebec and indeed, in Quebec you must be fluent in the English language or suggest as it seems to be the norm now that the French speaking individual seek out the protective wing of the federal civil service for a position.

16. Since this commission decided against going abroad to study the linguistic problems of other nations I commend you highly; one for the expense saved but moreso because the geography of other nations unlike ours puts any analogies which could be drawn unrealistic to the point of extreme. The ability of the European to speak fluently more than one language arises partly because of the close proximity of individuals speaking other languages and partly the economic advantages flowing from the ability to speak fluently more than one language. However, undeniably in Canada bilingualism ends at the Quebec border. This fact of course angers and disturbs the French speaking individual. It is appreciated that the recent trend of Anglicization of Quebec disturbs the French speaking Quebec citizens but also many French scholars of the purest linguistic class are appalled at the Anglicization of the French language or more correctly the Americanization of Europe which is advancing in great strides. This is undoubtedly happening and precipitated by the presence of N. A. T. O. forces, and the English speaking tourist along with the mass U. S. Communication media which dominates the world thrusting all countries towards Americanization. To all nations and as much to Europe the tourist dollar aids the economy, however, to siphon this trade they need the ability to speak English while retaining enough continential flavour for attraction. The clue lies here also for Quebec which maintains an area well suited for attracting the tourist which

I would think they would jealously protect whereas, now the false gospel goes out to the world of our bilingual nature which without need for emphasis possesses taints of fraud and misrepresentation. As surely in Canada as in Europe many have relinquished their native language to the English tongue some only for survival others for a larger income, a better position or necessitating earning a living but always there remains the driving force to learn and use the English language.

17. Professor Jean Ethier Blais of McGill University supports this view when he suggests that the French speaking person really doesn't care if the English speaking Canadians becomes bilingual. What the Quebec French speaking individual wants is less bilingualism in Quebec in order to save the French language from further erosion and perhaps the breakdown and extinction of it as a working language in Quebec. I would submit that the breakdown of the Frenchlanguage has become inevitable to prevent or prolong the evolution is wasted and extremely costly.

18. Another deplorable situation not only from the point of view of cost to maintain such schools is the misguidance of French speaking parent's to desire when residing outside Quebec to have French public schools. Through this misguided paternalism they seek for their children while also increasing the costs of education a French language school which not only prepares the child falsely for conditions which are non-existent inside and outside Quebec but the appeasement to these parents also prepares the child for a world which is rapidly becoming dominated by the English language. This common fostering of these ideas by governments, parents and this commission compounds the situation by suggesting or enacting legislation to enable continuation of these unrealities. The attempts to achieve a complete or even partially a bilingual federal administration there will be conceived an anachronism before its birt

19. From generalities to specific areas where bilingualism unnecessarily increases the cost of operating the federal administration would be of some assistance at this point. When confederation was established I reiterate Section 133 of the B. N. A. Act delineated the area where the French language would be applied by the government of Canada and the province of Quebec. I submit that there appears no doubt that the Fathers of Confederation failed to comprehend the myriads of involvement of our present government. Section 133 basically provides for the use of the English and French languages in the debates of the house, records, journals and federal courts. This Section in itself if followed faithfully would prove to be extremely costly but one must to feel the true impact look at the extensions of the federal government and the consequent economic drain of supporting the French language throughout the federal system. The list is endless when one considers the enormous numbers of bilingual government publications and printed matter, Crown Corporations, C. B. C., Air Canada, C. N. R. Armed Forces, R. C. M. P., federal property physically, the federal administration itself and the last but not least royal commissions which have now succumbed to the bilingual monster. If this commissio desires I will elaborate more fully upon many of the economic consequences of bilingualism for many of the above federal bodies. Critisism as we all agree comes quite easily, nevertheless, recommendations do not, however, I would suggest the following. The federal administration become unilingual through a planned transformation to the English language over a period of time. During this period at local levels, where needed, translators be employed, by the federal government agencies in Quebec to handle the problems of individuals restricted to the French language. In crown corporations the working language should be English in all matters. Throughout the Armed Forces again and here most explicitly

the working language should be English. In the R. C. M. P. again English should be the working language but bilingual officers should be employed in areas where necessary. The C. B. C. has a special place since it has already achieved a prominent French language network which, however, is supported at great cost to the remainder of the country for the benefit of the 3,489,866 million French speaking citizens. I would suggest that the English speaking network be given precedence while maintaining a French language network where sufficient numbers warrant it, however, plans should be taken to prevent the ludicrous situation of C. J. B. C. where measuring devices are unable to measure the audience because of its minuteness.

20. In conclusion whether the French speaking individual likes it or not a primary qualification on the North American continent for advancement evolves upon the ability to understand speak and write English. This does not hold true for French. Therefore, it follows to hold a position of responsibility an individual must be able to communicate in English. Imperatively the language or cultural minorities be what theymay should be encouraged, even prodded to become part of the English speaking peoples in Canada, while still preserving unto themselves their distinctive cultural niceties. But the preservation and perpetuation of the minority cultures or languages should not be actively pursued by the legislatures nor should it be actively legislated from them, however, as each minority keeps alive its customs then this broadens deepens,adds and extends to the quality of the culture of all of Canada. The challenge goes out to the minorities to preserve their culture on their own initiative and not with that of our governing bodies.

21. Gentlemen this brief was prepared because of my profound belief that the apathy of the English speaking individual and his reluctance to speak out will lead to changes through the concentrated efforts of a vociferous minority, indeed, these changes if present actions are an indication of the future would manifest

themselves in fraudulent, unrealistic and preposterous changes and concessions to this small minority which I submit is unnecessary and a costly burden upon the economy of Canada.

As for the crisis which many including yourselves have predicted I don't feel there is such a crisis for if Quebec where to separate, which there is no fear of we can only conclude that again as an economic unit unto itself it would be subverted to still more pressures of the Americanization and Anglicization trend. Also as events have evolved it has become economically advantages for Quebec to use the separatist threat as a lever to pry from Ottawa far greater concessions than it would extract without this threat. So while the majority of French speaking citizens eschew the separatist movement they, like their English counterparts do not vigourously oppose it but remain politely quiet to reap the benefits.

22. I only hope this Commission puts a halt to the spread of the use of the French language in the federal government and its emanations, for indeed it is not needed and I emphasize that by doing so a fraud upon the French speaking people is perpetrated by suggesting this country is bilingual. I would submit that we have arrived at the point in time of the evolution of our society when the French language will disappear from practical use.

No. 7 File 740-204

MEMOIRE SOUMIS A LA

COMMISSION ROYALE D'ENQUETE SUR LE BILINGUISME ET LE BICULTURALISME

M. J. RéJean Taillefer,
824 est, rue Ste-Catherine,
Montréal 18 (Québec),
le 26 novembre 1963.

"M E M O I R E"

Sujet Traité: Le Biculturalisme et le Bilinguisme.

1) Depuis nombre d'années, au Canada, on laissait entendre l'institution d'une Commission Royale d'enquête sur l'étude du bilinguisme et du viculturalisme approuvée par les autorités fédérales. Cette Commission primimairement appelée Commission Laurendeau-Dunton avait obtenu un mandat visant à l'étude et les diverses analyses sur l'état du fait bilingue et biculturel au pays. Il y a de cela déjà environ deux ans.

2) Nombre de Canadiens souhaitaient telle initiative de part du gouvernement fédéral dans le but de faire connaître du public ouvertement la situation qui règne actuellement et qui a trop longtemps duré au pays de l'ignorance totale du fait français et sa non reconnaissance linguistique et culturelle comme officielle au Canada.

3) Le gouvernement fédéral conscient du grave danger qui menaçait la Confédération Canadienne d'un échec inévitable a donc résolu de nommer un Comité composé de dix membres nommés Commissaires, dix experts en la matière des problèmes de la langue et de la culture de même des problèmes psychologiques, économiques, politiques et sociaux.

4) Ce même Comité formé de dix membres s'appelle la Commission Royale Laurendeau-Dunton.

5) A la suite de ma participation à la récente audience publique tenue en novembre laquelle m'a grandement intéressée, j'ai donc résolu, tel que je l'avais mentionné à un Commissaire à la toute fin de l'audience, d'apporter une participation plus complète en tant qu'individuel par la soumission d'un laborieux

mémoire traitant de l'aspect général de la situation du bilinguisme et du biculturalisme au Canada en mes propres termes.

6) A remarquer que les opinons et suggestions émises dans ce mémoire sont miennes mais elles sont aussi partagées par bon nombre de Canadiens tant français qu'anglais qui ne peuvent, faute de temps et dû à leurs occupations prendre une part active dans cette campagne. Je me fais donc leur porte-parole auprès de la Commission.

7) Messieurs le Président et co-président, Mme Lang, Messieurs les Commissaires.

8) C'est en tant qu'individu, citoyen Canadien et Français que je viens aujourd'hui vous entretenir d'un sujet que vous connaissez bien d'ailleurs et qui, fort discuté, suscite chez la très garnde majorité des Canadiens un intérêt spécial puisque ce sujet à traiter avec vous n'est autre que la cause du problème de l'heure tant discuté, si vaste mettant en cause la survivance de notre fragile Confédération Canadienne et le danger éminent de sa destruction quasi inévitable.

9) Pour bien définir le problème en question, il nous faudrait d'interminables heures de discutions et un temps énorme à émettre des suggestions susceptibles d'aider à la sauvegarde de la Constitution canadienne, par des moyens bien étudiés, des analyses bien précises et un remaniement complet des clauses de la charte signée par les Pères de la Confédération en 1867, lors de son institution.

10) C'est tout juste ce que je vais essayer de faire aussi brièvement que possible mais en prenant bien soin de bien élaborer les divers sujets que j'ai a vous traiter et qui en découlent.

11) Dans le passé, il y a de cela près de trois cents ans, une brave colonie de Français vivaient sur un sol qu'ils avaient de leurs mains défriché, de leurs pieds refoulé. Autour d'eux s'exaltaient diverses tribus indiennes déjà installées lors de l'arrivée du premier contingent de soldats français.

12) La guerre constituant un danger éminent et presqu'inattendu, les braves colons déferlaient sur leurs terres, armés jusqu'aux dents, assurant ainsi la protection de leurs familles. Les Anglais d'outre-mer avaient l'oeil depuis un bon moment sur cette nouvelle terre et à plusieurs reprises avaient tenté de s'en emparer sans trop de succès. Ce n'est qu'en 1760, qu'enfin ils parvinrent à prendre possession de la Nouvelle-France qui par la suite pris nom de Nouvelle-France.

13) Dès lors, le régime atroce de l'expatriation, des séparation des famille et des masacres commença. Plus tard, certains droits et privilèges en somme parfaitement légitimes furent accordés aux colons.

14) La poignée de main anglaise se refermait doucement mais solidement sur les français qui un jour virent à leur tour, les Américains s'avancer sur les terres de la colonies. En vaillants guerriers, ils défendirent et leur bien et celui des Anglais qui n'étaient pas du nombre des combattants. Ce fut la victoire et quelle victoire.

15) Puis vinrent les persécutions, les saccages, à St-Charles, à St-Chrisostome, puis à St-Eustache. Enfin ce fut la grande campagne de discrimination contre les français. La belle affaire.

16) Ensuite vint la dispute pour la possession du territoire longeant le fleuve. Les colons français l'obtinrent et la majorité des Anglais se dirigèrent vers l'ouest pendant que d'autres demeuraient à Montréal.

17) Ainsi se transforma la colonie en deux secteurs: le Bas-Canada et le Haut-Canada. Les querelles continuaient toujours. Alors un groupe de partisans décidèrent de se regrouper pour se departir des Anglais. C'est alors que de nouvelles querelles donnerent libre cours a des discussions politiques et bientot s'iffrit pour les habitants de la Nouvelle-Angleterre une nouvelle forme de transition.

18) Des partisants des deux Canadas se reunirent et apres coup l'union des deux groupes permit de fonder la Confederation

Canadienne, non sans difficulte cependant, car il y avait meme de ce temps de fortes oppositions. Ainsi en 1867, s'instituait la Confederation, l'union du Bas et du Haut Canada auxquels vinrent se joindre petit-a-petit d'autres territoires appelees province pour finalement en arriver a la Constitution presente.

19) Malgre tout, la paix n'etait pas encore revenue; bien au contraire. Les Anglais etant deja en forte majorite reclamaient la large part des pouvoirs et la direction des biens de la communaute. Vue leur superiorite en nombre, ils se destituaient les maitres du pays et prirent le volant. Le sentiment des Anglais contre leurs voisins n'en continua pas moins. Durant les divers gouvernements qui siegerent a Ottawa depuis, la meme persecution s'en suivit annees apres annees. La population canadienne francaise eut toujours a en souffrir. Les moyens de transiger, l'education et la communication et les contacts avec le gouvernement central s'avererent difficiles puisque la hantise de la Mere Patrie incitait les dirigeants du pays plutot anglais a conserver au Canada le caractere anglophone dans tous les domaines. En politique, en economie, sur le plan de l'education et sur le plan social l'anglais demeurait la langue supposement officielle. Les ententes entre les Canadiens anglais et français du traite qui avait amene a la Confederation se voyaient reduites a nulles par multiples infractions qui furent commises envers les Canadiens francais en egard de leurs droits et privileges civils et maintes reprises plusieurs de leurs revendications furent rejetees. Tel l'enseignement du francais dans l'Ontario et dans les provinces de l'ouest et la reconnaissance du français meme dans les milieux minoritaires francais du pays.

20) Encore aujourd'hui, a la veille du centenaire de cette meme confederation, presentement chancelante, les memes problemes continuent d'exister malgre la bonne volonte qui semble poindre dans certains milieux francophones submerges d'anglais et de Neo-Canadiens anglais egalement.

21) Nos gouvernements consciencieux du grave danger qui s'amenait et qui menacait la survivance de la Confederation Canadienne ont etudie lentement la situation et ce n'est que depuis quelques annees a peine, a la suite de vives protestations et demonstrations qu'il fut d'instituer une enquete sur les possibilites de remedier a la solution du probleme du bilinguisme et du biculturalisme. A savoir si les Canadiens misaient sur l'etablissement officiel de deux langues et de deux cultures officielles au pays.

22) Messieurs de la Commission et Madame, le Gouvernement Federal vous a accorde un mandat afin de vaquer a la lourde et ingrate tache de resoudre par tous les moyens employables le probleme qui dechire le Canada entier, celui de l'etat bilingue et biculturel dans les dix provinces de la Confederation.

23) Je sais que vous etes conscients de la gravite du sujet qui vous a été soumis et que vous ferez tout ce qui est votre pouvoir, avec toute la competence qu'on vous connait, de bien etudier la situation et l'analyser dans toute sa profondeur en cooperation avec les dirigeants des multiples entreprises, corporations et associations publiques et privees repandues au pays pour en arriver finalement a un compromis qui saura, nous le souhaitons tous, etre acceptable et recevoir l'approbation de tous les Canadiens.

24) Je m'excuse si j'en arrive a peine a l'expose que je vous promettais de vous soumettre mais il me fallait une ouverture et j'ai opte pour une phase de l'histoire de notre Canada constituant les faits saillants qui ont contribue en masse aux problemes qu'il vous incombe de solutionner.

25) Madame et Messieurs les Commissaires, permettez moi tout d'abord de vous feliciter du travail efficace que vous avez fait a date. C'est deja un bon debut et la lumiere semble poindre à l'horizon d'une facon favorable si j'en juge par la teneur des divers propos et exposes qui ont l'objet de votre attention a la recente audience publique a laquelle j'ai moi-meme assiste en

entier en ce debut de novembre dernier. Etant en pleine connaissance des faits puisque depuis plusieurs annees j'ai porte un certain interet au fait du bilinguisme et du biculturalisme, je tiens a affirmer que ma participation si minime fut-elle a cette audience m'a grandement plu et m'a ouvert les yeux sur la situation qui nous a confus tous depuis deja trop longtemps.

26) Il est tres deplorable que l'on voit encore chez nous apres 97 ans de co-existence dans la Confederation, un climat aussi malsain que le notre. Point n'est besoin de dire que de tels indicents aussi facheux auraient pu dans le passe etre evites avec l'assentiment de la grande majorite de l'ensemble du pays.

27) Il semble notamment que la seule solution utile qui se presente a nos yeux soit en realite la reconnaissance du bilinguisme et du biculturalisme unanimement par tous les Canadiens quels qu'ils soient.

28) Il est un fait que la reconnaissance du francais est devenu necessaire et ce, sur tous les domaines qui se rattachent a notre mode vital tant sur le plan politique, economique, au stage de l'education et au niveau social. Les Canadiens Francais constituent une masse de pres du deux cinquieme (2/5) de la population canadienne.

29) La grande majorite de cette masse est concentree dans l'est du Canada, principalement dans la Province de Quebec et en Ontario. Il existe egalement quelques fragments francais dans les provinces de l'ouest qui ne sont pas a ignorer quoi qu'elle soit infiniment minoritaire. Elles ont tout de meme leur mot a dire dans cette Confederation.

30) Quelques groupes ethniques minoritaires sont venus depuis un demi-siecle environ elargir ses cadres tout comme pour la communaute anglophone qui en consomme un bon nombre.

31) Il n'en reste pas moins que les Canadiens Francais ont malgre tout contribue pour une tres large part a la fondation du

Canada et a sa survivance durant les trois cent cinquante annees pres de son existence et ceci merite bien d'etre pris en consideration.

32) La récente propagande séparatiste et visant même à une possible indépendance de la Province de Québec, n'a certes pas aidé l'entente dans certains milieux du pays qui depuis quelques temps étudient la situation en tout sens afin de pourvoir par tous les moyens possibles à des analyses sur le plan national afin de mettre fin à la crise actuelle visant au bilinguisme et au biculturalisme.

33) Cette propagande, menée par un très minime groupe d'intérêt particulier, n'a fait que surexiter certains esprits chancelant qui ont mal reçu cette propagande, l'on très mal interprété sans songer aux suites néfastes qui pourraient en découler.

34) Nous avons vu dans le passé la publicité immonde qui a suivi la campagne ouverte par le Ralliement de l'indépendance Nationale et l'Alliance Laurentienne. Nous avons été témoins de l'intérêt particulier qu'y ont apporté certaines personnalités politiques dissociées de leurs partis respectifs secondées de chefs d'entreprises québecquoises et quelques partisants appartenant à des association publiques et privées et du nombre, des étudiants pour la plupart mineures.

35) Par la suite, on a également été témoins d'actes criminels commis par des individus attirés par le climat de l'heure, profitant de la situation de confusion pour y apporter leur propre contribution à leur façon. Ces actes criminels visant la Communauté anglophone plus particulièrement et les fédérations anglaises tout autant que les fonctionnaires fédéraux et les édifices occupés par le Gouvernement central, ont eu pour but de supporter la campagne séparatiste en signe de protestation contre la non reconnaissance du Québec et du fait français sur le plan national dans tous les domaines vitaux.

36) L'infiltration de ces ignobles partisans n'a pas beaucoup servi la cause que s'était légué l'association du R.I.N. et l'A.L. pas plus qu'elle n'a aidé la cause du Parti Républicain (P.R.Q.) nouvellement fondé avec l'assentiment des autres sociétés déjà existantes.

37) Cette affreuse campagne, à mon avis, n'aura servi en somme qu'à ouvrir les yeux des Canadiens sur la situation du problème que vous avez à étudier: l'état du bilinguisme et du biculturalisme au pays. Cette publicité aura également servi à inciter la grande majorité des Canadiens à prendre les grands moyens pour remédier à la situation qui de fait menace la survivance de notre Confédération. Cependant, je ne considère pas que le but que se sont fixés le P.R.Q., le R.I.N. et l'Alliance Laurentienne en entreprenant une telle campagne ne puisse être atteint pas plus que l'indépendance ne peut être envisagée au Québec comme nation.

38) Ce serait rédicule en toute évidence de considérer que le Québec puisse du jour au lendemani devenir un état indépendant et aller de l'avant sans appréhender de sérieux ennuis. Il faudrait pour cela réorganiser en entier le système politique, économique et social du Québec, un système d'éducation tout nouveau qu'on veut unilingue et propre aux Canadiens Français.

39) Il faudrait de plus vaquer à la situation du problème monétaire, l'établissement de nouveaux tarifs, un système de frontières et de services de douanes, en somme l'organisation en bloc de tout un système visant aux relations économiques et extérieurs et sociales et nous échelonnant adéquatement à tous les autres pays du globe nous entourant.

40) Un tel remaniement est pour le Québec impossible à mon humble avis et nous n'en avons pas les moyens même si par un pur hasard, nous parvenions à soutirer au gouvernement central certains montants d'argent provenant des impôts et autres figures fiscales qui font en ce moment l'objet de réclamations par les provinces sur le gouvernement d'Ottawa; par des pressions continuelles exercées depuis dejà plusieurs années.

41) Le seul remède à tous ces divers problèmes auxquels ont à faire face les Canadiens est le maintien de la Confédération et cela c'est l'oeuvre de tous les citoyens Canadiens, qui qu'ils soient, sans distintion des groupes auxquels ils appartiennent.

42) Il est véridique que le fiat français, que les Canadiens ont depuis longtemps été ignorés ou négligés dans la plupart des domaines qui se rattachent à leur vie de tous les jours. Et cela, tant au Québec que dans les autres provinces où il y a des minorités. Et le Québec comme les autres canadiens français du Canada ont certes raison de critiquer et de réclamer la reconnaissance de leurs droits à tous les niveaux pour des raisons qui n'ont pas besoin d'explication après plus de trois cents ans d'existence sur ce sol. Il est inutile de discuter sur ce sujet et pourtant il appert que cette reconnaisance légale et légitime n'est pas.

43) Nous avons été témoins et nous le sommes d'ailleurs tous les jours de la persistence de certains à ignorer la participation égale des Canadiens Français au sein de la Confédération. Au cours des récentes audiences publiques et à la suite de multiples publications faites dans la presse venat de tous les coins du pays, on peut se rendre compte que certains individus et groupes individuels particulièrement des Néo-Canadiens s'acharnent à ne pas reconnaitre le fait bilingue et français au pays et dans leur provinces. Nous avons noté que quelques uns désiraient malgré leur minorité une reconnaissance égale en matière linguistique et culturelle tout autant que les deux grands groupes fondateurs. En somme, leur désir visait le multilinguisme et le multiculralisme dans toutes les phases de vie canadienne.

44) D'autre part, on a aussi manifesté chez certains du mécontentement au point de prévenir la Commission de boycotter son travail en plus de se dispenser d'une participation ou d'une collaboration en vue de régler le différent. C'est précisément ce que je qualifierais de chantage et de recpect humain innacceptable quant il s'agit du sort non d'un groupe individuel mais d'une nation entière et de sa survivance.

45) Certains gouvernements provinciaux semblent plutôt négatifs à la considération du fait bilingue et biculturel au Canada concluant que leur groupe ethnique est en suffisante importance pour être considéré comme candidat égal aux autres deux grands peuples fondateurs et s'opposent à reconnaitre la mandat de la Commission comme étant acceptable.

46) Je cite, en toute evidence, l'example du Premier Ministre de la Colombie Britannique, l'Hon. W.A.C. Bennett qui disait au cours d'une conference, il n'y a pas si longtemps, que le Quebec n'avait que ce qu'il voulait et qu'il croyait incense les revendications constitutionneles de cette province et de ses exigences en matiere economique visant la Conference Federale-Provinciale de novembre. De plus, il a ajoute que si le Quebec n'etait pas satisfait, qu'il n'avait qu'a separer de la Confederation ou se recoudre a la Confederation et accepter le regime actuel sur tous les niveaux, primordialement sa conception sur l'etat bilingue possible du Canada qu'il qualifiait d'inacceptable sur le plan national. Il a de plus insiste sur ce point: Je ne reconnais pas aucun droit prioritaire aux Canadiens Francais en tant que groupe ethnique pas plus que les autres groupes deja existant. A mon avis, ils forment egalement un groupe minoritaire dependant du plus fort, la nation anglaise. "Qu'ils se soumettent ou qu'ils se separent."

47) Cet example n'est pas unique mais heureusement qu'il n'est pas totalement partage par les autres provinces du Canada. Le separatisme n'est pas seulement pratique par les Canadiens Francais. Il l'est egalement dans certains milieux anglophones du pays.

48) N'étant nullement separatiste, j'ai tout de meme repondu a M. Bennett dans une lettre a son intention, lui etant plutot defavorable.

49) D'ailleurs, recemment M. Doug Ward de Toronto a rappele publiquement les propos de M. Bennett au cours d'une conference qu'il donnait a Toronto.

50) Autre fait a souligner, les etudiants universitaires de Toronto appuient la cause du Quebec dans ses reclamations et revendications sur le bilinguisme et egalement sur ces droits fiscaux qui font continuellement l'objet de discussions mises en suspens.

51) Je suis parfaitement d'accord avec la Federation des Travailleurs du Quebec qui propose une étude plus profonde par des recherches et discussion des citoyens eux-memes, la participation individuelle du publique. L'affaire du bilinguisme et du biculturalisme, c'est l'affaire de tout le monde et de tous les milieux et il faut leur laisser la chance de s'exprimer par tous les moyens juges efficaces.

52) Une chose que je ne comprend pas tellement c'est l'attitude exercee par certains groupes envers la Commission elle-meme et son but et les termes que cette Commission a employe en vue de son etude et sa facon d'analyser la situation; specialement venant de la part d'association prolifique comme au Quebec et d'autres qui ne semblent pas a mon avis etre pret a admettre l'unite nationale comme possible et acceptable. Certains semblent craindre qu'une telle egalite ne peut exister pas plus qu'elle n'a existe dans le passe.

53) Ma conception personnelle est celle-ci. Au cours des annees de la Confederation principalement, multiples outrages ont constamment subsiste et amoindri les pouvoirs des Canadiens Francais et contribue a ce recul qui aujourd'hui souleve l'element français indigne, frustre qui s'en prend aux anglophones. Cependant, etant moi-meme Canadien Francais, je considere que nous-meme, avons ete fautifs en ce sens que nous aurions du, bien avant aujourd'hui nous soulever contre cette attitude et reagir, revendiquer nos droits, faire pression aupres des autorites afin que soit respectes les engagements pris lors de l'institution de la Confederation.

54) Nous avons dans tous les domaines fautifs patiente, attendu persiste trop longtemps; nous avons trop longtemps oublie que nous

etions Canadiens et que nous avions, comme tous les autres certains pouvoirs et privileges dont nous pouvions jouir mais nous n'avons pas juge bon de nous en servir. Cette ignorance de notre part nous a cause multiples ennuis et nous a tenu a l'ecart de tout ce qui aurait du nous interesser a titre egal des autres membres de la communaute canadienne. Se sentant les plus forts et les mieux disposes, les Anglais comme certains s'acharnent a les "appeler voir meme epeler" en ont profiter pour prendre de toute evidence l'initiative et la garder dans presque tous les milieux de notre politique economique, au niveau de l'education et des cultures et sur le plan social egalement.

55) Maintenant que la situation est devenue aigue et irresistible, pour certains inadmissible et intolerable, on se decide a exercer en vitesse des pressions fortes sur les gouvernements pour faire abdiquer ce qui est devenu soudainement une menace de destruction de l'element que nous representons.

56) L'eveil se fait mais je trouve qu'il arrive quand meme un peu tard. Non pas que je le considere irreparable, au contraire. Mais il faut quand meme s'accorder pour avouer notre tort et de plus comprendre que nous ne pourrons pas corriger cette lacune en un temps record advenant que nos voisins veulent bien admettre la reconnaissance d'une nation bilingue et biculturelle.

57) Tel que mentionne precedemment, nous aurons certes fort a faire pour solutionner ce probleme aigu et c'est avec de la patience, de la perseverence, egalement avec diplomatie, comprehension mutuelle et une acceptation de principe que nous parviendrons en force a reunifier nos relations sur le plan national et a travailler ensemble a la re-construction de notre Confederation sur le bord d'un affreux precipice.

58) L'impuissance des Canadiens Francais dans le passe a se faire accepter comme tel n'a vraisemblablement servi qu'a une chose: les decourager et les eloigner du but qu'ils s'etaient

fondes il y a 97 ans en signant l'acte d'Amerique Britannique du Nord. De ce fait, il renoncaient presque a la lutte de leurs survivances et a la survivance leurs langues, cultures et droits legitimes en tant que peuple et Canadiens d'origine francophone; ils renoncaient au combat pour adopter une attitude plutot indifferente, desinteressee sur le sort qu'il leur etait reserve pour l'avenir.

59) Soudain c'est un reveil, un regain d'orgeuil et de principes trop longtemps mis de cote qui les fait devenir de veritables revolutionnaires, de feroces betes reclamant leur proie echappee qu'ils désirent posseder a nouveau a tout prix, coute que coute. La venue de mouvements et elements seaparatistes leur ouvrent les yeux et des lors, la lutte commence a coup de matraque pour reclamer l'acceptation indiscutable aux communautes anglophones du pays ce qu'ils ont si longtemps pietine et ignore.

60) En parlant ainsi, je ne felicite pas pour cela la part d'initiative que les Anglais ont pris. Je ne prends pas certes la part des Anglais; je ne fais qu'admettre que nous n'avons litteralement pas pris les mesures necessaires pour nous faires respecter en temps et lieux; notre defense a ete pietre et faible et nous sommes les seuls a etre blames pour cette attitude que nous avons affiche et qui nous a ete que trop couteuse jusqu'ici.

61) Dans le domaine de la politique, nous nous sommes montres desinteresse du sort qui nous etait reserve au sein de la constitution en n'offrant pas notre part adequate d'echanges et de participants; nous n'avons pas choisi adequatement nos representants qui souvent n'ont offert aucune resistance aux esprits persecutifs qui cherchaient a nous aneantir. Ils n'ont pas su, trop souvent defendre notre communaute devant l'ennemi trop puissant. Et ceci s'est accentue dans le choix de nos gouvernements consecutivement charge de nous representer et d'administrer nos affaires.

62) Heureusement qu'il n'est pas trop tard pour agir mais il faut tout de meme y aller avec tact, avec sens et precisions. Il ne faudrait surtout pas precipiter les choses qui nous feraient commettre d'autres erreurs couteuses par une hate de solutionner toutes a la fois les lacunes qui sevi durant un siecle.

63) Je soutiens qu'il faut faire quelque chose: qu'il faut remedier a la situation qui ne peut plus durer dans un pays democratique tel que le notre au vingtieme siecle. Notre regime de vie ne nous permet plus actuellement de garder une telle structure nationale telle qu'elle existe aujourd'hui.

64) L'evolution phenomenale de notre siecle: le siecle du modernisme, de l'automatisation, de l'industrialisation nous fait realiser que le systeme actuel dans le domaine de la politique et en économie, en education ne peut plus repondre aux besoins multiples de la population qui se voit desoeuvree.

65) Il est devenu necessaire pour nous tous d'envisager ensemble, en commun, dans une communion mutuelle les besoins d'une unite et entente qui nous permettra d'entrevoir l'avenir d'un meilleur oeil pour la nation et sa survivance.

66) La necessite d'une meilleure structure en education a permis a certains de nos gouvernements provinciaux d'étudier les methodes suivies dans ce domaine et voir a tracer de nouveaux plans pour l'etablissements d'un systeme d'education plus adequat devenu necessaire pour repondre aux besoins de chaque individu. Il faut mettre en evidence le besoin sur chacun des niveaux scolaires dans les diverses categories et en egards des divers groupes ethniques que chaque communaute de la nation represente.

67) Il faut l'etablissement d'une preparation des instituteurs et educateurs qui doivent etre en mesure de professer avec des methodes avancees et larges etudies serieusement et analysees pour leur faciliter la tache d'enseignement qui s'avere important si l'on considere qu'ils ont pour tache de preparer nos jeunes a leur avenir, et l'avenir de la nation ou ils joueront certes un role lors de l'exercice de leur profession de leur choix.

68) Une education soignee et bien appliquee peut seule permettre a tous les Canadiens de se tailler dans la societe une carriere qui saura repondre a leurs ambitions, a leurs aptitudes et leur permettra de vivre et de pourvoir aux besoins de leurs familles et egalement de participer a l'essort et la prosperite du Canada.

69) Il est egalement devenu necessaire que nos dirigeants pourvoient a la survivance de la Confederation en etudiant minutieusement la structure de notre politique qui ne semble malheureusement pas etre a la hauteur si l'on la compare a celle de nombre d'autres pays qui nous entourent. Nos gouvernements se sont heurtes depuis plusieurs annees a multiples obstacles qui ont valu leur echec dans bien des cas. Sur le plan national comme dans nos provinces, il semble qu'il existe une certaine confusion qui apparemment affaibli d'annee en annee les pouvoirs et le prestige qui caracterisent la vie politique des responsables de notre destinee.

70) Dans presque tous les domaines de la politique, on y retrouve une certaine langueur, une hesitation inexplicable, un recul a l'accomplissement d'un devoir pressant qui doit etre exerce dans la solution des problemes capitaux se rattachant a chaque individu et a sa survivance au niveau économique et social. Tout d'abord, il est évident qu'un conflit met aux prises constamment les dirigeants des partis politiques qui n'arrivent pas a s'entendre et qui se dissocient a profusion meme entre eux, provoquant une crise au sein meme des partis respectivement mis en cause et de ce fait amene, comme ce fut l'example au cours des dernieres annees, l'echec et l'effondrement des gouvernements suscitant de nouvelles elections qui retardent sans cesse notre avancement et la solution de nos problemes.

71) La participation des divers groupes ethniques du pays a certes collabore en une large mesure dans la politique a promouvoir cet etat de chose. Depuis le debut du regime confederatif la teneur de querelles raciales, religieuses et autres a littera-

lement paralyse nos relations politiques et sociales et ceci a également amene chez nous un climat fort malsain qui s'est accentue graduallement et qui a pris une telle ampleur qu'il faille aujourd'hui songer une fois pour toute a changer notre ligne de conduite et rebatir sous toutes ses formes notre constitution et notre confederation afin de survivre en tant que nation.

72) Nos querelles, qui remontent a deja trop loin, dependant des reconnaissances les langues, des cultures et des droits civils de chacun n'ont que trop durees et ont seme au sein de notre nation une discorde par lapratique de principes et doctrines discriminatoires appliques contre les elements supposement minoritaires qui n'avaient bien souvent qu'a se plier aux exigences du plus fort en principe ou de poursuivre une lutte bien souvent inutile dont les efforts n'etaient pas reconnus. Malgre la defaillance des minorites et des Canadiens Francais, il faut admettre que l'apprehension d'une entente sur l'echelon national n'a jamais ete envisagee categoriquement par les responsables alors meme qu'il aurait fallu en temps opportuns appliquer des mesures sanctionnaires pour faire respecter l'ordre et la reconnaissance visant les revendications et les suggestions apportees par les partis concernes dans le conflit.

73) Au contraire, trop souvent on a rejete ce qui semblait être nefaste aux donnees de la communaute anglophone pour n'adopter qu'une attitude d'ignorance des exigences d'autrui et continuer l'application de la doctrine favorable qui avait jusqu'a date servi la cause des ambitieux anglophones pratiquant le favoritisme et servant en meme temps la cause de la mere patrie qui exigeait une telle continuite.

74) La seule question des langues et de l'usage d'un embleme tout autant que d'un hyme national a fait couler beaucoup d'encre et suscite multiples querelles et commentaires durant de longues annees. Et cette situation subsiste encore aujourd'hui.

75) En passant, je remarque que pour ce qui est de l'Hymne national a pour sa part ete l'objet de mesentente complete et

je me demande pourquoi. Certains reconnaissent le O Canada comme l'hymne national des Canadiens. D'autres le God Save the Queen. Qu'il me soit permis de citer ici que ce que les Anglais considerent comme leur hyme national n'est nul autre que l'ancien hymne francais qui a ete composee en France en l'honneur de Louis XVI et qui a ete ensuite emprunte par les Anglais qui l'ont appele le God Save the Queen, chant qu'ils ont adopte comme hymne national des Anglo-Saxons.

76) Je considere donc notre pays etant dote a la fois d'un hymne national canadien et d'un hymne francais si je m'en rapporte au contenu du paragraphe precedent.

77) Pour ce qui est du drapeau du pays, il est incontestable que l'usage du drapeau bleu-blanc et rouge comme celui de l'Union Jack est pour nous derisoire, tous Canadiens que nous sommes. Il nous faut absolument un drapeau et un embleme distinctifs; cela n'est certes plus a discuter pour une distinction des autres nations et peuples du globe et un certain respect en temps que tel. Ceci, je crois que tous les Canadiens s'accordent sur ce point. Le point a resoudre est celui-ci: la proclamation d'un drapeau, d'un embleme affichant un dessin ne favorisant aucun groupe en particulier dans sa construction. En somme, un drapeau qui n'aurait rien en commun avec les drapeaux actuels submentionnes.

78) Quant a la question primordiale de la distinction et favorisation des reconnaissances en matiere linguistique, il est indeniable qu'il faille une fois pour toutes que nous reglions ce point. Il faut absolument que les deux langues principales du pays et les cultures qui s'y rattachent soient officiellement adoptées en consideration bien entendu de la participation deja existante des divers groupes ethniques qui y ont adhere successivement depuis plus d'un demi-siecle. Ainsi parlant, je mets en vedette les Neo-Canadiens de toutes races qui ont pris pied sur notre sol depuis deja plusieurs annees et qui y ont amene leurs langues et leurs cultures respectives dignes d'etre mises en consideration si l'on juge de l'enrichissement qu'ils ont fourni au pays durant ces annees.

79) Il ne s'agit pas de les ignorer, au contraire mais de les simplement incorporer aux deux langues et cultures principales qui ont servi a tous les Canadiens sous tous les niveaux sous ce regime confederatif jusqu'a nos jours. Il faut promouvoir l'apport de ces langues et cultures etrangeres qui ont largement contribue a l'extoriasion, la communication et aux bonnes relations jusqu'ici tout spécialement sur le cote politique et social.

80) Evidemment, encore une fois, nous sommes en face d'une suite de groupes fort minoritaires qui constituent en leur entier a environ 26% de la population du Canada; ce qui est quand meme important. Mais, ce n'est pas suffisamment assez pour qu'on songe a opter pour une Confederation multilinguiste et multiculturelle. D'ailleurs, tout le monde, dans l'ensemble s'accorde a reconnaitre qu'une telle situation ne prevaut de cette facon nulle part ailleurs dans le monde, mise a part de la Suisse et peut-etre d'un ou deux autres pays ou se cotoyent trois cultures et trois langues qui sont partagees par la grande majorite de la population: ce qui est fort different de la situation ici au Canada et je citerais meme de la situation des Etats-Unis qui comptent multiples representants de divers nations mais l'usage d'une seule langue officielle et l'adhrence de toutes cultures dans un ensemble les reliant tous sur un front commun et stable sans aucun equivoque.

81) Voila pourquoi, nous devons reconnaitre que chez nous le multi, qui s'agisse de langue surtout ne peut etre considere comme une solution a notre probleme. Seule l'adaptation de toutes les cultures peut vraisemblablement etre admise et acceptee mais cela par tous, sans exception sans egards des minorites ou qu'elles soient et quelles qu'elles soient.

82) Il est important que nos gouvernements veillent a mettre en pratique dans chacun de leurs ministeres l'adoption et du francais et de l'anglais sous toutes formes de transition et de communications, egalement fassent usage des deux langues dans toutes les formes de publicite dont ils font usage tout autant

qu'en ce qui regarde la Presse, les communications orales et ecrites ou visuelles (la radio, la television, la presse), l'adoptation de formes de papiers aux entetes et caracteres bilingues durant l'accomplissement de toutes les taches qui leur incombent dans leurs fonctions.

83) Il faut aussi que tous les moyens de facilite soient mis a la portee de tous les Canadiens de s'instruire, de communiquer de transiger et de se cultiver non seulement au Quebec et en Ontario mais dans toutes les provinces du pays, et ce dans les deux langues primees adoptees par la tres grande majorite des Canadiens.

84) Je reconnais, cela il faut l'admettre, qu'en ce qui concerne le fait francais et sa reconnaissance, plusieurs efforts ont été faits individuellement et dans certains domaines, chez certains ministeres en vue de favoriser l'etat bilingue et biculturel. Mais cependant, l'effort ne s'est malheureusement que limite a un tres faible pourcentage encore et ce n'est certes pas suffisant pour illiminer les apprehensions des elements francais qui demeurent menaces dans certains milieux du pays de disparition vu l'infime nombre de ces elements repartis sur de vastes territoires et regions ou ils sont submerges d'elements anglophones et de peuplades etrangeres pour certains egalement anglo-saxons. La teneur de certains propos au cours des audiences des 7 et 8 novembre parle par elle-meme.

85) Des representants des autres provinces ont consecutivement reconnu, publiquement leur indifference envers les Canadiens Francais minoritaires de leurs provinces. Certains ont meme nies la possibilite d'une telle reconnaissance dans une province ou ils se sentaient les ultimes dominants par le pourcentage de leurs representations ethniques. Plusieurs ont rejete l'idee d'une telle reconnaissance voir meme celle d'un etat bilingue et biculturel qui ne leur était pas favorable se considerant assez nombreux pour revendiquer des droits de legitimite sur le meme niveau que les deux pleuples dits fondateurs.

86) Ce qui porte a croire que l'opposition sera apparemment grande dans certains milieux occupes par ces Neo-Canadiens qui sont loin d'admettre une telle solution qu'il qualifient d'un effarent favoritisme.

87) Je crois sincerement que l'on doit penser a conserver un etat deja existant en ce qui concerne ces Nouveaux Canadiens et ceci se resume a la continuite de leurs epanchements vers l'une ou l'autre des deux nations fondatrices en ce qui regarde l'usage de la langue officielle. Ce qui n'empeche pas par une telle adheration la pratique du bilinguisme chez eux tout comme dans les autres regions du Canada. Et ce, toujours pour une plus grande facilite de communication et de comprehension mutuelle entre tous les Canadiens.

88) Il est important que pareillement et paralellement au systeme de l'education de chaque province, l'usage du bilinguisme et de l'integration des culturels a egalite se fassent dans tous les secteurs de la societe. Voir a l'industrie privee et les societes multiples repandues d'un ocean a l'autre, au sein des nombreuses associations diverses, dans les corporations, dans les milieux ouvriers, chez les fonctionnaires comme chez les bourgeois tout autant que chez les pauvres ou les riches, que les moyens de facilite soient accordes a tous de devenir entierement bilingue dans la mesure du possible sans pour cela gener ou avoir a forcer personne d'y adherer evitant ainsi tout equivoque et incidents facheux engendres par des individus dont l'attitude laisse bien souvent a desirer et a craindre.

89) A la suite d'une petite enquete personnelle faite avant et depuis mon assistance a votre audience de novembre, j'ai constate dans plusieurs milieux la pratique de certains industriels ou patrons de divers categories, du favoritisme en faveur de l'unilinguisme dans toutes les phases de transition et de communication de ces firmes et au sein de leur complete administration meme regardant l'emploi du personnel. Si je m'en rapporte aux diverses fonctions et positions qui sont ouvertes a certains

nombre de candidats, il appert que chez plusieurs d'entre eux, la composition d'un personnel parfaitement bilingue est rare et l'unilinguisme regne en force. Meme certains employes bilingues, en occurence, des Canadiens Francais et certaines exceptions chez les Neo-Canadiens, sont souvent forces pour des raisons qu'il est inutile d'expliquer de pratiquer l'unilinguisme par crainte de s'attirer des ennuis couteux. J'ai meme vu ce cas dans certains milieux canadiens francais aux apparences plutot anglophones. L'excuse bien souvent vise a favoriser la clientele a desservir par l'entreprise quelle qu'elle soit.

90) Passe encore de favoriser l'unilinguisme visant sa propre communaute mais dela a souligner une autre communaute, cela c'est fort. Autant vaut favoriser l'anglais sur toute la ligne et qu'on en parle plus.

91) C'est tout comme la situation qui subsiste dans les milieux maritimes et au sein du monde touristique d'un bout à l'autre du pays. Une lacune lamentable existe la aussi d'ailleurs et comment.

92) Dans une serie de courts memoires que je faisais parvenir au Ministre des Transports et a la Voie Maritime du St-Laurent recemment, j'elaborais multiples commentaires et discussions que j'avais receuilli aupres des capitaines, marins et ouvriers divers dans le port de Montreal et sur les divers chantiers maritimes environnants, aux abords des ecluses aux environs de Montreal. Ces propos venant de Canadiens et aussi d'etrangers, parfaitement en connaissance des lacunes existant en ce domaine se sont accordes a dire que la situation unilingue etait favorablement exercee chez eux a tous les niveaux. Si vous voulez etre temoins des actes de favoritisme repugnants et successivement commis au sein de ce monde, c'est bel et bien le milieu a choisir pour des fins d'enquete qui porte entierement au sujet que nous analisons. Cela saute aux yeux et choque tellement ce systeme d'unilinguisme et de tribulation anglo-saxonne persiste et s'accentue en force au point que vous ne pouvez presquement pas

parler francais entre Canadiens Francais sans etre fortement reprimande et malmene par tous ceux qui n'ont rien de commun avec vous en ce domaine.

93) Et fait a remarquer, cette situation n'existe pas dans les milieux maritimes Americains cependant ou l'on fait usage de la langue de l'opposant si le cas est necessaire, voir meme a fournir des interpretes qui sont des officiers Americains bilingues pour faciliter les moyens de transiger et de communiquer adequatement avec le client.

94) On m'a meme narre des faits recents survenus aux ecluses americaines de Snell et Eisenhower le long de la Voie Maritime cote des Etats-Unis ou l'on usait de tels procodes. On a meme permis la visite des certains navires et procede a des demonstrations instructives sur l'equipement utilise sur ces batiments pour le benefice de ces visiteurs. Et quoi encore. Meme a Montreal, J'ai ete temoins au cours de visites sur des batiments destroyers et canadiens et Americains de la difference flagrante existant dans le systeme.

95) Comment expliquer une telle persistance chez nous quand des purs etrangers ne l'appliquent pas sur leurs batiments comme sur les batiments canadiens naviguant dans leurs eaux?....

96) La meme situation se rencontre dans d'autres endroits tels que a la Galerie Nationale, dans certaines ecoles vouees a l'enseignements des langues, meme au Quebec, dans certaines organisations syndicales, au sein de certaines associations et corporations civiles dans l'administration de plusieurs magasins a rayons et a chaine tout autant que l'on s'y retrouve mal lorsque l'on decouvre la meme lacune dans la composition de certains corps artistiques, dans le domaine des arts et des lettres; et j'en passe une quantite d'autres tout aussi importants.

97) Comment expliquer que meme au fonctionnarisme, le patronage et le favoritisme se pratiquent de la meme facon ne se basant que rarement sur les qualifications du candidat ou des candidats qui etant aptes a remplir ces fonctions et bilingues en plus

dans bien des cas, se voient eliminer de ce fait d'une participation meritoire a la cause de prosperite et d'essort du pays par une preference anglosaxonne trop souvent unilingue et malheureusement souvent insuffisante pour combler les responsabilites qui comportent une telle position. Et pourtant, cela se fait. Meme au niveau provincial et meme au Quebec. C'est disgracieux et inconcevable a la fois...!

98) A quoi sert a l'individu de se vouer a des etudes avancees et a l'apprentissage d'une langue s'il ne peut servir apres s'etre qualifie et specialise dans son domaine?... A quoi sert au debutant ou a tout autre individu riche mais aussi le pauvre, l'infortune de cumuler travail et etudes et de depenser de fortes sommes, au prix de durs sacrifices, a s'instruire et s'eduquer, de combler son cerveau d'un bagage de connaissances usuelles s'il ne peut meme pas s'en servir et les faire profiter et en faire profiter son pays dans l'accomplissement d'une fonction meritoire, remuneratrice et utile a l'essort culturel et economique de son pays par la pratique de tels procedes illegaux en somme?...

99) Le meme cas se presente pour des Neo-Canadiens qui tonbent sous la meme banniere que nous, les Canadiens Francais. Et tout cela, dans un pays democratique et foncierement independant et respectable que le notre....C'est tout a fait inacceptable et cela demande egalement correction spontanee et immediate avant que le mal n'enraie toute la nation sous tous les niveaux vitaux...

100) Je desapprouve totalement cette politique devenue nationale tout autant que je desapprouve la politique separatiste et independantiste qui n'a rien de bon et d'acceptable ou d'efficace pour nous tous, Canadiens qui que nous soyons.

101) Il faut donc que nous agissions rapidement en nous prevalant de nos droits respectifs comme tels et que par la participation de tous et la collaboration de nos gouvernements nous reussions dans un effort commun a restaurer entierement la vraie constitution canadienne par des reglements et des reformes

conformes a tous les besoins vitaux de la nation canadienne sans egards de ses abonnes.

102) Il est de toute evidence que nos dirigeants, nos gouvernements tant federal que provinciaux se prevalent de leurs pouvoirs et agissnet en sorte que sur le domaine de l'education, les changements efficaces soient apportes repondant parfaitement aux exigences de l'heure et l'occasion soit donnee a tous de beneficier de tous ses nombreux avantages meme en ce qui regarde la gratuite scolaire, le systeme de bourses accordees aux etudiants necessiteux et les contacts etudiants soient elargis dans leurs cadres facilitant les echanges mutuellement.

103) Il faut que les reseaux d'informations et qui servent a la communication, a l'instruction et a l'education tels que la Presse, la radio et la television fassent un plus effort pour apporter aux Canadiens par une programmation sagement etudiee et analysee et appliquee afin de combler le vide cause par l'inefficacite des systemes educationnels eventuels deja insuffisants et vieux jeux desuqles beaucoup de nous tous sommes les victimes irresponsables. Il en est ainsi pour les ecoles de specialisation de tous les corps de metiers et de personnalite qui sont que trop rares et ne suffisent plus a la tache de meme que les ecoles du soir qui affichent des programmations formats de poches, si je peux m'exprimer ainsi.

104) Il faut egalement que sur le front ouvrier, ces actes discrimatoires cessent chez nos Canadiens anglais comme francais tant dans l'entreprise privee que dans les milieux fonctionnaristes et au sein des societes de la Couronne.

105) Il est temps que nos dirigeants, en qui nous avons mis notre confiance sachent adopter une attitude dorenavant qui saura combler aux diverses et multiples lacune qui ont assombries notre securite nationale par une discipline severe d'abord dans leur propre milieu et ensuite sur l'etendue du pays afin de faire renaitre chez nous un climat qui nous a echappe il y a de cela trop longtemps qui aurait su etre beaucoup plus efficace et

propice a chacun pour une meilleure comprehension et communion, favorisant au niveau national des relations autrement superieures a celles-ci existantes et ce, pour une meilleure unite, pour la formation d'une saine nation enviee de tous et de tous les pays et nations qui nous fixent a tout instant des divers points du globe et tout specialement nos voisins les Etats-Unis et les certaines autres pays avec qui nous chevauchons continuellement pour la liberte, l'egalite des races, l'union de l'Humanité entiere et la paix.

106) A mon avis, ce n'est qu'en affichant une nouvelle attitude similaire a celle que j'ai mentionnee; en favorisant un meilleur climat et une tres large comprehension, une entente mutuelle sous tous les niveaux sans egard encore une fois du groupe auquel nous appartenons, que nous reussirons a former une jeune nation, forte, unie, prospere demunie de partisanneries et ce fait nous ragagnerons vitement et hautement la confiance, d'abord en nous-meme, puis ensuite celle de toutes les autres nations du monde qui nous vouerons j'en suis sure un respect et un devouement que nous n'avons encore jamais connu et qui saura, dans un avenir tres proche, je l'espere nous elever au meme niveau que tous les autres, travaillant tous a la meme cause: L'Egalite, la Liberte et la Paix, au sein de l'Humanite.

J. RéJean Taillefer.
Novembre 1963.

NO.: 760-614

TITLE: to the Co-Chairmen and members of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism.

AUTHOR: Wasyl Swystun.

Brief of 32 pages; 11 recommendations

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REMARKS OF ANALYST: This is a personal brief, submitted by a Winnipeg Barrister of Ukrainian origin.

The conclusions- derived from his personal experiences - are reproduced in his recommendations which, in fact, are similar to the general demands of most Ukrainian organizations.

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ATT.: RESEARCH — Pages

- On proportion of French Canadians abandoning their mother tongue in the western provinces, as compared to the relatively small proportion for the other ethnic groups . . . . . 7 - 9
- Historics of the Autro-Hungarian Ausgleich . . . . . 9
- On certain Manitoba statutes and ensuing litigation . . . . 23- 24
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By: Wasyl Swystun, Barrister

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Summary.

1 - Introduction (p. 1)

- Mr. Swystun has been in Canada for 53 years; a teacher at one time and later on, a barrister practicing in Winnipeg.
- He became a Canadian citizen in 1921 and has been active in politics both in the provinces of Manitoba and Saskatchewan.
- The opinions expressed in this brief are those of the author alone.

2 - Bi-bilingualism in Canada (pp. 2-3)

- Bilingualism and Biculturalism affect Canada as a nation with its two founding people and the other ethnic groups.
- Although the Commission received its mandate to deal with bilingualism and biculturalism, it seems that it is rather preoccupied with Bi-nationalism which is not within the terms of reference of the Commission.
- Along with the contribution of the founding races, the Commission should also consider those of the other ethnic groups.

3 - Equal rights for both languages (pp. 3-4)

- French Canadians are entitled to a full partnership as provided by the B.N.A. Act.
- Such equal partnership cannot be considered in the higher positions offered by the Civil Service and that is due to some "shortcomings of the system of education in the province of Quebec which, until recently, was out of step with the practical requirements of Canadian life".

4 - French Canadians lack initiative, caused by flaws in education system. (pp. 4-6)

- The B.N.A. Act provides for bilingualism in Quebec at all levels. But Quebec is predominately French, and as long as it is part of Canada this French character will be preserved.

- What Quebec complains about is the lack of good will in most English-speaking Quebecers that do not want to learn French and speak it. It is the case for higher officials in industry who are unable to converse with their employees. As to the complaint that very few French Canadians reach a high status in managerial or executive positions, it is not due so much to a discrimination on the part of the English Canadians, but rather to the shortcomings of the system of education in Québec; that system was controled by priests whose aim was to produce priests, lawyers and doctors.
- The present Quebec government, it must be said, is reorganizing the system.
- French will always be predominant in Quebec, and the restructuring of the educational system will permit more French Canadians to control the industrial, economic and business life in Quebec.

5. - <u>French Canadians, no more first minority of the western provinces (pp. 6-9)</u>
- From the 1961 census, in the Western provinces more French Canadians have abandoned their mother tongue than Ukrainians. The French ethnic group represent 30.4% of the population of Canada, but there are only 28% of the Canadian population whose mother tongue is French.
- In Manitoba out of 83,936 French Canadians, only 60,899 declare French as their mother tongue. And out of 105,372 Ukrainians, 85,173 declare Ukrainian as their mother tongue. And so 27.4% refuse French as their mother tongue where as only 19.2% refuse Ukrainian as their mother tongue.
- In Saskatchewan, 39.5% of French Canadians do not use French as their mother tongue, and only 14.9% of Ukrainians do not use Ukrainian as their mother tongue.

- In Alberta, 49.1% of French Canadians do not consider French as their mother tongue, and only 20.7% of Ukrainians do not consider Ukrainian as their mother tongue.
- Those facts speak for themselves.

6 - Some French Canadian's model: The Austro-Hungarian Augleich (pp.9-16)
A status that can only prepare Quebec for complete separation.

- The separatists believe that the French Canadians in the other provinces will be assimilated, the others will have to come back to Québec.
- The moderate French Canadians believe in Confederation, but want radical changes in the BNA Act; French schools in every French settlement with French as language of instruction; and the same rights for all French Canadians in Canada.
- Another group believes in a treaty signed by the two founding groups forming two sovereign states copied on the famous Austro-Hungarian Ausgleich of 1867 (the same year as the Canadian Confederation) but the latter lasted little more than 50 years.

History and features of the Ausgleich: (p. 11)

- Each country had its own separate parliament and three common ministries of foreign affairs, war and finance: these ministries were held alternately by Austrians and Hungarians. Each had its own delegation composed of representatives of both halves of the Empire, which would also debate on common affairs in Vienna and Budapest alternately.
- Austria bore 70% of expenditures while Hungary bore the remaining 30%. Financial, customs and commercial accords between the two entities was revised every 10 years.
- Hungary had its own cabinet of ministers responsible only to the Hungarian people.
- It was a defacto union between the two states.

A - The Austrian half of the empire. (p. 12)

Austria as a state comprised Bohemia, Moravia and Galicia-Lodomeria. Austria proper comprised unilingual German population and a small Italian minority. Bohemia and Galicia were bilingual.

Bohemia was formed by Czechs and Sudeten Germans.

Galicia in its western part was Polish while in its eastern part Ukrainians were in majority and Polish in minority. The Polish minority dominated the Ukrainian majority and tried to impose Polish as a common language.

B - The Hungarian half of the empire (p. 13)

That half of the empire was composed of Hungary proper with an Hungarian (Magyar) majority plus Slovak, Ukrainian, Rumanian and German minorities. With Hungary proper, Croatia-Slovania formed another province within that particular half of the empire.

The Magyar majority was chauvinistic to the extreme "bent upon a complete extinction of the minorities". Thus the Magyar became the only language of instruction; but the Croatians and Slovanians did not abide to that demand of the Magyars, since Croatian was an autonomous province with its own provincial diet.

The Magyar pressures created an opposite effect: "it created the Jugoslav movement of the Croats, Serbs and Slovanians and encouraged the Czechs, Ukrainians and Poles to demand national autonomy for their respective lands."

In Austria arose the problem of suffrage and the representation of the various national groups in the Central Parliament. In 1909, Bosnia and Hercegovina were annexed to ensure the Empire a dominant position in the Balkans. - This led to the assassination of Francis Ferdinand to heir apparent of Francis Joseph, which occasioned the World War I and the downfall of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. -

The Ausgleich of 1867 "instead of uniting the peoples of Austria-Hungary into a viable state, offered them opportunities and reasons for continual inter-racial strifes.

- The author was born in Galicia where he received his elementary and high school education and where he witnessed the injustices and discriminations of the regime.
- If the same scheme was applied in Canada the results would be the same. And it would eventually lead to the separation of Quebec from the rest of Canada.

- Comments by John Gellner:

World War I was merely a coup de grâce in bringing to an end the Ausgleich of 1867. "It all began when the threatening victory of Hungarian aspirations first stiffened the opposition to separatism, and then strengthened the separatist tendencies of the other principal nationality of the empire, the Germans themselves."

The reaction was identical "to the mounting anti-separatist feelings of the English-speaking Canadians". And then followed cries of nationalism from the other ethnic groups leading to the eventual drowning of the Austrian idea.

After such a long and bitter experience, "Europe has succeeded in ridding itself of the aberrations of nationalism". Presently, Africa and Asia are going through the same phase of their existence. And in a civilized country like Canada such the same problems are taking root; "we seem to be the retarded children of the West".

7. Canada: "Two nations or one" (p. 16-23)

- See the views of Dr. Eugene Forsey Canada is both two nations and one; two nations in the ethnic, cultural, sociological sense; one nation in the political, legal

and constitutional senses.

- Swynstun believes that nation has two more senses; - as a people having the same language, customs, history in the same territory aspiring to self determination - or as an equivalent of state consisting of one or two or three peoples.
- Lord Durham wrote in his report "Two nations warring in the bosom of a single state".
- Canada was formed by a peaceful agreement or "political marriage between two races (peoples) to live and let live in Confederation" with a certain type of partnership between the contracting parties.
- In 1767 the French became the subjects of the king of England and in 1791 the province of Quebec was renamed Lower Canada in 1867. During those years the attempts to anglicize the French settlers were futile. In 1822 there was an attempt by a Montreal group of merchants to pass a bill for the union of the two Canadas, with English as the sole language and with "a property franchise so high that French Canadians would be debarred from voting". - The bill was dropped by the British government, but it lead to the organization of "LES PATRIOTES" by Louis-Joseph Papineau whose rebellion was crushed but led to a betterment of English-French relations.
- On the other hand, Upper Canadians were dissatisfied, and a movement lead by W.-L. MacKenzie, THE REFORMERS, wanted responsible government in the province; this also lead to a rebellion which was instrumental in establishing self-government in Canada.

- As a result of all this Lord Durham was appointed Governor General of British North America. His report advocated the "anglicization" of the French Canadians in Lower Canada by reunification of the two into one province of Canada. Thus was instituted the Union Act of 1840.
- This Act created the opposite effect that was expected. It strengthened the French-Canadian efforts to preserve their language and culture. And so the Baldwin-Lafontaine ministry was created to prepare the establishment of a responsible government.
- Confederation could only be brought about by Great Britain since the contracting parties were British subjects. And so the BNA Act was passed in 1867. It was the intentions of the Fathers of Confederation to create a strong federal state; the matters of general interest to be dealt with by the general legislature, while the local legislature to deal with matters of local interest.
- The kingdom of Canada was MacDonald's dream but it never became; he insisted on close ties between Canada and the mother country "to stand close by in peace and war".
- With the Statute of Westminster Canada achieved independence, with the only vestige, Canada's constitution being an Act of the British Parliament.
- The anomaly should be removed, opinion of Mr. Swystun.

- Professor A.R.M. Lower: Canada is one nation, not two. It took centuries to unite England and Scotland, to form Germany or Italy - but in North America a miracle has occured. Canada and the United States.
- A good example, Switzerland: there are three official languages but one single nation. - Same thing should be observed for Canada.

8 - <u>In western provinces: French should be on same footing as German-Ukrainian-Polish-Icelandic and the others.</u> (pp.[illegible])

- Considering:
  - Section 133 of BNA Act: French in parliamentary debates and federal courts.
  - Section 23 of Manitoba Act 1870 permitting either languages in the legislature debates and the federal courts.
  - Act of Manitoba of 1890 - English the sole official language.
  - Section 93 of BNA Act concerning education.
  - Section 22 of Manitoba Act.
  - The statute of Manitoba of 1871 regarding education.
  - The Manitoba Public School Act of 1890.
  - "Barret vs Winnipeg" and "Logan vs Winnipeg" 1892 AC 445.
  - Certain Statutes of Manitoba re: Education.
  - The ethnic and language changes in the western provinces.
- It is evident that under the BNA Act,
  (1) Bilingualism should be at the federal level and in federal courts.
  (2) Education is strictly a provincial matter, and so is the right to permit or deny the use of the French language.

- It is also evident that according to the 1961 census of Canada, French Canadians are no more the largest minority in western Canada.
- And although French Canadians are one of the founding people, their position does not give them the right to demand that French be official in all the Canadian provinces.

- As to the demands of establishing French as the language of instruction in the districts where there is substantial French population, the author is not in favour. Being a Ukrainian of origin he would not like his children to go through primary school in Ukrainian - after all they would have to continue the remainder of their education in English, and earn a living in English. Thus the same thing should apply to the French people. The children will never learn enough English in the streets.

- An example; In Kiteman, a Ukrainian town in Austria, half the subjects in schools were given in Ukrainian and the other half in German; within 10 years, all the subjects were given in Ukrainian.

- French should replace Latin, which is no more a compulsery subject in Europe.

- The other languages should be taught as languages of study where there is a dominating minority; and in these particular districts these languages should be taught as conversational languages in first grade on an equal footing as French, where there is a French dominating minority. - Russian should also be taught because of its importance today.

- Since education is a provincial matter, the Federal shouldntintervene but discussions and conferences should be held by the two governments. - An historical precedent was created with the Compromise of 1897 where in Public Schools of Manitoba

10 or more children of a certain language, other than English, in one school could be taught in their mother tongue.

- And so between 1897 and 1916 all minority languages were on the same footing as French and had it not been for that, Swystun would have never become a Canadian citizen.

760-647

# A BRIEF SUBMITTED TO THE ROYAL COMMISSION

# ON BILINGUALISM AND BICULTURALISM

BY THE

CABINETS OF THE STUDENT CHRISTIAN MOVEMENT IN

THE UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA AND IN UNITED COLLEGE

WINNIPEG, MANITOBA

Not to be released until the visit of

the Commission to Winnipeg in October, 1965.

PLAN

lisme. Des étudiants et d'autres personnes interessées pourraient être interviewé.

4. Etant donné que les centres français dans l'ouest canadien sont trop petit pour produire leurs propres quotidiens, nous recommandons que le Bureau des Postes envoie par avion des quotidens français dans l' ouest canadien en maintenant les taux réguliers.

5. Nous recommandons que les deux niveaux de gouvernement fournissent des fonds permettant des films de langue française et du théatre français de circuler au Manitoba et dans l'ouest canadien.

6. Nous recommandons que le studio du CBC à Winnipeg soit utilisé pour produire des émissions de langue française dépeignant la vie et la culture de l'ouest canadien. De cette façon les canadiens-français du Québec auraient un lieu véritable avec l'ouest canadien et pourraient se renseigner au sujet de cette région canadienne enrichie au point de vue culturel par des Mennonites, des Ukrainiens, des Islandais et des gens d'origines ethniques variées.

Le dualisme et le 'leadership' parmi et les français et les anglais, dans le shpère du dualisme. Il reste à espèrer qu'un groupe de volontaires qui pourra assumer cette direction sera évolvé.

RECOMMENDATIONS

We recommend

A i) that steps be taken to assure in Western Canada the rightful use of the French language, the basic Canadian language of over five million Canadians.

ii) that the language rights be guaranteed by necessary Constitutional changes

iii) that since provincial social unity based on the primacy of the English language is no longer threatened in Western Canada, steps should now be taken to assure national unity, to assure the language rights of French-Canadians whose forefathers moved West from Quebec, and to promote bilingualism in Canada. To further this end, provincial governments should establish French language shcools accessible to anyone who wishes to enrol.

iv) that the Post Office air mail French language dailies to Western Canada at surface mail rates since the French communities here are too small to produce their own daily papers.

v) that the various levels of government provide funds to enable French language movies and French language theatre to be seen in Manitoba and other parts of Western Canada.

vi) that the Winnipeg studio of the CBC be used to produce French language shows featuring Western Canadian life and culture. In this way French-Canadians in Quebec would have a real link with Western Canada and could learn about that region of Canada culturally enriched by Mennonites, Ukrainians, Icelanders and other people of various ethnic origins.

vii) that local institutions, such as churches, ethnic and cultural groups, business and advertising groups, the University and leadership groups be encouraged to take local action to develop the preservation and use of the French language.

B i) that steps be taken to develop in the culture and minds of Canadians a truly Canadian-wide concept of 'Canadianism'. We suggest that it should generally be based on the idea that Canada has two basic national languages embodied in cultural structures that are enriched by ethnic sub-cultures and languages.

ii) that since the above can be attained by clearing up misunderstandings and confusions due to language usage and conflicting concept, an educational programme involving schools, churches, organizations, conferences and individual reading should be encouraged.

peuvent faire beaucoup en discutant ce sujet. Il est aussi suggéré qu'une étude soit faite sur la possibilité d'échanges de jeunes qui permettraient à des jeunes gens de familles d'expression française de passer quelques semaines dans des foyers anglais et vice-versa. Ceci se ferait sur une petite échelle entre le Manitoba et le Québec. Nous suggérons qu'un plan semblable soit introduit au Manitoba même. 3. On devrait demander au 'Canadian Council of Churches' et aux associations nationales telles que les "Student Christian Movement' de regarder le dualisme comme problème pressant.

D'AUTRES GROUPES ETHNIQUES

33. Les autres groupes ethniques au Canada ont fait et continuent à faire des contributions considérables dans l'art, la politique, le commerce, l'agriculture et l'industrie, c'est-à-dire à la société toute entière. Nous croyons que leurs contributions culturelles peuvent se rattacher aux deux cultures de base, et non seulement à la culture anglaise. Nous sommes intéressés au maintien des langues des autres groupes ethniques. Mais la conservation de ces langues ne devrait pas se confondre avec la conservation des langues officielles du Canada. Afin de promouvoir un meilleur accord entre les Anglais et les Français d'une part, et d'autres groupes ethniques d'autre part, nous recommandons que des visites educatives à des milieux ethniques soient organisées pour les étudiants de langue française et anglaise.

LES AFFAIRES ET LA PUBLICITE

34. Nous reconnaissons que le dualisme peut être promu ou gêné par les affaires et la publicité. Nous nous inquiétons particulièrement du manque de bilinguisme dans la publicité.

35. Nous recommandons qu'une lettre ouverte soit envoyée à 'La Liberté et le Patriote' en ce qui concerne le manque de responsabilité de la part de la communauté d'affaires française dans l'évolution du dualisme et de l'identité française à Saint-Boniface.

LES GROUPES CULTURELS ET LES MOYENS DE COMMUNICATION

36. 1. En général chacun des deux groupes de base devrait recevoir plus de publicité en ce qui concerne activités culturelles de l'autre groupe.

2. La plus grande prise de conscience du Cercle Molière et des autres produits de la culture française devrait être promu au sein de la communauté anglaise. Aussi, le M.T.C. devrait jouir de plus de publicité à St-Boniface.

3. Nous rendons hommage au poste de radio français de St-Boniface, CKSB. Nous recommandons que CKSB présente une courte émission hebdomadaire traitant du dua -

Brief Submitted by the Cabinets of the Student Christian Movement in the University of Manitoba and in United College, Winnipeg, Manitoba.

## The Student Christian Movement

1. The SCM is an interdenominational movement in the University of Manitoba. Through its programme of activities and fellowship, it seeks to present the truth and the claims of Jesus Christ, and to challenge students to find in Him the deepest meaning of life.

2. It is one of twenty units in Canada which are linked directly with SCM's in more than 60 nations through the World Student Christian Federation.

3. The University of Manitoba SCM, like the movements in every country, must see itself in three relationships-to the Church, to the academic community, and to the world.

4. In relation to the Church, we pray and work for the renewal, mission and a unity of the Church; the SCM calls students to active participation in the life of the Church at home and abroad.

5. In relation to the academic world, it seeks the acceptance of the Lordship of Christ in the vocation of the student through open discussion, serious study and vital worship.

6. In relation to the world, it challenges students to discern the activity of God in the political, social, economic, and racial changes of the times, and to seek God's will for their participation in the life of the world.

## Preamble

7. The student Christian Movement of the University of Manitoba and United College believe that Canada has reached a crisis in its development. The country as a whole has suddenly been forced to recognize the extreme lack of communication and understanding between its English-speaking and French speaking people. Thus, at a time in which the popular movement in the world is toward unity for strength and understanding, our country is being made aware of her internal division.

8. The problem dates back to Confederation when the Fathers of Confederation created one country from the French-speaking and English-speaking British colonies in North America. In framing the British North America Act, they took legal precautions to guarantee French speaking citizens the same basic rights granted them in the Quebec Act passed a century earlier. Thus, they could live in Canada and enjoy all the benefits of full citizenship without having to learn English. Specifically, French language rights were guaranteed in public instututions in the province of Quebec and in the federal parliament and courts. (English was guaranteed in the other three provinces where the vast majority spoke English). But, English was also guaranteed to a significa-

L'UNIVERSITE

30. A l'université nous voyons le besoin d'une organisation d'étudiants qui serait capable de promouvoir et de pratiquer le dualisme. Des études préliminaires devront être entreprises avant qu'une telle organisation puisse être établie.

31. Nous proposons les recommendations suivantes: 1) que le comité de conférences de l'université soit consulté et qu' on lui demande de considérer la possibilité de faire venir des conférenciers qualifiés au campus. 2) qu'à cause du désir d'étudiants d'expression anglaise de participer à des activités de langue française et aussi à cause du désir de ces étudiants anglais de fraterniser avec des étudiants canadien-français, nous suggérons que les conseils d'étudiants des collèges français et anglais, et de l'université coopèrent à la réalisation de ce projet; 3) que l'administration de l'université de Manitoba considère: a) de laisser prendre des cours au collège de Saint-Boniface aux étudiants qui prendrait une majorité en français. b) la possibilité d'enseigner en français l'histoire du Canada ou l'histoire de la France à des étudiants d'expression anglaise. c) la possibilité d'encourager un échange de professeurs entre le Collège de Saint-Boniface et les autres collèges affiliés à l'université. d) la possibilité d'établir un centre d'étudiants et une résidence française.

LES EGLISES

32. Traditionellement les églises ont toujours eu des attitudes négatives vis à vis des relations entre les deux groupes ethniques fondamentaux au Canada. Les églises anglaises ont eu tendance à être la forteresse de la supériorité anglaise et ont montré de l'ignorance envers le problème français. D'un autre côté les églises françaises furent caractérisées par ce dicton; "Qui perd la langue, perd la foi". Nous proposons qu'une demande soit faite aux églises en vue d'expliquer et d'encourager une étude du dualisme parmi ses membres selon les façons suivantes:

1) par des groupes d'études - les principales dénominations anglaises et françaises pourraient travailler ensemble en vue de préparer des plans d'études. Nous croyons que le problème du dualisme doit être discuté effectivement avec les canadiens d'autres origines ethniques. Nous croyons particulièrement que les églises anglaises ont une responsabilité spéciale dans l'établissement de la bonne entente au sujet des problèmes entourant le dualisme. Les anglais ne seront pas vus comme demandant des privilèges spéciaux lorsqu'ils recherchent des droits fondamentaux, non pour eux-mêmes mais pour leurs compatriotes français.

2) Des organisations de jeunes telles que le YPU, l'ATPA, le CYO et d'autres

antly large and important English minority in Quebec.

9. The language rights stipulated in the B.N.A. Act reflect the thinking of the 'Fathers of Confederation' regarding the use of French and English languages in the four founding provinces of Confederation. But there was a constitutional limitation in the B.N.A. Act regarding the stipulation of language usage in Rupertsland which was only a territory at the time the B.N.A. Act was passed. No-one was more ware of this than the observant Joseph Howe and Sir John A. MacDonald. Therefore, MacDonald took the precaution of specifying the language rights for the new province of Manitoba in the Manitoba Act. The Act was duly passed by parliament in 1870 and became an amendment to the B.N.A. Act. It should also be noted the Public School Act of 1870 incorporated these same foundational principles in public education when they came under provincial jurisdiction in the newly created province.

10. Those who framed the Manitoba Act took into consideration the pattern of duality which had been firmly established in the 1830's. The H.B.C. Council of Assiniboia, the official governing bodies of the territory, subsidized the Roman Catholic and Protestant Schools administered and staffed by the Roman Catholic Diocese of the North West and the Church Missionary Society, on a basis of equality. The religious pattern was dual confessional - Roman Catholic halfbreeds were educated mostly in French. From the very beginning the Roman Catholic Schools taught some classes in English and the Protestants Schools make some attempt to teach French. As the following quotation from Articles 22 and 23 of the Manitoba Act bears out, this pattern of duality definitely was to be retained in the new province. Hence there is no doubt that the same men who framed the B.N.A. Act anticipated a bilingual West.

> 22. In and for the Province, the said Legislature may exclusively make Laws in relation to Education, subject and according to the following provisions: (1) Nothing in any such Law shall prejudicially affect any right or privilege with respect to Denominational Schools which any class if perhaps have by Law or practice in the Province at the Union.
>
> 23. Either the English or the French language may be used by any person in the debates ofthe Houses of the Legislature and both those languages shall be used in the respective Records and Journals of the House.

11. For a generation this dualistic plan worked out in Manitoba and there was good-will on the part of both the French and English. However, the

RECOMMENDATIONS
PROPOSÉES PAR UN GROUPE D'ÉTUDIANTS QUI PARTICIPAIENT A DES DISCUSSIONS
ETUDIANT LE MANITOBA-FRANCAIS

La liste suivante est celle des institutions et des groupes que nous avons examinés:

1. Les écoles
2. L'université
3. Les églises
4. Les autres groupes ethniques
5. Les groupes d'affaires et les groupes d'annonces publicitaires.
6. Les groupes culturels et autres moyens de communications.
7. Les groupes d'élites.

LES ECOLES

27. La question de l'éducation est d'importance primordiale. Les français croient qu'ils perdent graduellement leur héritage culturelle et même leur langue parce que l'enseignement que leurs enfants reçoivent est presque complètement en anglais. Si les français, en autant que ceci est possible, avaient la permission de recevoir leur enseignement dans leur propre langue, la culture française pourrait être beaucoup mieux sauvegardée au Manitoba. Les gens d'expression anglaise en bénéficieraient également puisque de meilleurs instituteurs de français leurs seraient garantis. Il est en ce moment géméralement accepté que si les étudiants d'expression française maîtrisent leur langue premièrement, ils seraient beaucoup plus compétents dans la langue anglaise.

28. Nous recommendons alors:

1) que le français soit la langue d'enseignement dans toutes les écoles où ceci serait possible; prenons comme exemple les communautés où les français sont en majorité, et où un système de transport adéquat serait à la disposition de ceux qui voudraient recevoir leur enseignement dans une école anglaise.

2) En vue d'aider à [illegible]oir des instituteurs nous recommendons l'établissement d'une école normale française. Une institution pour desservir les trois provinces des prairies. Ici, de futurs instituteurs pourraient recevoir une préparation dans leur langue et pourraient acquérir une plus grande compréhension de leur culture. En plus, ceux qui voudraient enseigner le français à des gens d'expression anglaise pourraient eux aussi recevoir leur préparation ici.

29. L'enseignement du français dans les écoles anglaises serait amélioré grandement si des cours de conversation française étaient donnés au grade I. (de plus nous croyons qu'il n'y pas une assez grande attention portée à l'enseignement de la grammaire anglaise dans les classes primaires. Les élèves n'ont pas une connaissance adéquate des principes de base de leur propre langue, et à cause de cela ils ont de la difficulté à apprendre une langue seconde, parce qu'il leur manque un des principes fondamentaux de structure de langue).

peaceful operation of this dualistic pattern was upset by certain developments:

i the growth of English dominated commerce and industry;

ii heavy immigration from continental Europe

iii the heavy growth of frontier settlements with people from English-speaking Ontario which was not matched by a similar growth of French-speaking people from Quebec.

In Canada in general, but in the West in particular, English soon became the major language of commerce and industry. The entrepreneurial class grew from amongst the English-Canadians. Business was transacted in English in the developing cities. English became the 'official' language used in most factories and other industrial organizations. French-Canadians soon realized that a knowledge of English was necessary if one wanted to compete or even work in business and commerce effectively.

12. The heavy flow of immigrant farmers from Ontario after 1870 had a profound effect on developing Manitoba. The English-speaking soon outnumbered the French-speaking people. But more significantly, these new English homesteaders were less sympathetic to French Roman Catholics than their English-speaking counter-partss who had quietly settled before 1870. This new element in Manitoba society radically changed the language and cultural structure in the province which resulted in a diminishing role for 'Franco-Manitobains' in the community. The most significant legislative change affected the structure of the public schools. During the now famous 'Manitoba school controversy', the French language became associated with Roman Catholic schools. When the dualistic school system (ie. English 'Protestant' and French 'Catholic') was destroyed, the dualistic language pattern was destroyed with it. However, public protests resulted in the granting of new language rights spelled out in 1897 in the Laurier-Greenway Agreement.

> When ten of the pupils in any school speak the French language or any other language other than English, as their native language, the teaching of such pupils shall be conducted in French, or such other language, and English, upon the bilingual system.

13. This agreement clearly dindicates that English should become the dominant language in Manitoba and that everyone should learn it. It also shows the mark made by the immigrants from continental Europe. The government was already taking steps to 'anglicize' the immigrants by assimilating them into the English language culture. As shown by the Laurier-Greenway agreement above, some steps were taken to preserve the native tongues of the immigrants as

tique, économique et autres activités sociales à la lumière de ce que nous croyons être juste et vrai. F ce moment, nous pensons que la croissance future du Canada selon les idées dualistiques exprimées plus haut, est d'une importance primordiale dans cette ligne de pensée. Nous avons aussi la responsabilité de donner des suggestions aux églises au sujet de leurs recherches d'une unité spirituelle et de la fraternité parmi les gens de la terre.

21. Comme Manitobains nous croyons que notre contribution la plus profitable serait d'attaquer le problème de mésentente et d'injustice qui règne entre les cultures anglaise et française de notre province. Ces problèmes doivent être résolus simplement par une grande solution nationale parce que ces problèmes varient tellement de province en province et parce que la tâche la plus difficile est de changer les attitudes et les idées. C'est pourquoi nos rec ommendations sont limitées à des institutions et des situations manitobaines dans l'espoir que des solutions basées sur des problèmes relativement locaux contribueront à l'union des français et des anglais dans un dualisme qui, nous espérons, prendra d'autres formes d'expression dans d'autres parties de notre pays et de cette façon mènera à une unité canadienne.

25. Comme exemple du genre d'activités auxquelles nous nous pensons, nous ajoutons dans notre mémoire des recommendations proposées par un groupe d'étudiants de langue française et de langue anglaise qui ont participé à des discussions lors de "week-end" organisés en vue d'étudier l'état de la culture française du Manitoba.



Nous, comme étudiants sommes intéressés à ce problème.

22. Nous, comme étudiants, et comme jeunes canadiens, sommes particulièrement intéressés à résoudre ce problème. Comme étudiants nous sommes les représentents de la génération de canadiens qui seront les prochains à diriger notre pays et à

secondary languages. French, oddly enough, was put in this same category and even to-day it is regarded as such by most English-speaking people in Manitoba. However, the language rights were to be changed once again. In 1916, the use of languages other than English was dropped entirely. Later, legislation enabled French teachers to legally use French as a language of instruction one hour each day. Thus, French has been recognized in a limited way as the language of those whose ancestors came from French-speaking Quebec. *

14. In Manitoba, the above described policy regarding the use of languages and their schools has enabled Manitoba to develop a social unity based on the common usage of the English language. Unfortunately, this same policy which created provincial unity has created national disunity. Manitoba both symbolically and geographically represents the place where the dualistic language pattern broke down as Canada continued to expand westwardly. It is in Manitoba where a Canadian version of the American Melting pot concept of social unity, called the 'Mosaic pattern' (essential assimilation into the indigenous institutions and language but retention of some ethnic characteristics, i.e. dances, ethnic churches, ethnic associations, 'second languages', etc). replaced the dualistic pattern which earlier had been anticipated. Since, by their nature, these concepts of 'Canadianism' conflict with each other, the development of friction and social problems became inevitable. Thus, English-speaking Canadians in the West who accept the dominance of the English language in Canada cannot understand 'what all the fuss is about in Quebec'. Those whose ~~family~~ forefathers immigrated from Central Europe are particularly vocal in this regard and some at least interpret the special recognition of the French language in Manitoba as a privilege given to one 'ethnic'group. By the same token, the French moderates in Quebec who are still thinking in terms of a dualistic and united Canada see the dominance of the English language in the West as discrimination against French-speaking Canadians.

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Footnote.

* There is an interesting legal aspect of this problem. The language provisions of the Manitoba Act are guaranteed by federal statute. Language rights have not been specifically designated to provincial jurisdiction. Therefore there is reason to contend that the province of Manitoba in passing educational legislation acted ultra vires, besides beyond the pale of Natural Law upheld in other court cases respecting education in Canadian provinces, in amending what was not only a federal statute but also a Constitutional Act standing with the B.N.A. Act as part of the written portion of the constitution of this country.

Le "dualisme", base de développement du Canada à venir

19. La "dualisme" est une conception de la structure sociale telle que deux cultures de baseforment un pays. Les deux cultures, dans des circonstances ordinaires permettraient à l'Anglais ou au Français de vivre, de travailler et de voyager au Canada en se servant de sa langue maternelle, qu'elle soit française ou anglaise. Nous nous rendons compte cependant que nous ne pouvons pas arrêter le cours de l'histoire et que dans l'Ouest la culture française ne remplira jamais le rôle de la culture anglaise. Mais il faut adopter les démarches laises et nettes afin de conserver les éléments qui demeurent de la culture française dans l'Ouest. Aussi c'est à l'avantage du Français d'apprendre l'anglais et de l'Anglais d'apprendre le français s'ils veulent acquérir une plus profonde compréhension l'un de l'autre. Nous faisons remarquer aussi que les employés civils, la plupart des employés sur les trains les autobus, et que beaucoup de gens en affaires, s'occupant directement du public, devraient être obligatoirement bilingues.

20. Les deux cultures principales ne doivent pas être isolées l'une de l'autre. Les membres d'une culture peuvent acquérir une meilleure saisie de la mentalité de leurs compatriotes de l'autre culture, par l'éducation dans des activités des groupes sociaux ou culturels.

21. Au Canada il y a deux cultures distinctes, enrichies par des sous-cultures ethniques. C'est sur ce dualisme que le pays doit se développer s'il veut demeurer uni.

15. It is rather obvious that there is lacking in Canada a basic social concept of 'Canadianism.' There is in fact many regional and ethnic concepts of 'Canadianism'. This is made painfully true to many concerned people in Manitoba who are constantly in touch with both English and French speaking communities here. The English-speaking are so used to the dominant use of English and are so sensitive to the threat to social unity created by the diversity of language, culture and religion in the past in Manitoba that they can countenance no further special consideration for the use of French. On the other hand French-Canadians who regard the French language as an indigenous and Canadian language and not an 'ethnic' language feel they are being forced to become 'English' if they want to use Manitoba public schools, read daily newspapers, go to movies and work in cities and towns. In addition, their compatriots from Quebec find it almost impossible to visit and travel in Manitoba unless they also speak English. As a result, the French feel that they are second class citizens in Manitoba.

16. We agree that the French-Canadians have justifications in objecting to the pattern of Canadian development that has characterized the first half of this century. French-Canadians want the equal rights their forefathers had anticipated in Confederation. They will not be assimilated at least in Quebec and have already made a distinctive contribution to Canada in education, theatre, literature, journalism, T.V. and music in the French communities of the country.

17. Certain changes must be made.

18. It is our opinion that the British North America Act must be reviewed to guarantee the French-speaking people by constitution the right to live as Canadian citizens freely using their own language. Further, we hold that it is necessary to work out with one another a new pattern of social unity based on a truly Canadian-wide concept of 'Canadianism' which embraces the positive objectives of the many regional concepts of 'Canadianism' erroneously thought by many as being held Canadian-wide. Such a concept cannot be created by legislation, nor by the imposition of ideas of an intellectual élite. But intelligent reading, listening and participation in discussions will in time enable Canadians to hear and understand how other Canadians see themselves as citizens of our country.

de la langue française comme étant un privilège accordé à un autre groupe ethnique. De même, les québecois conservateurs qui pensent encore à la dualité d'un Canada uni considèrent la prédominance de l'anglais dans l'ouest comme discrimination envers les canadiens d'expression française.

15. Il est évident qu'un concept social du Canadienisme n'existe pas. En effet cette idée varie selon les régions et selon les groupes ethniques. Les gens qui ont continuellement affaire aux communautés anglaises et françaises revoient avec peine ce fait tous les jours. Les gens d'expression anglaise qui sont habitués à l'usage de leur langue et qui sont sensibles aux dangers de désunion créés dans la passé par la diversité de langue, de culture et de religion, ne peuvent considérer encore la possibilité de l'emploi de la langue française. Par conséquent , les canadiens-français qui considèrent leur langue comme une langue indigène et tout à fait canadienne et non pas une langue ethnique se sentent forcés à devenir "Anglais" s'ils veulent se servir des écoles publiques du Manitoba, lire les quotidiens, fréquenter les théâtres et travailler dans les villes et villages, De plus, leurs compatriotes québecois trouvent qu'il est difficile de visiter le Manitoba sans avoir une connaissance de la langue anglaise. Donc, les français se croient des citoyens de seconde zone.

Nous reconnaissons que les canadiens-français sont justifiés dans leurs objections quant au développement qui a caractérisé la première moitié de ce siècle. Les canadiens-français désirent les droits anticipés p[illegible] leurs aïeux au temps de la Confédération. Ils ne seront pas assimilés, au moins au Québec, et ils ont déjà fait une contribution particulière au Canada dans le domaine de l'éducation, théâtre, littérature, journalisme, T.V., et musique dans les communautés françaises du pays.

17. Il y a des changements à faire.

18. Nous sommes d'avis que l'Acte de l'Amérique britannique du Nord soit revisé afin qu'une garantie constitutionelle soit accordé aux canadiens d'expression française leur donnant le droit de vivre comme citoyens canadiens en employant leur propre langue. De plus nous voyons la nécessité de trouver ensemble une nouvelle structure d'unité sociale basée sur un concept national du Canadienisme qui comprend les fins positives de tous les concepts régionaux de Canadianisme que l'on croit [illegible]onément être tenus par tous les Canadiens. Un tel concept ne peut être créé par les législateurs ni par des idées [illegible] [illegible]lectuel. C'est en lisant intelligem[illegible] , en écoutant et en participant à des discussions que des Canadiens pourront entendre et comprendre comment les autres se voient comme citoyens de notre pays.

"Dualism" The basis for the Future Development of Canada

19. "Dualism" is a concept of social structure in which there are two basic cultures to form one country. These two cultures would enable both English and French, under ordinary circumstances, to live, work and travel in Canada using their own language, be it French or English. We recognize, of course, that history cannot be turned back and that the French culture undoubtedly could never play the role in Western Canada now played by English culture. But, definite steps should be taken to preserve the remaining elements of French culture in the West. Also, it would be to the advantage of the French to learn English and of the English to learn French if they want to develop a deeper understanding of one another. It should be noted as well that civil servants, most employees, trains and buses, as well as many people in business directly serving the general public should be required to be bilingual.

20. The two main cultures should not be isolated from one another. Through education, social and cultural activities and groups, members of one culture could develop a deeper insight into the mentality of their co-patriots in the other cultural group.

21. There are in Canada two distinct cultures enriched by ethnic sub-cultures. This is the dualism upon which the country must develop if it is to remain united.

l'anglais, l'enseignement de ces étudiants leur sera accordé en français, ou en cette autre langue, et en anglais, selon le système bilingue."

Cette entente indique clairement que l'anglais devait devenir la langue dominante au Manitoba et que tous devaient l'apprendre. De plus, cette entente démontre l'influence des immigrants de l'Europe continentale. Le gouvernement prenait déjà des mesures visant à 'angliciser' les immigrants en les assimilant à la culture de la langue anglaise. Comme le démontre l'entente 'Laurier-Greenway', citée plus haut, quelques mesures ont été prises pour préserver la langue maternelle des immigrants, en tant que langue secondaire. Chose étrange, la langue française fut placée dans cette même catégorie et même de nos jours, les Manitobains de langue anglaise la considèrent comme telle.

Cependant, les droits de langue devaient être sujets à de nouveaux changements. En 1916, l'usage de langues autres que l'anglais a été aboli complètement. Plus tard, de nouvelles lois ont permis aux instituteurs français d'utiliser légalement le français comme langue d'enseignement une heure par jour. Ainsi le français a été reconnu dans une certaine mesure comme la langue de ceux dont les ancêtres sont venus du Québec français.*

Au Manitoba, la politique ci-haut décrite, concernant l'usage des langues et de leurs écoles, a permis à la province de développer une unité sociale basée sur l'emploi commun de la lange anglaise. Malheureusement, cette même politique qui a créé l'unité provinciale a aussi créé une rupture nationale. Le Manitoba représente symboliquement et géographiquement l'endroit où le système bilingue a fait échec au moment où le Canada continuait à s'étendre vers l'ouest. Le système bilingue qu'on avait d'abord envisagé s'est vu remplacé par une adaptation canadienne du "Melting pot" américain, concept d'unité sociale; on peut penser ici à une 'mosaïque' (assimilation fondamentale dans les institutions établies et la langue anglaise, tout en conservant quelques caractéristiques ethniques, i.e. danses, églises, associations, langues secondes). De leur nature, ces concepts sont en conflit et par conséquent, ils ont occasionné une certaine friction et des problèmes sociaux. C'est ainsi que les canadiens d'expression anglaise de l'ouest qui acceptent la prédominance de l'anglais [illegible] pas le brou ha ha au Québec. Ceux dont les aïeux ont immigré de l'Europe centrale se font entendre à ce sujet et quelques-uns reconnaissent le statu

*Note Il y a un aspect légal intéressant à ce problème. Les articles ayant trait à la langue dans l'Acte du Manitoba sont garantis par statut fédéral. Les droits de langue n'ont pas été renvoyés spécifiquement à la juridiction provinciale. Ainsi il pourrait raison d'affirmer que la province du Manitoba, en adoptant des places de législation ayant trait au domaine éducatif, a agi ultra vires, en plus de s'être placé en-dehors des bornes de la loi naturelle soutenue dans d'autres cas juridiques ayant trait à l'éducation dans les provinces canadiennes, en amendant ce qui était non seulment un statut fédéral mais aussi un Acte Constitutionnel, faisant partie, avec l'Acte BNA, de la portion écrite de la constitution de notre pays.

## We as Students are Interested in this Problem

22. We as students, and as young Canadians, are particularly interested in resolving this problem. As students, we are representative of the generation of Canadians who will be next to lead the country, and as such we must strive toward the strength of unity and understanding. As young people, we lack the vested interest of our parents in old values and are more free to accept new concepts and ways of life. We therefore feel that we have a responsibility to ourselves as individuals and to the country as a whole to concern ourselves with the future unity and harmony between the two founding cultures of Canada.

23. As a Christian organization, we must examine the political, economical and other social activities in the light of what we conceive to be right and just. At this time, we feel that the future growth of Canada along the lines of dualism outlined above, is of prime importance in this field of thought. We also have a responsibility to make suggestions to the churches in their striving for spiritual unity and brotherhood amongst the world's peoples.

24. As Manitobans we feel that our best contribution would be made by attempting to tackle the problems of misunderstanding and injustice which exist between the English and French cultures within our own province. These problems must be solved at their source; they cannot be solved simply be a sweeping national solution since the problems vary so greatly from province to province and because the most formidable task is the changing of attitudes and ideas. Therefore, our recommendations are restricted to Manitoba situations and institutions in the hope that solution worked out on the basis of relatively local problems will contribute toward the union of the French and English people in a dualism which we hope will take other forms of expressions in other parts of our country and thus lead to Canadian unity.

25. As an example of the kind of activities we are referring to we are including in our brief recommendations made by a group of French-speaking and English-speaking students who participated in a week-end seminar to examine the state of French culture in Manitoba.

23. La langue anglaise ou la langue française pourra être utilisée par toute personne dans les débats des Chambres de la Législature, et ces deux langues seront d'usage dans les Archives et les compte rendus de la Chambre.

11. Pendant une génération entière ce système à base de dualité fonctionna au Manitoba, et une atmosphère de bonne volonté existait entre les Français et les Anglais. Cependant, le fonctionnement paisible de ce système dualiste a été renversé par certains événements:

i la croissance du commerce et de l'industrie, dominée par les Anglais;

ii une immigration considérable de l'Europe continentale;

iii l'augmentation et la croissance des colonies de l'Ouest par l'arrivée de personnes de langue anglaise venant de l'Ontario, phénomène qui n'a pas été doublé par une croissance semblable des colonies de langue française.

Au Canada en général, mais dans l'Ouest en particulier, l'anglais devint bientôt la langue majeure du commerce et de l'industrie. La classe des entrepreneurs s'accrût chez les Canadiens anglais. Les affaires se faisaient en anglais dans les villes en voie de formation. L'anglais devint même la langue 'officielle' utilisée dans la plupart des usines et des autres organisations industrielles. Les Canadiens français ont compris rapidement que l'acquisition de l'anglais était nécessaire effectivement pour pouvoir faire compétition ou même travailler dans le domaine des affaires et du commerce.

12. L'arrivée en masse d'agriculteurs immigrant de l'Ontario après 1870 a eu un effet profond sur le Manitoba en voie de développement. Les personnes de langue anglaise furent bientôt plus nombreuses que celles de langue française. Mais ce qui est encore plus significatif, ces nouveaux immigrants étaient encore moins sympathiques aux catholiques de langue française que les immigrants anglais qui s'étaient établis tranquillement avant 1870. Cet élément nouveau dans la société manitobaine a changé radicalement la structure linguistique et culturelle de la province, ce qui fit que le rôle des 'Franco-manitobains' allait toujours s'amoindrissant. Le changement législatif le plus important atteignit la structure du système d'écoles publiques. Au cours de la 'controverse' fameuse des écoles du Manitoba, la langue française fut rattachée aux écoles catholiques. Lorsque le système scolaire dualiste (unissant les Anglais 'protestants' et les Français 'catholiques') fut détruit, le système de langues dualiste fut détruit avec lui. Cependant, les protestations populaires ont amené la déclaration de nouveaux droits de langue, fixés en 1897 dans l'entente 'Laurier-Greenway'.

"Lorsque dix des étudiants, dans quelqu'école que ce soit, ont comme langue maternelle le français, quelque langue autre ou

RECOMMENDATIONS
MADE BY STUDENTS WHO PARTICIPATED IN A SEMINAR STUDYING FRENCH-MANITOBA

26. The following are the institutions and groups which we examined:

1. Schools
2. The University
3. Churches
4. Other Ethnic Groups
5. Business and advertising groups
6. Cultural groups and other media of communication
7. Leadership Groups

SCHOOLS

27. The question of education is of prime importance. The French feel that they are gradually losing their cultural heritage and even their language because their children are taught almost completely in English. If the French were allowed to receive their public education in their own language, as much as possible, the French culture in Manitoba could be better preserved. The English-speaking people would benefit equally since they would be guaranteed better teachers of French. It is now generally accepted that if the French - speaking students master their own langauge first, they will be more proficient in the English language.

28. Therefore we recommend; 1. that French be the language of instruction in all schools where it would be feasible, for example in those communities where French people are in a majority, and where adequate provisions for transportation could be made for those wishing to be taught in English Schools. 2. In order to help supply teachers, we recommend that a French Teachers' College be established. One such institution could serve the three prairie provinces. Here, prospective teachers could be trained in their own language and acquire a deeper understanding of their culture. Moreover, those who wish to teach French to English-speaking people could be trained here as well.

29. The teaching of French in English schools could be improved greatly if French conversational courses could be started in Grade 1. (furthermore we feel that insufficient attention is being paid to the teaching of English grammar in the primary grades. The pupils have an inadequate grasp of the mechanics of their own language, and therefore have difficulty in learning a ~~non-material~~ second language tongue because they lack a concept of basic language structure).

THE UNIVERSITY

30. In the University we see the need for a student organization which would be able to promote and to practice 'dualism'. Preliminary studies will

Ainsi ils pouvaient demeurer au Canada et jouir de tous les avantages de la pleine citoyenneté sans être forcés à apprendre l'anglais. Spécifiquement, les droits de la langue française ont été sauvegardés dans les institutions publiques de la province de Québec, ainsi qu'au gouvernement fédéral et dans les cours. (L'anglais était garanti dans les trois autres provinces, où la grande partie de la population parlait anglais.) Cependant, l'anglais était aussi garanti pour une minorité de langue anglaise assez nombreuse et importante au Québec.

9. Les droits des langues stipulées dans l'acte BNA reflètent la pensée des Pères de la confédération, en ce qui a trait à l'usage des langues anglaise et française dans les quatre provinces qui ont fondé la confédération. Toutefois, il y existait une limitation consitutionnelle au sujet de la stipulation de l'usage de la langue au Rupertsland, qui n'était qu'un territoire au moment de l'adoption de l'acte BNA. Personne ne fut plus conscient de ce fait que Joseph Howe, à l'esprit attentif, et Sir John A. MacDonald. C'est pourquoi MacDonald a pris la précaution de spécifier les droits de la langue pour la nouvelle province du Manitoba, dans l'Acte du Manitoba. Cet acte a été dûment approuvé par le Parlement en 1870, et est devenu un amendement à l'acte BNA. De plus, il faut souligner que l'acte des écoles publiques de 1871 incorporait ces mêmes principes fondamentaux dans le domaine de l'instruction publique lorsqu'ils ont été portés sous la juri diction du gouvernement provincial dans la province qui venait d'être créée.

10. Ceux qui ont formé les cadres de l'Acte du Manitoba ont pris en considération le modèle de la dualité qui avait été établi formement dans la période des 1830. Le Conseil d'Assiniboia de la Hudson's Bay Co., l'autorité gouvernante du territoire, subventionnait les écoles protestantes et catholiques administrées et pourvues d'un personnel du diocèse catholique du Nord-Ouest et par la Church Missionary Society sur une base équitable. Le modèle religieux était la dualité confessionnelle. On enseignait surtout en français aux métis catholiques. Cependant, dès les débuts, les écoles catholiques enseignaient quelques sujets en anglais, et les écoles protestantes ont tenté d'enseigner le français. Comme on peut le voir dans la citation suivante, tirée des Articles 22 et 23 de l'Acte du Manitoba, il était entendu que ce système de dualité devait être retenu dans la nouvelle province. Ainsi il n'ya a aucun doute que les mêmes hommes qui ont structuré l'Acte de l'Amérique britannique du Nord envisageaient l'Ouest bilingue.

> 22. Dans la province, la Législature pourra exclusivement décréter des lois relatives à l'éducation, sujettes et conformes aux dispositions suivantes:
> (1) Rien dans ces lois ne devra préjudicier à aucun droit ou privilège conféré lors de l'Union, par la loi ou par la coutume à aucune classe particulière de personnes dans la province, relativement aux écoles séparées

have to be undertaken before such an organization may be established.

31. We make the following recommendations:

1. that the University Lecture Committee be consulted and asked to consider bringing qualified speakers to the campus.

2. that because of a desire on the part of many English-speaking students to participate in French-language activities and also to fraternize with French-Canadian students we suggest that student councils of adjacent French and English Colleges and of the University should co-operate in this matter.

3. that the Administration of the University of Manitoba might consider: a) allowing honours French Students to take courses at St. Boniface College: b) allowing the history of Canada or the history of France to be taught in French, to English-speaking students: c) encouraging an exchange of lecturers and professors between St. Boniface and the other colleges of the University.

4. that a French student centre and residence be established

CHURCHES

32. Traditionally the churches have held negative attitudes regarding the relationship between the two basic ethnic groups in Canada. English churches have tended to be the bastion of English superiority and have shown ignorance of the 'the French problem'. On the other hand, the French churches have had the feeling which is characterized in the slogan 'Qui perd la langue, perd la foi'. We propose that churches be asked to help explain and encourage the study of dualism among their members in the following ways:

1. Through Study Groups - Major English and French denominations could work together in order to prepare study material and outlines on dialism for study groups. We feel that the problem of dualism needs to be worked out and understood between the French and English before either can discuss the problem effectively with Canadians of other ethnic origin. We feel that the English Churches in particular have a special responsibility in creating understanding og the problems surrounding dualism. The English are not as likely to be thought of as demanding special privileges when they are simply seeking basic rights, not for themselves but for their French compatriots.

2. Youth groups such as Y.P.U., A.Y.P., C.Y.O., and others can do

Mémoire soumis par les sections du "Student Christian Movement" de l'université du Manitoba et du collège "United", Winnipeg, Manitoba.

Le "STUDENT CHRISTIAN MOVEMENT"

1. Le "SCM" est une association non-confessionnelle à l'université du Manitoba. Au moyen d'un programme d'activités et d'un esprit de camaraderie, cette organisation cherche à présenter la vérité et les revendications de Jésus-Christ, et de pousser les étudiants à trouver en lui le sens le plus profond de la vie.

2. C'est une de vingt cellules au Canada qui sont reliées directement à l'association mondiale "SCM" dans plus de 60 pays-membres de la "World Student Christian Federation".

3. La section du SCM de l'université du Manitoba, à l'exemple des sections dans tous les pays, travaille dans trois sphères d'activités: l'église, le milieu académique et le monde.

4. Vis-à-vis de l'église, nous prions et travaillons au renouveau, à la mission et l'unité de l'église. Le SCM demande aux étudiants de participer activement dans la vie de l'église, dans leur propre milieu et à l'étranger.

5. Vis-à-vis du milieu académique, l'organisation cherche à faire accepter la souveraineté du Christ dans la vocation de l'étudiant, au moyen de discussions ouvertes, d'études sérieuses et d'un culte vivant.

6. Vis-à-vis du monde, le SCM pousse les étudiants à percevoir le travail de la main de Dieu dans les changements politiques, sociaux, économiques et raciaux de notre temps, et de rechercher la volonté de Dieu en ce qui a trait à leur participation dans la vie du monde.

Préambule

7. Le "Student Christian Movement" de l'université du Manitoba et du collège United croit que le Canada en est arrivé à une crise dans son développement. Le pays tout entier a dû soudainement reconnaître l'absence extrême de communication et de compréhension entre ses habitants de langue anglaise et ceux de langue française. Ainsi, alors que le mouvement populaire dans le monde est vers l'unité en vue de la force et la compréhension, notre pays a dû prendre conscience de sa division interne.

8. Le problème remonte à la confédération alors que les Pères de la confédération ont créé un seul pays des colonies anglophones et francophones en Amérique du nord. En formulant les cadres de l'Acte de l'Amérique britannique du nord, ils ont pris des précautions légales pour garantir aux citoyens de langue française les mêmes droits de base qui leur étaient assurés par l'Acte de Québec un siècle auparavant,

much through discussions on the topic. It is also suggested that they inversigate the possibilities of youth exchanges which would enable young people from French-speaking families to spend a few weeks in English homes and vice versa. This is being done on a small scale between Quebec and Manitoba. We suggest that a similar scheme could be implemented with the Province of Manitoba itself.

3. The Canadian Council of Churches and national organizations such as the Student Christian Movement should be asked to consider dialism as a matter of immediate concer.

OTHER ETHNIC GROUPS

33. The other ethnic groups in Canada have made and continue to make valuable contributions in the many fields of art, politics, commerce, agriculture and industry, that is to say, to the society as a whole. We beleive that their cultural contributions may be related to the two basic cultures rather than simply to the English culture. We are not uninterested in preserving the languages of other ethnic groups. But preserving these languages should not be confused with the preservation of the official languages of Canada. To promote greater understanding between the English and French on the one hand and other ethnic groups on the other, we recommend that educational visits to ethnic centres and communitiesby French and English speaking students be sponsored.

BUSINESS AND ADVERTISING

34. We recognize that dualism can be promoted or hindered through business and advertising. In particular, we are concerned about the lack of bilingualism in advertising.

35. We recommend that an open letter be sent to 'La Liberte et Le Patriote' concerning this lack of responsibility on the part of the French business community towards the development of dualism and of a French identity in St. Boniface.

CULTURAL GROUPS AND MEDIA OF COMMUNICATION

36. 1. Generally speaking each of the two basic groups should receive more publicity regarding the cultural activities of the other.

2. A greater awareness of the Cercle Moliere and other French cultural productions should be effected among the English-speaking community.

RECOMMANDATIONS

Nous recommandons:

i) que des mesures soient prises pour assurer dans l'ouest canadien l'usage légitime de la langue française, langue maternelle de plus de cinq millions de Canadiens.

ii) que les droits de la langue soient garantis par des changements constitutionels nécessaires.

iii) puisque dans l'ouest canadien, l'unité sociale provinciale fondée sur la primarité de la langue anglaise n'est plus en danger, des mesures devraient être prise pour assurer l'unité afin d'assurer les droits des canadiens-français dont les ancêtres viennent du Québec, et de promouvoir le bilinguisme au Canada. Afin de promouvoir ce but les gouvernements provinciaux devraient établir des écoles françaises qui seraient accessibles à tous ceux qui voudraient s'y inscrire

iv) que le Bureau des Postes envoie par avion des quotidiens dans l'ouest canadien envoie par avion des quotidiens français dans l'ouest canadien en maintenant les taux réguliers, depuisque les centres français dans l'ouest canadien sont trop petit pour produire leurs propres quotidiens.

v) que les deux niveaux de gouvernement fournissent des fonds permettant des films de langue française et du théâtre français de circuler au Manitoba et dans l'ouest canadien,

vi) que le studio du CBC à Winnipeg soit utilisé pour produire des émissions de langue française décrivant la vie et la culture de l'ouest canadien. De cette façon les canadiens-français du Québec auraient un lieu véritable avec l'ouest canadien et pourraient se renseigner au sujet de cette région canadienne enrichie au point de vue culturel par des Mennonites des Ukrainiens, des Islandais et des gens d'origines ethniques variées.

vii) que les institutions locales - églises, groupe ethniques et culturels, groupements de commerce, l'université et les groupes 'Leadership' soient encouragées à travailler au plan local, à dévelloper l'usage et la conservation de la langue française.

i) que des mesures soient prises pour developper dans la culture et l'esprit des Canadiens de toutes les provinces, un concept authentique de 'canadianisme'. Nous suggérons que ceci soit fondé sur le fait que le Canada a deux langues nationales de base incorporiés dans des structures culturelles enrichies de langues et sous-cultures ethniques.

ii) que ci-haut soit atteint par la clarification de mal interpretations et confusions, causées par l'emploi du langage et concepts ambigûs, un programme éducationelle engageant les écoles, les églises, les organizations, des conférences et des lectures personnelles soient encouragés.

Also the M.T.C. should publicized in St. Boniface.

3. We pay tribute to the St. Boniface French Radio Station, C.K.S.B. We recommend that C.K.S.B. feature a short weekly programme on the topic of dualism. Students and others interested in the topic might be interviewed.

4. Since the French communities in Western Canada are too small to produce their own daily papers, we recommend that the Post Office air mail French language dailies to Western Canada at surface mail rates.

5. We recommend that the various levels of government provide funds to enable French language movies and French theatre to be seen in Manitoba and other parts of Western Canada.

6. We recommend that the Winnipeg studio of the CBC be used to produce French language shows featuring Western Canadian life and culture. In this way French-Canadians in Quebec would have a real link with Western Canada and could learn about that region of Canada culturally enriched by Mennonites, Ukrainian, Icelandic and other people of various ethnic orgin.

DUALISM AND LEADERSHIP

37. There is a great need for leadership amongst both the English and French in the area of Dualism. It is to be hoped that there will evolve a volunteer group from which leadership can be developed.

# MEMOIRE SOUMIS A LA COMMISSION ROYALE SUR LE BILINGUISME ET LE BICULTURALISME PAR LES SECTIONS DU "STUDENT CHRISTIAN MOVEMENT" DE L'UNIVERSITE DU MANITOBA ET DU COLLEGE "UNITED",

WINNIPEG, MANITOBA

(A ne pas publier avant la visite de la Commission à Winnipeg au mois d'octobre, 1965.

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(P. T.O. for English Version)

STUDENT CHRISTIAN MOVEMENT BRIEF

ERRATA

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| paragraph | 7 | line | 1 | 'SCM' should read 'SCM's'. |
| " | 7 | line | 44 | After 'English-speaking' add 'and French-speaking'. |
| " | 10 | " | 6 | After confessional add a period (.). |
| " | 14 | " | 10 | 'association' should read 'associations' |
| " | 14 | " | 16 | Change 'family' to 'forefathers'. |
| " | 15 | " | 10 | Change 'ethic' to 'ethnic'. |
| " | 15 | " | 11 | Change 'ot' to 'to'. |
| " | 18 | " | 5 | Change 'national' to 'Canadian-wide'. |
| " | 18 | " | 5 | Change 'pesitive' to 'positive' |
| " | 18 | " | 9 | After 'listening and' add 'participating in'. |
| " | 27 | " | 3 | After 'are taught' add 'almost'. |
| " | 29 | " | 4 | Change 'oft to 'of'. |
| " | 29 | " | 6 | Change 'non-material tongue' to 'second language'. |
| " | 30 | " | 3 | Change 'may' to 'could'. |
| " | 32 | " | 4 | Omit second word (the) |
| " | 32 | " | 10 | Change 'dialism' to 'dualism'. |
| " | 32 | " | 14 | Change 'of' to 'of'. |
| " | 32 | " | 21 | Change 'inversigate' to 'investigate'. |
| " | 32 | " | 25 | After 'with' add 'in'. |
| " | 32 | " | 28 | Change 'dialism' to 'dualism'. |
| " | 36 | " | 5 | After 'should' add 'be'. |

CONFIDENTIAL

BACKGROUND PAPERS

Brief #: 760-647
Student Christian Movement in the University of Manitoba and in United College
WINNIPEG

A. INFORMATION ON ORGANIZATION

1. MEMBERSHIP

An interdenominational movement in the University of Manitoba. It is one of 20 units in Canada which are linked directly with SCM's in more than 60 nations through the World Student Christian Federation.

2. AIMS

1. Through its programme of activities and fellowship, the SCM seeks to present the truth and the claims of Jesus Christ, and to challenge students to find in Him the deepest meaning of life.

2. The University of Manitoba SCM, like the movements in every country, must see itself in three relationships - to the Church, to the academic community, and to the world.

3. In relation to the Church, we pray and work for the renewal mission and a unity of the Church; the SCM calls students to active participation in the life of the Church at home and abroad.

4. In relation to the academic world, it seeks the acceptance of the Lordship of Christ in the vocation of the student through open discussion, serious study and vital worship.

5. In relation to the world, it challenges students to discern the activity of God in the political, social, economic, and racial changes of the times, and to seek God's will for their participation in the life of the world.

3. HOW BRIEF WAS PREPARED

No information.

B. QUESTIONING OF WITNESS(ES)

PROGRAMME AND LIAISON SECTION

page 5
section 17

Q. 1 "It is our opinion that the British North American Act must be reviewed to guarantee the French-speaking people by constitution the right to live as Canadian citizens freely using their own language". Please elaborate. Further on in this same section you say that Canadians of both French and English expression should be able to work in their own language. Do you really mean this? How would it be possible? What specific amendments do you suggest to the BNA Act?

page 5
para. 18

Q. 2 "...we hold that it is necessary to work out with one another a new pattern of social unity based on a truly national concept of Canadianism which embraces the positive objectives of the many regional concepts of Canadianism erroneously thought by many as being Canadian wide..."

In you opinion, what should this "new pattern of social unity" be?

page 6
section 20

Q. 3 "The two main cultures should not be isolated from one another. Through educational, social and cultural activities and groups, members of one culture could develop a deeper insight into the mentality of their co-patriots in the other cultural group."
What are your specific suggestions on how this can be achieved?

page 6
section 21

Q. 4 "There are in Canada two distinct cultures enriched by ethnic subcultures." What is the relationship of these subcultures, in your view, to the two other cultures?

page 8

Q. 5 How many students participated in this week-end seminar? ~~How many~~ French and English speaking?

page 8
para. 27

Q. 6 "...it is now generally accepted that if the French speaking student master their own language first, they will be more proficient in the English language..."

page 10
section 33

Q. 7 "Recommend that educational visits to ethnic centres and communities by French and English speaking students be sponsored." By whom? How could this be done on a national scale by all the provinces?

Q. 8 In regard to your recommendations on page 11 on the subject of mass media, how would you suggest that such projects be financed?

page 11
section 37

Q. 9 What kind of volunteer group do you have in mind when you speak of the need for one?

September 10, 1965.

PRESENTATION

TO

THE SECRETARIES

ROYAL COMMISSION

ON

BILINGUALISM AND BICULTURALISM

P. O. BOX 1508

OTTAWA CANADA

FROM

THE

SUDBURY AND DISTRICT

MINISTERIAL ASSOCIATION

THE REV. R. J. STADE, PRESIDENT

539 WILLARD STREET

SUDBURY, ONTARIO

# P R E F A C E

The following six recommendations were forwarded to the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism after consultation with Mr. H. E. Thomas, Regional Organizer, at a luncheion meeting with Miss Van Every at the time of the Regional Conference on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, March 25th, 1964 in Sudbury, Ontario.

The entire Sudbury and District Ministerial Association discussed Bilingualism and Biculturalism on three different occasions while a special committee convened on two occasions to draft resolutions for general discussions.

We acknowledge with thanks the privilige of presenting our views to the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism.

The Sudbury and District Ministerial Association respectfully submits the following six recommendations.

1. That the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism take serious cognizance of the fact that French Canadians make up a minority group of only 28% of the population of Canada as against 58% English and 14% other, and that therefore the principle of "an equal partnership between the two founding races" may prove to be unacceptable, impractical, and undemocratic in the political sphere, because it denies the principle of proportionate representation, and ought not to be an assumption underlying the terms of reference for the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism.

11. That the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism recognize the fact of Canada's proximity to the United States of America and the use of the English language in that country of one hundred and eighty million people. With one hundred and ninety five million English speaking North Americans, five and one half million French speaking Canadians become a rather small minority group. In this larger North American Continent view, to cater to any minority group by superimposing an additional barrier of language on Canada--United Stated relations would only hinder progress for the whole in international communications, commerce and industry. This would be especially detrimental to the less populous Dominion of Canada.

111. That the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism consider the fact that Canada is no longer a bilingual and bicultural country. It would therefore be wrong to attempt to turn the clock back one century to the time of Confederation, thereby ignoring the developments of a multilingual and multicultural Canada as we find it to-day. The Sudbury and District Ministerial Association respectfully requests the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism to seek ways and means to broaden the scope of the terms of reference in order to make them more adequate for the multicultural and multilingual Canada of to-day.

1V. That the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism carefully examine the additional costs involved if, and when, bilingualism, or multilingualism, is increased in any government administration. These additional expenditures would, in our opinion, be wasteful. The duplication or multiplication in printed materials, teaching staff and facilities for our educational system required by bilingualism or multilingualism are luxuries which this country cannot afford. The additional costs of bilingualism or multilingualism in industry, commerce and cultural exchange would be wasteful. Since English is fast becomming the 'lingua franca' of the world, the Sudbury and District Ministerial Association further recommends that the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism formulate definite resolutions to the Government for the extension of the use of the English language within our nation.

V. That the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism take the necessary step to further the extension of language studies throughout our school systems, beginning with Junior grades and also increase interest in languages by the use of public communications, radio and television. We recognize the values of wider and improved knowledge both of the English and French and other languages all of which increase cultural exchange within our nation and the world. While bearing in mind the necessity to avoid unnecessary expense, we are of the opinion that <u>some</u> additional expenditures to promote language studies within our educational systems would be justifiable.

Vl. That the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism seek ways and means to establish a Federal Department of Education with adequate authority for the promotion of languages and multicultural knowledge in order to bring about equality of educational opportunity for all Canadians and a greater measure of Canadian unity.

NO. 760-

TITLE: Presentation to the Secretaries
Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism
from the
Sudbury and District Ministerial Association,

Brief of 4 pages ; 6 recommendations

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REMARKS OF ANALYST:

This very short submission consists of recommendations only and has not been summarized. Despite the fact that the authors considered that Canada is no longer a bilingual and bicultural country, the French being in the minority here and being a very small minority in North America, a Federal Department of Education is advocated and an extension of language studies, including French, is urged.

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ATT.: RESEARCH

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TABLE OF CONTENTS: (There is no pagination)

RECOMMENDATIONS:

BRIEF.

Brief consists of:

Cover page

Preface

Recommendations

I. On the "equal partnership between the two founding races".

II. The French Canadian minority within the North American context.

III. Canada neither bilingual nor bicultural.

IV Cost of bilingualism or multilingualism.

V. Language studies in schools.

VI. Federal Department of Education

CONFIDENTIAL

BACKGROUND PAPERS

Brief #: 750-456
The Sudbury and District Ministerial [illegible]
OTTAWA

A. INFORMATION ON ORGANIZATION

1. MEMBERSHIP

Rev. R.J. Stade, President

2. HOW BRIEF WAS PREPARED

The Association discussed [illegible] and biculturalism on three different occasions. A special committee [illegible] on two occasions to draft [illegible] for general discussion. The brief was discussed with Mr. H.B. Thomas and Miss Van Every at the time of the Sudbury Regional Meeting.

B. QUESTIONING OF WITNESS(ES)

PROGRAMME AND LIAISON SECTION

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| General | Q. 1 | The brief starts out in a very "anti French" tone yet ends (paras. 5 & 6) on a very moderate, reasonable note. They recommend extension of language studies yet are against bilingualism. A question should be asked to clarify their stand. Do they think that bilingualism means the imposing of the French language on English Canadians |
| page 1 section 1 | Q. 2 | Equal Partnership<br>In the Preliminary Report of the Commission Appendix IV - 5, it is pointed out "that this concept of 'equal partnership' cannot be simple" "...there cannot be exact equalities in magnitude". Could you outline more clearly your concept of 'equal partnership" and the reasons why you deem it "unacceptable, impractical and undemocratic in the political sphere"? |
| para. 2 | Q. 3 | What is meant by "superimposing an additional barrier of language on Canada"? In what way is this "detrimental"? |
| page 1 Section II | Q. 4 | "Language: Effect on Canada-U.S. relations"<br>In the Common Market, although there is an official language for communication in Common Market business, each country of the organization retains its separate language identity. Do you see any same possibility of this in Canada - U.S. relations so as not to "hinder progress for the whole international communication, commerce and industry"? |

page 2
Section III

Q. 5 "Terms of Reference: multiculturalism"
The terms of reference of the Commission state that consideration should be given to "the contribution made by other ethnic groups to the cultural enrichment of Canada, and the measures that should be taken to safeguard that contribution". In what ways do you think the Commission should "seek ways and means to broaden the scope of the terms of reference in order to make them more adequate for the multicultural and multilingual Canada of today"?

page 2
Section IV

Q. 6 "Cost of bilingualism in administration and education"

a) "The ... facilities for our educational system required by bilingualism or multilingualism are luxuries which our country cannot afford." Do you not regard language education as one of the "ways and means to broaden the scope of the terms of reference in order to make them more adequate for the multicultural and multilingual Canada of today" (Brief 740-456 - page 2, Section III) if not, what measures should be taken to safeguard the contribution of ethnic groups?

b) What resolutions do you propose "for the extension of the use of the English language within our nation"? Would this extension necessitate, in your view, an amendment to the Constitution?

page 3
Section V

Q. 7 "Language Studies"
Do you see an extension of language studies within our school systems as an extension of minority school rights in general? What about the cost of this program? Would it not, according to your Page 2, Part IV, be prohibitive? What specific "additional expenditures" would be necessary? Elaborate.

page 3
Section V

Q. 8 "Language and Mass Media"
What in your view would be the purpose of an increased interest in language? What do you think the mass media of communication could do to increase this interest? Should mass media, such as TV, be used in schools as well as outside?

page 3
Section VI

Q. 9 "Federal Department of Education"
Could you define more clearly your concept of "equality of educational opportunity for all Canadians"? What would this involve in relation to changes in curricula, texts, teaching methods, provincial or federal rights in education?
In reference to the Federal Department of Education, whose creation you recommend, what would you define as its "adequate authority"?

ugust 31, 1965

A BRIEF SUBMITTED TO THE ROYAL COMMISSION

ON BILINGUALISM AND BICULTURALISM

BY THE

CABINETS OF THE STUDENT CHRISTIAN MOVEMENT IN

THE UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA AND IN UNITED COLLEGE

WINNIPEG, MANITOBA

Not to be released until the visit of

the Commission to Winnipeg in October, 1965.

PLAN

Brief Submitted by the Cabinets of the Student Christian Movement in the University of Manitoba and in United College, Winnipeg, Manitoba.

## The Student Christian Movement

1. The SCM is an interdenominational movement in the University of Manitoba. Through its programme of activities and fellowship, it seeks to present the truth and the claims of Jesus Christ, and to challenge students to find in Him the deepest meaning of life.

2. It is one of twenty units in Canada which are linked directly with SCM's in more than 60 nations through the World Student Christian Federation.

3. The University of Manitoba SCM, like the movements in every country, must see itself in three relationships-to the Church, to the academic community, and to the world.

4. In relation to the Church, we pray and work for the renewal, mission and a unity of the Church; the SCM calls students to active participation in the life of the Church at home and abroad.

5. In relation to the academic world, it seeks the acceptance of the Lordship of Christ in the vocation of the student through open discussion, serious study and vital worship.

6. In relation to the world, it challenges students to discern the activity of God in the political, social, economic, and racial changes of the times, and to seek God's will for their participation in the life of the world.

## Preamble

7. The student Christian Movement of the University of Manitoba and United College believe that Canada has reached a crisis in its development. The country as a whole has suddenly been forced to recognize the extreme lack of communication and understanding between its English-speaking people. Thus, at a time in which the popular movement in the world is toward unity for strength and understanding, our country is being made aware of her internal division.

8. The problem dates back to Confederation when the Fathers of Confederation created one country from the French-speaking and English-speaking British colonies in North America. In framing the British North America Act, they took legal precautions to guarantee French speaking citizens the same basic rights granted them in the Quebec Act passed a century earlier. Thus, they could live in Canada and enjoy all the benefits of full citizenship without having to learn English. Specifically, French language rights were guaranteed in public instututions in the province of Quebec and in the federal parliament and courts. (English was guaranteed in the other three provinces where the vast majority spoke English). But, English was also guaranteed to a significa-

antly large and important English minority in Quebec.

9. The language rights stipulated in the B.N.A. Act reflect the thinking of the'Fathers of Confederation' regarding the use of French and English languages in the four founding provinces of Confederation. But there was a constitutional limitation in the B.N.A. Act regarding the stipulation of language usage in Rupertsland which was only a territory at the time the B.N.A. Act was passed. No-one was more ware of this than the observant Joseph Howe and Sir John A. MacDonald. Therefore, MacDonald took the precaution of specifying the language rights for the new province of Manitoba in the Manitoba Act. The Act was duly passed by parliament in 1870 and became an amendment to the B.N.A. Act. It should also be noted the Public School Act of 1870 incorporated these same foundational principles in public education when they came under provincial jurisdiction in the newly created province.

10. Those who framed the Manitoba Act took into consideration the pattern of duality which had been firmly established in the 1830's. The H.B.C. Council of Assiniboia, the official governing bodies of the territory, subsidized the Roman Catholic and Protestant Schools administered and staffed by the Roman Catholic Diocese of the North West and the Church Missionary Society, on a basis of equality. The religious pattern was dual confessional - Roman Catholic halfbreeds were educated mostly in French. From the very beginning the Roman Catholic Schools taught some classes in English and the Protestants Schools make some attempt to teach French. As the following quotation from Articles 22 and 23 of the Manitoba Act bears out, this pattern of duality definitely was to be retained in the new province. Hence there is no doubt that the same men who framed the B.N.A. Act anticipated a bilingual West.

> 22. In and for the Province, the said Legislature may exclusively make Laws in relation to Education, subject and according to the following provisions: (1) Nothing in any such Law shall prejudicially affect any right or privilege with respect to Denominational Schools which any class if perhaps have by Law or practice in the Province at the Union.
>
> 23. Either the English or the French language may be used by any person in the debates ofthe Houses of the Legislature and both those languages shall be used in the respective Records and Journals of the House.

11. For a generation this dualistic plan worked out in Manitoba and there was good-will on the part of both the French and English. However, the

peaceful operation of this dualistic pattern was upset by certain developments:

i the growth of English dominated commerce and industry;

ii heavy immigration from continental Europe

iii the heavy growth of frontier settlements with people from English-speaking Ontario which was not matched by a similar growth of French-speaking people from Quebec.

In Canada in general, but in the West in particular, English soon became the major language of commerce and industry. The entrepreneurial class grew from amongst the English-Canadians. Business was transacted in English in the developing cities. English became the 'official' language used in most factories and other industrial organizations. French-Canadians soon realized that a knowledge of English was necessary if one wanted to compete or even work in business and commerce effectively.

12. The heavy flow of immigrant farmers from Ontario after 1870 had a profound effect on developing Manitoba. The English-speaking soon outnumbered the French-speaking people. But more significantly, these new English homesteaders were less sympathetic to French Roman Catholics than their English-speaking counter-partss who had quietly settled before 1870. This new element in Manitoba society radically changed the language and cultural structure in the province which resulted in a diminishing role for 'Franco-Manitobains'in the community. The most significant legislative change affected the structure of the public schools. During the now famous 'Manitoba school controversy', the French language became associated with Roman Catholic schools. When the dualistic school system (ie. English 'Protestant' and French 'Catholic') was destroyed, the dualistic language pattern was destroyed with it. However, public protests resulted in the granting of new language rights spelled out in 1897 in the Laurier-Greenway Agreement.

> When ten of the pupils in any school speak the French language or any other language other than English, as their native language, the teaching of such pupils shall be conducted in French, or such other language, and English, upon the bilingual system.

13. This agreement clearly dindicates that English should become the dominant language in Manitoba and that everyone should learn it. It also shows the mark made by the immigrants from continental Europe. The government was already taking steps to 'anglicize' the immigrants by assimilating them into the English language culture. As shown by the Laurier-Greenway agreement above, some steps were taken to preserve the native tongues of the immigrants as

secondary languages. French, oddly enough, was put in this same category and even to-day it is regarded as such by most English-speaking people in Manitoba. However, the language rights were to be changed once again. In 1916, the use of languages other than English was dropped entirely. Later, legislation enabled French teachers to legally use French as a language of instruction one hour each day. Thus, French has been recognized in a limited way as the language of those whose ancestors came from French-speaking Quebec. *

14. In Manitoba, the above described policy regarding the use of languages and their schools has enabled Manitoba to develop a social unity based on the common usage of the English language. Unfortunately, this same policy which created provincial unity has created national disunity. Manitoba both symbolically and geographically represents the place where the dualistic language pattern broke down as Canada continued to expand westwardly. It is in Manitoba where a Canadian version of the American Melting pot concept of social unity, called the 'Mosaic pattern' (essential assimilation into the indigenous institutions and language but retention of some ethnic characteristics, i.e. dances, ethnic churches, ethnic association, 'second languages', etc). replaced the dualistic pattern which earlier had been anticipated. Since, by their nature, these concepts of 'Canadianism' conflict with each other, the development of friction and social problems became inevitable. Thus, English-speaking Canadians in the West who accept the dominance of the English language in Canada cannot understand 'what all the fuss is about in Quebec'. Those whose family immigrated from Central Europe are particularly vocal in this regard and some at least interpret the special recognition of the French language in Manitoba as a privilege given to one 'ethnic'group. By the same token, the French moderates in Quebec who are still thinking in terms of a dualistic and united Canada see the dominance of the English language in the West as discrimination against French-speaking Canadians.

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Footnote.

* There is an interesting legal aspect of this problem. The language provisions of the Manitoba Act are guaranteed by federal statute. Language rights have not been specifically designated to provincial jurisdiction. Therefore there is reason to contend that the province of Manitoba in passing educational legislation acted ultra vires, besides beyond the pale of Natural Law upheld in other court cases respecting education in Canadian provinces, in amending what was not only a federal statute but also a Constitutional Act standing with the B.N.A. Act as part of the written portion of the constitution of this country.

15. It is rather obvious thatthere is lacking in Canada a basic social concept of Canadianism. There is in fact many regional and ethnic concepts of 'Canadianism'. This is made painfully true to many concerned people in Manitoba who are constantly in touch with both English and French speaking speaking communities here. The English-speaking are so used to the dominant use of English and are so sensistive to the threat to social unity created by the diversity of language, culture and religion in the past in Manitoba that they can countenance no further special consideration for the use of French. On the other hand French-Canadians who regard the French language as an indigenous and Canadian language and not an 'ethic' language feel they are being forced ot become 'English' if they want to use Manitoba public schools, read daily newspapers, go to movies and work in cities and towns. In addition, theircompatriots from Quebec find it almost impossible to visit and travel in Manitoba unless they also speak English. As a result, the French feel that they are second class citizens in Manitoba.

16. We agree that the French-Canadians have justifications in objecting to the pattern of Canadian development that has characterized the first half of this century. French-Canadians want the equal rights their forefathers had anticipated in Confederation. They will not be assimilated at least in Quebec and have already made a distinctive contribution to Canada in education, theatre, literature, journalism, T.V. and music in the French communities of the country.

17. Certain changes must be made.

18. It is our opinion that the British North America Act must be reviewed to guarantee the French-speaking people by constitution the right to live as Canadian citizens freely using their own language. Further, we hold that it is necessary to work out with one another a new pattern of social unity based on a truly national concept of 'Canadianism' which embraces the pesitive objectives of the many regional concepts of 'Canadianism' erroneously thoughts by many as being held Canadian-wide. Such a concept cannot be created by legislation, nor by the imposition of ideas of an intelligent reading, listening and discussion will in time enable Canadians to hear and understand how other Canadians see themselves as citizens of our country.

"Dualism" The basis for the Future Development of Canada

19. "Dualism" is a concept of social structure in which there are two basic cultures to form one country. These two cultures would enable both English and French, under ordinary circumstances, to live, work and travel in Canada using their own language, be it French or English. We recognize, of course, that history cannot be turned back and that the French culture undoubtedly could never play the role in Western Canada now played by English culture. But, definite steps should be taken to preserve the remaining elements of French culture in the West. Also, it would be to the advantage of the French to learn English and of the English to learn French if they want to develop a deeper understanding of one another. It should be noted as well that civil servants, most employees, trains and buses, as well as many people in business directly serving the general public should be required to be bilingual.

20. The two main cultures should not be isolated from one another. Through education, social and cultural activities and groups, members of one culture could develop a deeper insight into the mentality of their co-patriots in the other cultural group.

21. There are in Canada two distinct cultures enriched by ethnic sub-cultures. This is the dualism upon which the country must develop if it is to remain united.

## We as Students are Interested in this Problem

22. We as students, and as young Canadians, are particularly interested in resolving this problem. As students, we are representative of the generation of Canadians who will be next to lead the country, and as such we must strive toward the strength of unity and understanding. As young people, we lack the vested interest of our parents in old values and are more free to accept new concepts and ways of life. We therefore feel that we have a responsibility to ourselves as individuals and to the country as a whole to concern ourselves with the future unity and harmony between the two founding cultures of Canada.

23. As a Christian organization, we must examine the political, economical and other social activities in the light of what we conceive to be right and just. At this time, we feel that the future growth of Canada along the lines of dualism outlined above, is of prime importance in this field of thought. We also have a responsibility to make suggestions to the churches in their striving for spiritual unity and brotherhood amongst the world's peoples.

24. As Manitobans we feel that our best contribution would be made by attempting to tackle the problems of misunderstanding and injustice which exist between the English and French cultures within our own province. These problems must be solved at their source; they cannot be solved simply be a sweeping national solution since the problems vary so greatly from province to province and because the most formidable task is the changing of attitudes and ideas. Therefore, our recommendations are restricted to Manitoba situations and institutions in the hope that solution worked out on the basis of relatively local problems will contribute toward the union of the French and English people in a dualism which we hope will take other forms of expressions in other parts of our country and thus lead to Canadian unity.

25. As an example of the kind of activities we are referring to we are including in our brief recommendations made by a group of French-speaking and English-speaking students who participated in a week-end seminar to examine the state of French culture in Manitoba.

RECOMMENDATIONS
MADE BY STUDENTS WHO PARTICIPATED IN A SEMINAR STUDYING FRENCH-MANITOBA

26. The following are the institutions and groups which we examined:

1. Schools
2. The University
3. Churches
4. Other Ethnic Groups
5. Business and advertising groups
6. Cultural groups and other media of communication
7. Leadership Groups

SCHOOLS

27. The question of education is of prime importance. The French feel that they are gradually losing their cultural heritage and even their language because their children are taught completely in English. If the French were allowed to receive their public education in their own language, as much as possible, the French culture in Manitoba could be better preserved. The English-speaking people would benefit equally since they would be guaranteed better teachers of French. It is now generally accepted that if the French - speaking students master their own langauge first, they will be more proficient in the English language.

28. Therefore we recommend; 1. that French be the language of instruction in all schools where it would be feasible, for example in those communities where French people are in a majority, and where adequate provisions for transportation could be made for those wishing to be taught in English Schools. 2. In order to help supply teachers, we recommend that a French Teachers' College be established. One such institution could serve the three prairie provinces. Here, prospective teachers could be trained in their own language and acquire a deeper understanding of their culture. Moreover, those who wish to teach French to English-speaking people could be trained here as well.

29. The teaching of French in English schools could be improved greatly if French conversational courses could be started in Grade 1. (furthermore we feel that insufficient attention is being paid to the teaching of English grammar in the primary grades. The pupils have an inadequate grasp oft the mechanics of their own language, and therefore have difficulty in learning a non-material tongue because they lack a concept of basic language structure).

THE UNIVERSITY

30. In the University we see the need for a student organization which would be able to promote and to practice 'dualism'. Preliminary studies will

have to be undertaken before such an organization may be established.

31. We make the following recommendations:

1. that the University Lecture Committee be consulted and asked to consider bringing qualified speakers to the campus.

2. that because of a desire on the part of many English-speaking students to participate in French-language activities and also to fraternize with French-Canadian students we suggest that student councils of adjacent French and English Colleges and of the University should co-operate in this matter.

3. that the Administration of the University of Manitoba might consider: a) allowing honours French Students to take courses at St. Boniface College: b) allowing the history of Canada or the history of France to be taught in French, to English-speaking students: c) encouraging an exchange of lecturers and professors between St. Boniface and the other colleges of the University.

4. that a French student centre and residence be established

CHURCHES

32. Traditionally the churches have held negative attitudes regarding the relationship between the two basic ethnic groups in Canada. English churches have tended to be the bastion of English superiority and have shown ignorance of the 'the French problem'. On the other hand, the French churches have had the feeling which is characterized in the slogan 'Qui perd la langue, perd la foi'. We propose that churches be asked to help explain and encourage the study of dualism among their members in the following ways:

1. Through Study Groups - Major English and French denominations could work together in order to prepare study material and outlines on dialism for study groups. We feel that the problem of dualism needs to be worked out and understood between the French and English before either can discuss the problem effectively with Canadians of other ethnic origin. We feel that the English Churches in particular have a special responsibility in creating understanding og the problems surrounding dualism. The English are not as likely to be thought of as demanding special privileges when they are simply seeking basic rights, not for themselves but for their French compatriots.

2. Youth groups such as Y.P.U., A.Y.P., C.Y.O., and others can do

much through discussions on the topic. It is also suggested that they inversigate the possibilities of youth exchanges which would enable young people from French-speaking families to spend a few weeks in English homes and vice versa. This is being done on a small scale between Quebec and Manitoba. We suggest that a similar scheme could be implemented with the Province of Manitoba itself.

3. The Canadian Council of Churches and national organizations such as the Student Christian Movement should be asked to consider dialism as a matter of immediate concer.

OTHER ETHNIC GROUPS

33. The other ethnic groups in Canada have made and continue to make valuable contributions in the many fields of art, politics, commerce, agriculture and industry, that is to say, to the society as a whole. We beleive that their cultural contributions may be related to the two basic cultures rather than simply to the Engl sh culture. We are not uninterested in preserving the languages of other ethnic groups. But preserving these languages should not be confused with the preservation of the official languages of Canada. To promote greater understanding between the English and French on the one hand and other ethnic groups on the other, we recommend that educational visits to ethnic centres and communitiesby French and English speaking students be sponsored.

BUSINESS AND ADVERTISING

34. We recognize that dualism can be promoted or hindered through business and advertising. In particular, we are concerned about the lack of bilingualism in advertising.

35. We recommend that an open letter be sent to 'La Liberte et Le Patriote' concerning this lack of responsibility on the part of the French business community towards the development of dualism and of a French identity in St. Boniface.

CULTURAL GROUPS AND MEDIA OF COMMUNICATION

36. 1. Generally speaking each of the two basic groups should receive more publicity regarding the cultural activities of the other.

2. A greater awareness of the Cercle Moliere and other French cultural productions should be effected among the English-speaking community.

Also the M.T.C. should publicized in St. Boniface.

3. We pay tribute to the St. Boniface French Radio Station, C.K.S.B. We recommend that C.K.S.B. feature a short weekly programme on the topic of dualism. Students and others interested in the topic might be interviewed.

4. Since the French communities in Western Canada are too small to produce their own daily papers, we recommend that the Post Office air mail French language dailies to Western Canada at surface mail rates.

5. We recommend that the various levels of government provide funds to enable French language movies and French theatre to be seen in Manitoba and other parts of Western Canada.

6. We recommend that the Winnipeg studio of the CBC be used to produce French language shows featuring Western Canadian life and culture. In this way French-Canadians in Quebec would have a real link with Western Canada and could learn about that region of Canada culturally enriched by Mennonites, Ukrainian, Icelandic and other people of various ethnic orgin.

DIALISM AND LEADERSHIP

37. There is a great need for leadership amongst both the English and French in the area of Dualism. It is to be hoped that there will evolve a volunteer group from which leadership can be developed.

740-204

MEMOIRE SOUMIS A LA

COMMISSION ROYALE D'ENQUETE SUR LE BILINGUISME ET LE BICULTURALISME

M. J. RéJean Taillefer,
824 est, rue Ste-Catherine,
Montréal 18 (Québec),
le 26 novembre 1963.

"M E M O I R E"

Sujet Traité: Le Biculturalisme et le Bilinguisme.

1) Depuis nombre d'années, au Canada, on laissait entendre l'institution d'une Commission Royale d'enquète sur l'étude du bilinguisme et du viculturalisme approuvée par les autorités fédérales. Cette Commission primimairement appelée Commission Laurendeau-Dunton avait obtenu un mandat visant à l'étude et les diverses analyses sur l'état du fait bilingue et biculturel au pays. Il y a de cela déjà environ deux ans.

2) Nombre de Canadiens souhaitaient telle initiative de part du gouvernement fédéral dans le but de faire connaître du public ouvertement la situation qui règne actuellement et qui a trop longtemps duré au pays de l'ignorance totale du fait français et sa non reconnaissance linguistique et culturelle comme officielle au Canada.

3) Le gouvernement fédéral conscient du grave danger qui menaçait la Confédération Canadienne d'un échec inévitable a donc résolu de nommer un Comité composé de dix membres nommés Commissaires, dix experts en la matière des problèmes de la langue et de la culture de même des problèmes psychologiques, économiques, politiques et sociaux.

4) Ce même Comité formé de dix membres s'appelle la Commission Royale Laurendeau-Dunton.

5) A la suite de ma participation à la récente audience publique tenue en novembre laquelle m'a grandement intéressée, j'ai donc résolu, tel que je l'avais mentionné à un Commissaire à la toute fin de l'audience, d'apporter une participation plus complète en tant qu'individuel par la soumission d'un laborieux

mémoire traitant de l'aspect général de la situation du bilinguisme et du biculturalisme au Canada en mes propres termes.

6) A remarquer que les opinons et suggestions émises dans ce mémoire sont miennes mais elles sont aussi partagées par bon nombre de Canadiens tant français qu'anglais qui ne peuvent, faute de temps et dû à leurs occupations prendre une part active dans cette campagne. Je me fais donc leur porte-parole auprès de la Commission.

7) Messieurs le Président et co-président, Mme Lang, Messieurs les Commissaires.

8) C'est en tant qu'individu, citoyen Canadien et Français que je viens aujourd'hui vous entretenir d'un sujet que vous connaissez bien d'ailleurs et qui, fort discuté, suscite chez la très garnde majorité des Canadiens un intérêt spécial puisque ce sujet à traiter avec vous n'est autre que la cause du problème de l'heure tant discuté, si vaste mettant en cause la survivance de notre fragile Confédération Canadienne et le danger éminent de sa destruction quasi inévitable.

9) Pour bien définir le problème en question, il nous faudrait d'interminables heures de discutions et un temps énorme à émettre des suggestions susceptibles d'aider à la sauvegarde de la Constitution canadienne, par des moyens bien étudiés, des analyses bien précises et un remaniement complet des clauses de la charte signée par les Pères de la Confédération en 1867, lors de son institution.

10) C'est tout juste ce que je vais essayer de faire aussi brièvement que possible mais en prenant bien soin de bien élaborer les divers sujets que j'ai a vous traiter et qui en découlent.

11) Dans le passé, il y a de cela près de trois cents ans, une brave colonie de Français vivaient sur un sol qu'ils avaient de leurs mains défriché, de leurs pieds refoulé. Autour d'eux s'exaltaient diverses tribus indiennes déjà installées lors de l'arrivée du premier contingent de soldats français.

12) La guerre constituant un danger éminent et presqu'inattendu, les braves colons déferlaient sur leurs terres, armés jusqu'aux dents, assurant ainsi la protection de leurs familles. Les Anglais d'outre-mer avaient l'oeil depuis un bon moment sur cette nouvelle terre et à plusieurs reprises avaient tenté de s'en emparer sans trop de succès. Ce n'est qu'en 1760, qu'enfin ils parvinrent à prendre possession de la Nouvelle-France qui par la suite pris nom de Nouvelle-France.

13) Dès lors, le régime atroce de l'expatriation, des séparation des famille et des masacres commença. Plus tard, certains droits et privilèges en somme parfaitement légitimes furent accordés aux colons.

14) La poignée de main anglaise se refermait doucement mais solidement sur les français qui un jour virent à leur tour, les Américains s'avancer sur les terres de la colonies. En vaillants guerriers, ils défendirent et leur bien et celui des Anglais qui n'étaient pas du nombre des combattants. Ce fut la victoire et quelle victoire.

15) Puis vinrent les persécutions, les saccages, à St-Charles, à St-Chrisostome, puis à St-Eustache. Enfin ce fut la grande campagne de discrimination contre les français. La belle affaire.

16) Ensuite vint la dispute pour la possession du territoire longeant le fleuve. Les colons français l'obtinrent et la majorité des Anglais se dirigèrent vers l'ouest pendant que d'autres demeuraient à Montréal.

17) Ainsi se transforma la colonie en deux secteurs: le Bas-Canada et le Haut-Canada. Les querelles continuaient toujours. Alors un groupe de partisans décidèrent de se regrouper pour se departir des Anglais. C'est alors que de nouvelles querelles donnerent libre cours a des discussions politiques et bientot s'iffrit pour les habitants de la Nouvelle-Angleterre une nouvelle forme de transition.

18) Des partisants des deux Canadas se reunirent et apres coup l'union des deux groupes permit de fonder la Confederation

Canadienne, non sans difficulte cependant, car il y avait meme de ce temps de fortes oppositions. Ainsi en 1867, s'instituait la Confederation, l'union du Bas et du Haut Canada auxquels vinrent se joindre petit-a-petit d'autres territoires appelees province pour finalement en arriver a la Constitution presente.

19) Malgre tout, la paix n'etait pas encore revenue; bien au contraire. Les Anglais etant deja en forte majorite reclamaient la large part des pouvoirs et la direction des biens de la communaute. Vue leur superiorite en nombre, ils se destituaient les maitres du pays et prirent le volant. Le sentiment des Anglais contre leurs voisins n'en continua pas moins. Durant les divers gouvernements qui siegerent a Ottawa depuis, la meme persecution s'en suivit annees apres annees. La population qanadienne francaise eut toujours a en souffrir. Les moyens de transiger, l'education et la communication et les contacts avec le gouvernement central s'avererent difficiles puisque la hantise de la Mere Patrie incitait les dirigeants du pays plutot anglais a conserver au Canada le caractere anglophone dans tous les domaines. En politique, en economie, sur le plan de l'education et sur le plan social l'anglais demeurait la langue supposement officielle. Les ententes entre les Canadiens anglais et français du traite qui avait amene a la Confederation se voyaient reduites a nulles par multiples infractions qui furent commises envers les Canadiens francais en egard de leurs droits et privileges civils et maintes reprises plusieurs de leurs revendications furent rejetees. Tel l'enseignement du francais dans l'Ontario et dans les provinces de l'ouest et la reconnaissance du français meme dans les milieux minoritaires francais du pays.

20) Encore aujourd'hui, a la veille du centenaire de cette meme confederation, presentement chancelante, les memes problemes continuent d'exister malgre la bonne volonte qui semble poindre dans certains milieux francophones submerges d'anglais et de Neo-Canadiens anglais egalement.

21) Nos gouvernements consciencieux du grave danger qui s'amenait et qui menacait la survivance de la Confederation Canadienne ont etudie lentement la situation et ce n'est que depuis quelques annees a peine, a la suite de vives protestations et demonstrations qu'il fut d'instituer une enquete sur les possibilites de remedier a la solution du probleme du bilinguisme et du biculturalisme. A savoir si les Canadiens misaient sur l'etablissement officiel de deux langues et de deux cultures officielles au pays.

22) Messieurs de la Commission et Madame, le Gouvernement Federal vous a accorde un mandat afin de vaquer a la lourde et ingrate tache de resoudre par tous les moyens employables le probleme qui dechire le Canada entier, celui de l'etat bilingue et biculturel dans les dix provinces de la Confederation.

23) Je sais que vous etes conscients de la gravite du sujet qui vous a été soumis et que vous ferez tout ce qui est votre pouvoir, avec toute la competence qu'on vous connait, de bien etudier la situation et l'analyser dans toute sa profondeur en cooperation avec les dirigeants des multiples entreprises, corporations et associations publiques et privees repandues au pays pour en arriver finalement a un compromis qui saura, nous le souhaitons tous, etre acceptable et recevoir l'approbation de tous les Canadiens.

24) Je m'excuse si j'en arrive a peine a l'expose que je vous promettais de vous soumettre mais il me fallait une ouverture et j'ai opte pour une phase de l'histoire de notre Canada constituant les faits saillants qui ont contribue en masse aux problemes qu'il vous incombe de solutionner.

25) Madame et Messieurs les Commissaires, permettez moi tout d'abord de vous feliciter du travail efficace que vous avez fait a date. C'est deja un bon debut et la lumiere semble poindre à l'horizon d'une facon favorable si j'en juge par la teneur des divers propos et exposes qui ont l'objet de votre attention a la recente audience publique a laquelle j'ai moi-meme assiste en

entier en ce debut de novembre dernier. Etant en pleine connaissance des faits puisque depuis plusieurs annees j'ai porte un certain interet au fait du bilinguisme et du biculturalisme, je tiens a affirmer que ma participation si minime fut-elle a cette audience m'a grandement plu et m'a ouvert les yeux sur la situation qui nous a confus tous depuis deja trop longtemps.

26) Il est tres deplorable que l'on voit encore chez nous apres 97 ans de co-existence dans la Confederation, un climat aussi malsain que le notre. Point n'est besoin de dire que de tels indicents aussi facheux auraient pu dans le passe etre evites avec l'assentiment de la grande majorite de l'ensemble du pays.

27) Il semble notamment que la seule solution utile qui se presente a nos yeux soit en realite la reconnaissance du bilinguisme et du biculturalisme unanimement par tous les Canadiens quels qu'ils soient.

28) Il est un fait que la reconnaissance du francais est devenu necessaire et ce, sur tous les domaines qui se rattachent a notre mode vital tant sur le plan politique, economique, au stage de l'education et au niveau social. Les Canadiens Francais constituent une masse de pres du deux cinquieme (2/5) de la population canadienne.

29) La grande majorite de cette masse est concentree dans l'est du Canada, principalement dans la Province de Quebec et en Ontario. Il existe egalement quelques fragments francais dans les provinces de l'ouest qui ne sont pas a ignorer quoi qu'elle soit infiniment minoritaire. Elles ont tout de meme leur mot a dire dans cette Confederation.

30) Quelques groupes ethniques minoritaires sont venus depuis un demi-siecle environ elargir ses cadres tout comme pour la communaute anglophone qui en consomme un bon nombre.

31) Il n'en reste pas moins que les Canadiens Francais ont malgre tout contribue pour une tres large part a la fondation du

Canada et a sa survivance durant les trois cent cinquante annees pres de son existence et ceci merite bien d'etre pris en consideration.

32) La récente propagande séparatiste et visant même à une possible indépendance de la Province de Québec, n'a certes pas aidé l'entente dans certains milieux du pays qui depuis quelques temps étudient la situation en tout sens afin de pourvoir par tous les moyens possibles à des analyses sur le plan national afin de mettre fin à la crise actuelle visant au bilinguisme et au biculturalisme.

33) Cette propagande, menée par un très minime groupe d'intérêt particulier, n'a fait que surexiter certains esprits chancelant qui ont mal reçu cette propagande, l'on très mal interprété sans songer aux suites néfastes qui pourraient en découler.

34) Nous avons vu dans le passé la publicité immonde qui a suivi la campagne ouverte par le Ralliement de l'indépendance Nationale et l'Alliance Laurentienne. Nous avons été témoins de l'intérêt particulier qu'y ont apporté certaines personnalités politiques dissociées de leurs partis respectifs secondées de chefs d'entreprises québecquoises et quelques partisants appartenant à des association publiques et privées et du nombre, des étudiants pour la plupart mineures.

35) Par la suite, on a également été témoins d'actes criminels commis par des individus attirés par le climat de l'heure, profitant de la situation de confusion pour y apporter leur propre contribution à leur façon. Ces actes criminels visant la Communauté anglophone plus particulièrement et les fédérations anglaises tout autant que les fonctionnaires fédéraux et les édifices occupés par le Gouvernement central, ont eu pour but de supporter la campagne séparatiste en signe de protestation contre la non reconnaissance du Québec et du fait français sur le plan national dans tous les domaines vitaux.

36) L'infiltration de ces ignobles partisans n'a pas beaucoup servi la cause que s'était légué l'association du R.I.N. et l'A.L. pas plus qu'elle n'a aidé la cause du Parti Républicain (P.R.Q.) nouvellement fondé avec l'assentiment des autres sociétés déjà existantes.

37) Cette affreuse campagne, à mon avis, n'aura servi en somme qu'à ouvrir les yeux des Canadiens sur la situation du problème que vous avez à étudier: l'état du bilinguisme et du biculturalisme au pays. Cette publicité aura également servi à inciter la grande majorité des Canadiens à prendre les grands moyens pour remédier à la situation qui de fait menace la survivance de notre Confédération. Cependant, je ne considère pas que le but que se sont fixés le P.R.Q., le R.I.N. et l'Alliance Laurentienne en entreprenant une telle campagne ne puisse être atteint pas plus que l'indépendance ne peut être envisagée au Québec comme nation.

38) Ce serait rédicule en toute évidence de considérer que le Québec puisse du jour au lendemani devenir un état indépendant et aller de l'avant sans appréhender de sérieux ennuis. Il faudrait pour cela réorganiser en entier le système politique, économique et social du Québec, un système d'éducation tout nouveau qu'on veut unilingue et propre aux Canadiens Français.

39) Il faudrait de plus vaquer à la situation du problème monétaire, l'établissement de nouveaux tarifs, un système de frontières et de services de douanes, en somme l'organisation en bloc de tout un système visant aux relations économiques et extérieurs et sociales et nous échelonnant adéquatement à tous les autres pays du globe nous entourant.

40) Un tel remaniement est pour le Québec impossible à mon humble avis et nous n'en avons pas les moyens même si par un pur hasard, nous parvenions à soutirer au gouvernement central certains montants d'argent provenant des impôts et autres figures fiscales qui font en ce moment l'objet de réclamations par les provinces sur le gouvernement d'Ottawa; par des pressions continuelles exercées depuis dejà plusieurs années.

41) Le seul remède à tous ces divers problèmes auxquels ont à faire face les Canadiens est le maintien de la Confédération et cela c'est l'oeuvre de tous les citoyens Canadiens, qui qu'ils soient, sans distintion des groupes auxquels ils appartiennent.

42) Il est véridique que le fiat français, que les Canadiens ont depuis longtemps été ignorés ou négligés dans la plupart des domaines qui se rattachent à leur vie de tous les jours. Et cela, tant au Québec que dans les autres provinces où il y a des minorités. Et le Québec comme les autres canadiens français du Canada ont certes raison de critiquer et de réclamer la reconnaissance de leurs droits à tous les niveaux pour des raisons qui n'ont pas besoin d'explication après plus de trois cents ans d'existence sur ce sol. Il est inutile de discuter sur ce sujet et pourtant il appert que cette reconnaisance légale et légitime n'est pas.

43) Nous avons été témoins et nous le sommes d'ailleurs tous les jours de la persistence de certains à ignorer la participation égale des Canadiens Français au sein de la Confédération. Au cours des récentes audiences publiques et à la suite de multiples publications faites dans la presse venat de tous les coins du pays, on peut se rendre compte que certains individus et groupes individuels particulièrement des Néo-Canadiens s'acharnent à ne pas reconnaitre le fait bilingue et français au pays et dans leur provinces. Nous avons noté que quelques uns désiraient malgré leur minorité une reconnaissance égale en matière linguistique et culturelle tout autant que les deux grands groupes fondateurs. En somme, leur désir visait le multilinguisme et le multiculralisme dans toutes les phases de vie canadienne.

44) D'autre part, on a aussi manifesté chez certains du mécontentement au point de prévenir la Commission de boycotter son travail en plus de se dispenser d'une participation ou d'une collaboration en vue de régler le différent. C'est précisément ce que je qualifierais de chantage et de recpect humain innacceptable quant il s'agit du sort non d'un groupe individuel mais d'une nation entière et de sa survivance.

45) Certains gouvernements provinciaux semblent plutôt négatifs à la considération du fait bilingue et biculturel au Canada concluant que leur groupe ethnique est en suffisante importance pour être considéré comme candidat égal aux autres deux grands peuples fondateurs et s'opposent à reconnaitre la mandat de la Commission comme étant acceptable.

46) Je cite, en toute evidence, l'example du Premier Ministre de la Colombie Britannique, l'Hon. W.A.C. Bennett qui disait au cours d'une conference, il n'y a pas si longtemps, que le Quebec n'avait que ce qu'il voulait et qu'il croyait incense les revendications constitutionneles de cette province et de ses exigences en matiere economique visant la Conference Federale-Provinciale de novembre. De plus, il a ajoute que si le Quebec n'etait pas satisfait, qu'il n'avait qu'a separer de la Confederation ou se recoudre a la Confederation et accepter le regime actuel sur tous les niveaux, primordialement sa conception sur l'etat bilingue possible du Canada qu'il qualifiait d'inacceptable sur le plan national. Il a de plus insiste sur ce point: Je ne reconnais pas aucun droit prioritaire aux Canadiens Francais en tant que groupe ethnique pas plus que les autres groupes deja existant. A mon avis, ils forment egalement un groupe minoritaire dependant du plus fort, la nation anglaise. "Qu'ils se soumettent ou qu'ils se separent."

47) Cet example n'est pas unique mais heureusement qu'il n'est pas totalement partage par les autres provinces du Canada. Le separatisme n'est pas seulement pratique par les Canadiens Francais. Il l'est egalement dans certains milieux anglophones du pays.

48) N'étant nullement separatiste, j'ai tout de meme repondu a M. Bennett dans une lettre a son intention, lui etant plutot defavorable.

49) D'ailleurs, recemment M. Doug Ward de Toronto a rappele publiquement les propos de M. Bennett au cours d'une conference qu'il donnait a Toronto.

50) Autre fait a souligner, les etudiants universitaires de Toronto appuient la cause du Quebec dans ses reclamations et revendications sur le bilinguisme et egalement sur ces droits fiscaux qui font continuellement l'objet de discussions mises en suspens.

51) Je suis parfaitement d'accord avec la Federation des Travailleurs du Quebec qui propose une étude plus profonde par des recherches et discussion des citoyens eux-memes, la participation individuelle du publique. L'affaire du bilinguisme et du biculturalisme, c'est l'affaire de tout le monde et de tous les milieux et il faut leur laisser la chance de s'exprimer par tous les moyens juges efficaces.

52) Une chose que je ne comprend pas tellement c'est l'attitude exercee par certains groupes envers la Commission elle-meme et son but et les termes que cette Commission a employe en vue de son etude et sa facon d'analyser la situation; specialement venant de la part d'association prolifique comme au Quebec et d'autres qui ne semblent pas a mon avis etre pret a admettre l'unite nationale comme possible et acceptable. Certains semblent craindre qu'une telle egalite ne peut exister pas plus qu'elle n'a existe dans le passe.

53) Ma conception personnelle est celle-ci. Au cours des annees de la Confederation principalement, multiples outrages ont constamment subsiste et amoindri les pouvoirs des Canadiens Francais et contribue a ce recul qui aujourd'hui souleve l'element français indigne, frustre qui s'en prend aux anglophones. Cependant, etant moi-meme Canadien Francais, je considere que nous-meme, avons ete fautifs en ce sens que nous aurions du, bien avant aujourd'hui nous soulever contre cette attitude et reagir, revendiquer nos droits, faire pression aupres des autorites afin que soit respectes les engagements pris lors de l'institution de la Confederation.

54) Nous avons dans tous les domaines fautifs patiente, attendu persiste trop longtemps; nous avons trop longtemps oublie que nous

etions Canadiens et que nous avions, comme tous les autres certains pouvoirs et privileges dont nous pouvions jouir mais nous n'avons pas juge bon de nous en servir. Cette ignorance de notre part nous a cause multiples ennuis et nous a tenu a l'ecart de tout ce qui aurait du nous interesser a titre egal des autres membres de la communaute canadienne. Se sentant les plus forts et les mieux disposes, les Anglais comme certains s'acharnent a les "appeler voir meme epeler" en ont profiter pour prendre de toute evidence l'initiative et la garder dans presque tous les milieux de notre politique economique, au niveau de l'education et des cultures et sur le plan social egalement.

55) Maintenant que la situation est devenue aigue et irresistible, pour certains inadmissible et intolerable, on se decide a exercer en vitesse des pressions fortes sur les gouvernements pour faire abdiquer ce qui est devenu soudainement une menace de destruction de l'element que nous representons.

56) L'eveil se fait mais je trouve qu'il arrive quand meme un peu tard. Non pas que je le considere irreparable, au contraire. Mais il faut quand meme s'accorder pour avouer notre tort et de plus comprendre que nous ne pourrons pas corriger cette lacune en un temps record advenant que nos voisins veulent bien admettre la reconnaissance d'une nation bilingue et biculturelle.

57) Tel que mentionne precedemment, nous aurons certes fort a faire pour solutionner ce probleme aigu et c'est avec de la patience, de la perseverence, egalement avec diplomatie, comprehension mutuelle et une acceptation de principe que nous parviendrons en force a reunifier nos relations sur le plan national et a travailler ensemble a la re-construction de notre Confederation sur le bord d'un affreux precipice.

58) L'impuissance des Canadiens Francais dans le passe a se faire accepter comme tel n'a vraisemblablement servi qu'a une chose: les decourager et les eloigner du but qu'ils s'etaient

fondes il y a 97 ans en signant l'acte d'Amerique Britannique du Nord. De ce fait, il renoncaient presque a la lutte de leurs survivances et a la survivance leurs langues, cultures et droits legitimes en tant que peuple et Canadiens d'origine francophone; ils renoncaient au combat pour adopter une attitude plutot indifferente, desinteressee sur le sort qu'il leur etait reserve pour l'avenir.

59) Soudain c'est un reveil, un regain d'orgeuil et de principes trop longtemps mis de cote qui les fait devenir de veritables revolutionnaires, de feroces betes reclamant leur proie echappee qu'ils désirent posseder a nouveau a tout prix, coute que coute. La venue de mouvements et elements seaparatistes leur ouvrent les yeux et des lors, la lutte commence a coup de matraque pour reclamer l'acceptation indiscutable aux communautes anglophones du pays ce qu'ils ont si longtemps pietine et ignore.

60) En parlant ainsi, je ne felicite pas pour cela la part d'initiative que les Anglais ont pris. Je ne prends pas certes la part des Anglais; je ne fais qu'admettre que nous n'avons litteralement pas pris les mesures necessaires pour nous faires respecter en temps et lieux; notre defense a ete pietre et faible et nous sommes les seuls a etre blames pour cette attitude que nous avons affiche et qui nous a ete que trop couteuse jusqu'ici.

61) Dans le domaine de la politique, nous nous sommes montres desinteresse du sort qui nous etait reserve au sein de la constitution en n'offrant pas notre part adequate d'echanges et de participants; nous n'avons pas choisi adequatement nos representants qui souvent n'ont offert aucune resistance aux esprits persecutifs qui cherchaient a nous aneantir. Ils n'ont pas su, trop souvent defendre notre communaute devant l'ennemi trop puissant. Et ceci s'est accentue dans le choix de nos gouvernements consecutivement charge de nous representer et d'administrer nos affaires.

62) Heureusement qu'il n'est pas trop tard pour agir mais il faut tout de meme y aller avec tact, avec sens et precisions. Il ne faudrait surtout pas precipiter les choses qui nous feraient commettre d'autres erreurs couteuses par une hate de solutionner toutes a la fois les lacunes qui sevi durant un siecle.

63) Je soutiens qu'il faut faire quelque chose: qu'il faut remedier a la situation qui ne peut plus durer dans un pays democratique tel que le notre au vingtieme siecle. Notre regime de vie ne nous permet plus actuellement de garder une telle structure nationale telle qu'elle existe aujourd'hui.

64) L'evolution phenomenale de notre siecle: le siecle du modernisme, de l'automatisation, de l'industrialisation nous fait realiser que le systeme actuel dans le domaine de la politique et en économie, en education ne peut plus repondre aux besoins multiples de la population qui se voit desoeuvree.

65) Il est devenu necessaire pour nous tous d'envisager ensemble, en commun, dans une communion mutuelle les besoins d'une unite et entente qui nous permettra d'entrevoir l'avenir d'un meilleur oeil pour la nation et sa survivance.

66) La necessite d'une meilleure structure en education a permis a certains de nos gouvernements provinciaux d'étudier les methodes suivies dans ce domaine et voir a tracer de nouveaux plans pour l'etablissements d'un systeme d'education plus adequat devenu necessaire pour repondre aux besoins de chaque individu. Il faut mettre en evidence le besoin sur chacun des niveaux scolaires dans les diverses categories et en egards des divers groupes ethniques que chaque communaute de la nation represente.

67) Il faut l'etablissement d'une preparation des instituteurs et educateurs qui doivent etre en mesure de professer avec des methodes avancees et larges etudies serieusement et analysees pour leur faciliter la tache d'enseignement qui s'avere important si l'on considere qu'ils ont pour tache de preparer nos jeunes a leur avenir, et l'avenir de la nation ou ils joueront certes un role lors de l'exercice de leur profession de leur choix.

68) Une education soignee et bien appliquee peut seule permettre a tous les Canadiens de se tailler dans la societe une carriere qui saura repondre a leurs ambitions, a leurs aptitudes et leur permettra de vivre et de pourvoir aux besoins de leurs familles et egalement de participer a l'essort et la prosperite du Canada.

69) Il est egalement devenu necessaire que nos dirigeants pourvoient a la survivance de la Confederation en etudiant minutieusement la structure de notre politique qui ne semble malheureusement pas etre a la hauteur si l'on la compare a celle de nombre d'autres pays qui nous entourent. Nos gouvernements se sont heurtes depuis plusieurs annees a multiples obstacles qui ont valu leur echec dans bien des cas. Sur le plan national comme dans nos provinces, il semble qu'il existe une certaine confusion qui apparemment affaibli d'annee en annee les pouvoirs et le prestige qui caracterisent la vie politique des responsables de notre destinee.

70) Dans presque tous les domaines de la politique, on y retrouve une certaine langueur, une hesitation inexplicable, un recul a l'accomplissement d'un devoir pressant qui doit etre exerce dans la solution des problemes capitaux se rattachant a chaque individu et a sa survivance au niveau économique et social. Tout d'abord, il est évident qu'un conflit met aux prises constamment les dirigeants des partis politiques qui n'arrivent pas a s'entendre et qui se dissocient a profusion meme entre eux, provoquant une crise au sein meme des partis respectivement mis en cause et de ce fait amene, comme ce fut l'example au cours des dernieres annees, l'echec et l'effondrement des gouvernements suscitant de nouvelles elections qui retardent sans cesse notre avancement et la solution de nos problemes.

71) La participation des divers groupes ethniques du pays a certes collabore en une large mesure dans la politique a promouvoir cet etat de chose. Depuis le debut du regime confederatif la teneur de querelles raciales, religieuses et autres a littera-

lement paralyse nos relations politiques et sociales et ceci a également amene chez nous un climat fort malsain qui s'est accentue graduallement et qui a pris une telle ampleur qu'il faille aujourd'hui songer une fois pour toute a changer notre ligne de conduite et rebatir sous toutes ses formes notre constitution et notre confederation afin de survivre en tant que nation.

72) Nos querelles, qui remontent a deja trop loin, dependant des reconnaissances les langues, des cultures et des droits civils de chacun n'ont que trop durees et ont seme au sein de notre nation une discorde par lapratique de principes et doctrines discriminatoires appliques contre les elements supposement minoritaires qui n'avaient bien souvent qu'a se plier aux exigences du plus fort en principe ou de poursuivre une lutte bien souvent inutile dont les efforts n'etaient pas reconnus. Malgre la defaillance des minorites et des Canadiens Francais, il faut admettre que l'apprehension d'une entente sur l'echelon national n'a jamais ete envisagee categoriquement par les responsables alors meme qu'il aurait fallu en temps opportuns appliquer des mesures sanctionnaires pour faire respecter l'ordre et la reconnaissance visant les revendications et les suggestions apportees par les partis concernes dans le conflit.

73) Au contraire, trop souvent on a rejete ce qui semblait être nefaste aux donnees de la communaute anglophone pour n'adopter qu'une attitude d'ignorance des exigences d'autrui et continuer l'application de la doctrine favorable qui avait jusqu'a date servi la cause des ambitieux anglophones pratiquant le favoritisme et servant en meme temps la cause de la mere patrie qui exigeait une telle continuite.

74) La seule question des langues et de l'usage d'un embleme tout autant que d'un hyme national a fait couler beaucoup d'encre et suscite multiples querelles et commentaires durant de longues annees. Et cette situation subsiste encore aujourd'hui.

75) En passant, je remarque que pour ce qui est de l'Hymne national a pour sa part ete l'objet de mesentente complete et

je me demande pourquoi. Certains reconnaissent le O Canada comme l'hymne national des Canadiens. D'autres le God Save the Queen. Qu'il me soit permis de citer ici que ce que les Anglais considerent comme leur hyme national n'est nul autre que l'ancien hymne francais qui a ete composee en France en l'honneur de Louis XVI et qui a ete ensuite emprunte par les Anglais qui l'ont appele le God Save the Queen, chant qu'ils ont adopte comme hymne national des Anglo-Saxons.

76) Je considere donc notre pays etant dote a la fois d'un hymne national canadien et d'un hymne francais si je m'en rapporte au contenu du paragraphe precedent.

77) Pour ce qui est du drapeau du pays, il est incontestable que l'usage du drapeau bleu-blanc et rouge comme celui de l'Union Jack est pour nous derisoire, tous Canadiens que nous sommes. Il nous faut absolument un drapeau et un embleme distinctifs; cela n'est certes plus a discuter pour une distinction des autres nations et peuples du globe et un certain respect en temps que tel. Ceci, je crois que tous les Canadiens s'accordent sur ce point. Le point a resoudre est celui-ci: la proclamation d'un drapeau, d'un embleme affichant un dessin ne favorisant aucun groupe en particulier dans sa construction. En somme, un drapeau qui n'aurait rien en commun avec les drapeaux actuels submentionnes.

78) Quant a la question primordiale de la distinction et favorisation des reconnaissances en matiere linguistique, il est indeniable qu'il faille une fois pour toutes que nous reglions ce point. Il faut absolument que les deux langues principales du pays et les cultures qui s'y rattachent soient officiellement adoptées en consideration bien entendu de la participation deja existante des divers groupes ethniques qui y ont adhere successivement depuis plus d'un demi-siecle. Ainsi parlant, je mets en vedette les Neo-Canadiens de toutes races qui ont pris pied sur notre sol depuis deja plusieurs annees et qui y ont amene leurs langues et leurs cultures respectives dignes d'etre mises en consideration si l'on juge de l'enrichissement qu'ils ont fourni au pays durant ces annees.

79) Il ne s'agit pas de les ignorer, au contraire mais de les simplement incorporer aux deux langues et cultures principales qui ont servi a tous les Canadiens sous tous les niveaux sous ce regime confederatif jusqu'a nos jours. Il faut promouvoir l'apport de ces langues et cultures etrangeres qui ont largement contribue a l'extoriasion, la communication et aux bonnes relations jusqu'ici tout spécialement sur le cote politique et social.

80) Evidemment, encore une fois, nous sommes en face d'une suite de groupes fort minoritaires qui constituent en leur entier a environ 26% de la population du Canada; ce qui est quand meme important. Mais, ce n'est pas suffisamment assez pour qu'on songe a opter pour une Confederation multilinguiste et multiculturelle. D'ailleurs, tout le monde, dans l'ensemble s'accorde a reconnaitre qu'une telle situation ne prevaut de cette facon nulle part ailleurs dans le monde, mise a part de la Suisse et peut-etre d'un ou deux autres pays ou se cotoyent trois cultures et trois langues qui sont partagees par la grande majorite de la population: ce qui est fort different de la situation ici au Canada et je citerais meme de la situation des Etats-Unis qui comptent multiples representants de divers nations mais l'usage d'une seule langue officielle et l'adhrence de toutes cultures dans un ensemble les reliant tous sur un front commun et stable sans aucun equivoque.

81) Voila pourquoi, nous devons reconnaitre que chez nous le multi, qui s'agisse de langue surtout ne peut etre considere comme une solution a notre probleme. Seule l'adaptation de toutes les cultures peut vraisemblablement etre admise et acceptee mais cela par tous, sans exception sans egards des minorites ou qu'elles soient et quelles qu'elles soient.

82) Il est important que nos gouvernements veillent a mettre en pratique dans chacun de leurs ministeres l'adoption et du francais et de l'anglais sous toutes formes de transition et de communications, egalement fassent usage des deux langues dans toutes les formes de publicite dont ils font usage tout autant

qu'en ce qui regarde la Presse, les communications orales et ecrites ou visuelles (la radio, la television, la presse), l'adoptation de formes de papiers aux entetes et caracteres bilingues durant l'accomplissement de toutes les taches qui leur incombent dans leurs fonctions.

83) Il faut aussi que tous les moyens de facilite soient mis a la portee de tous les Canadiens de s'instruire, de communiquer de transiger et de se cultiver non seulement au Quebec et en Ontario mais dans toutes les provinces du pays, et ce dans les deux langues primees adoptees par la tres grande majorite des Canadiens.

84) Je reconnais, cela il faut l'admettre, qu'en ce qui concerne le fait francais et sa reconnaissance, plusieurs efforts ont été faits individuellement et dans certains domaines, chez certains ministeres en vue de favoriser l'etat bilingue et biculturel. Mais cependant, l'effort ne s'est malheureusement que limite a un tres faible pourcentage encore et ce n'est certes pas suffisant pour illiminer les apprehensions des elements francais qui demeurent menaces dans certains milieux du pays de disparition vu l'infime nombre de ces elements repartis sur de vastes territoires et regions ou ils sont submerges d'elements anglophones et de peuplades etrangeres pour certains egalement anglo-saxons. La teneur de certains propos au cours des audiences des 7 et 8 novembre parle par elle-meme.

85) Des representants des autres provinces ont consecutivement reconnu, publiquement leur indifference envers les Canadiens Francais minoritaires de leurs provinces. Certains ont meme nies la possibilite d'une telle reconnaissance dans une province ou ils se sentaient les ultimes dominants par le pourcentage de leurs representations ethniques. Plusieurs ont rejete l'idee d'une telle reconnaissance voir meme celle d'un etat bilingue et biculturel qui ne leur était pas favorable se considerant assez nombreux pour revendiquer des droits de legitimite sur le meme niveau que les deux pleuples dits fondateurs.

86) Ce qui porte a croire que l'opposition sera apparemment grande dans certains milieux occupes par ces Neo-Canadiens qui sont loin d'admettre une telle solution qu'il qualifient d'un effarent favoritisme.

87) Je crois sincerement que l'on doit penser a conserver un etat deja existant en ce qui concerne ces Nouveaux Canadiens et ceci se resume a la continuite de leurs epanchements vers l'une ou l'autre des deux nations fondatrices en ce qui regarde l'usage de la langue officielle. Ce qui n'empeche pas par une telle adheration la pratique du bilinguisme chez eux tout comme dans les autres regions du Canada. Et ce, toujours pour une plus grande facilite de communication et de comprehension mutuelle entre tous les Canadiens.

88) Il est important que pareillement et paralellement au systeme de l'education de chaque province, l'usage du bilinguisme et de l'integration des culturels a egalite se fassent dans tous les secteurs de la societe. Voir a l'industrie privee et les societes multiples repandues d'un ocean a l'autre, au sein des nombreuses associations diverses, dans les corporations, dans les milieux ouvriers, chez les fonctionnaires comme chez les bourgeois tout autant que chez les pauvres ou les riches, que les moyens de facilite soient accordes a tous de devenir entierement bilingue dans la mesure du possible sans pour cela gener ou avoir a forcer personne d'y adherer evitant ainsi tout equivoque et incidents facheux engendres par des individus dont l'attitude laisse bien souvent a desirer et a craindre.

89) A la suite d'une petite enquete personnelle faite avant et depuis mon assistance a votre audience de novembre, j'ai constate dans plusieurs milieux la pratique de certains industriels ou patrons de divers categories, du favoritisme en faveur de l'unilinguisme dans toutes les phases de transition et de communication de ces firmes et au sein de leur complete administration meme regardant l'emploi du personnel. Si je m'en rapporte aux diverses fonctions et positions qui sont ouvertes a certains

nombre de candidats, il appert que chez plusieurs d'entre eux, la composition d'un personnel parfaitement bilingue est rare et l'unilinguisme regne en force. Meme certains employes bilingues, en occurence, des Canadiens Francais et certaines exceptions chez les Neo-Canadiens, sont souvent forces pour des raisons qu'il est inutile d'expliquer de pratiquer l'unilinguisme par crainte de s'attirer des ennuis couteux. J'ai meme vu ce cas dans certains milieux canadiens francais aux apparences plutot anglophones. L'excuse bien souvent vise a favoriser la clientele a desservir par l'entreprise quelle qu'elle soit.

90) Passe encore de favoriser l'unilinguisme visant sa propre communaute mais dela a souligner une autre communaute, cela c'est fort. Autant vaut favoriser l'anglais sur toute la ligne et qu'on en parle plus.

91) C'est tout comme la situation qui subsiste dans les milieux maritimes et au sein du monde touristique d'un bout à l'autre du pays. Une lacune lamentable existe la aussi d'ailleurs et comment.

92) Dans une serie de courts memoires que je faisais parvenir au Ministre des Transports et a la Voie Maritime du St-Laurent recemment, j'elaborais multiples commentaires et discussions que j'avais receuilli aupres des capitaines, marins et ouvriers divers dans le port de Montreal et sur les divers chantiers maritimes environnants, aux abords des ecluses aux environs de Montreal. Ces propos venant de Canadiens et aussi d'etrangers, parfaitement en connaissance des lacunes existant en ce domaine se sont accordes a dire que la situation unilingue etait favorablement exercee chez eux a tous les niveaux. Si vous voulez etre temoins des actes de favoritisme repugnants et successivement commis au sein de ce monde, c'est bel et bien le milieu a choisir pour des fins d'enquete qui porte entierement au sujet que nous analisons. Cela saute aux yeux et choque tellement ce systeme d'unilinguisme et de tribulation anglo-saxonne persiste et s'accentue en force au point que vous ne pouvez presquement pas

parler francais entre Canadiens Francais sans etre fortement reprimande et malmene par tous ceux qui n'ont rien de commun avec vous en ce domaine.

93) Et fait a remarquer, cette situation n'existe pas dans les milieux maritimes Americains cependant ou l'on fait usage de la langue de l'opposant si le cas est necessaire, voir meme a fournir des interpretes qui sont des officiers Americains bilingues pour faciliter les moyens de transiger et de communiquer adequatement avec le client.

94) On m'a meme narre des faits recents survenus aux ecluses americaines de Snell et Eisenhower le long de la Voie Maritime cote des Etats-Unis ou l'on usait de tels procodes. On a meme permis la visite des certains navires et procede a des demonstrations instructives sur l'equipement utilise sur ces batiments pour le benefice de ces visiteurs. Et quoi encore. Meme a Montreal, J'ai ete temoins au cours de visites sur des batiments destroyers et canadiens et Americains de la difference flagrante existant dans le systeme.

95) Comment expliquer une telle persistance chez nous quand des purs etrangers ne l'appliquent pas sur leurs batiments comme sur les batiments canadiens naviguant dans leurs eaux?....

96) La meme situation se rencontre dans d'autres endroits tels que a la Galerie Nationale, dans certaines ecoles vouees a l'enseignements des langues, meme au Quebec, dans certaines organisations syndicales, au sein de certaines associations et corporations civiles dans l'administration de plusieurs magasins a rayons et a chaine tout autant que l'on s'y retrouve mal lorsque l'on decouvre la meme lacune dans la composition de certains corps artistiques, dans le domaine des arts et des lettres; et j'en passe une quantite d'autres tout aussi importants.

97) Comment expliquer que meme au fonctionnarisme, le patronage et le favoritisme se pratiquent de la meme facon ne se basant que rarement sur les qualifications du candidat ou des candidats qui etant aptes a remplir ces fonctions et bilingues en plus

dans bien des cas, se voient eliminer de ce fait d'une participation meritoire a la cause de prosperite et d'essort du pays par une preference anglosaxonne trop souvent unilingue et malheureusement souvent insuffisante pour combler les responsabilites qui comportent une telle position. Et pourtant, cela se fait. Meme au niveau provincial et meme au Quebec. C'est disgracieux et inconcevable a la fois...!

98) A quoi sert a l'individu de se vouer a des etudes avancees et a l'apprentissage d'une langue s'il ne peut servir apres s'etre qualifie et specialise dans son domaine?... A quoi sert au debutant ou a tout autre individu riche mais aussi le pauvre, l'infortune de cumuler travail et etudes et de depenser de fortes sommes, au prix de durs sacrifices, a s'instruire et s'eduquer, de combler son cerveau d'un bagage de connaissances usuelles s'il ne peut meme pas s'en servir et les faire profiter et en faire profiter son pays dans l'accomplissement d'une fonction meritoire, remuneratrice et utile a l'essort culturel et economique de son pays par la pratique de tels procedes illegaux en somme?...

99) Le meme cas se presente pour des Neo-Canadiens qui tonbent sous la meme banniere que nous, les Canadiens Francais. Et tout cela, dans un pays democratique et foncierement independant et respectable que le notre....C'est tout a fait inacceptable et cela demande egalement correction spontanee et immediate avant que le mal n'enraie toute la nation sous tous les niveaux vitaux...

100) Je desapprouve totalement cette politique devenue nationale tout autant que je desapprouve la politique separatiste et independantiste qui n'a rien de bon et d'acceptable ou d'efficace pour nous tous, Canadiens qui que nous soyons.

101) Il faut donc que nous agissions rapidement en nous prevalant de nos droits respectifs comme tels et que par la participation de tous et la collaboration de nos gouvernements nous reussions dans un effort commun a restaurer entierement la vraie constitution canadienne par des reglements et des reformes

conformes a tous les besoins vitaux de la nation canadienne sans egards de ses abonnes.

102) Il est de toute evidence que nos dirigeants, nos gouvernements tant federal que provinciaux se prevalent de leurs pouvoirs et agissnet en sorte que sur le domaine de l'education, les changements efficaces soient apportes repondant parfaitement aux exigences de l'heure et l'occasion soit donnee a tous de beneficier de tous ses nombreux avantages meme en ce qui regarde la gratuite scolaire, le systeme de bourses accordees aux etudiants necessiteux et les contacts etudiants soient elargis dans leurs cadres facilitant les echanges mutuellement.

103) Il faut que les reseaux d'informations et qui servent a la communication, a l'instruction et a l'education tels que la Presse, la radio et la television fassent un plus effort pour apporter aux Canadiens par une programmation sagement etudiee et analysee et appliquee afin de combler le vide cause par l'inefficacite des systemes educationnels eventuels deja insuffisants et vieux jeux desuqles beaucoup de nous tous sommes les victimes irresponsables. Il en est ainsi pour les ecoles de specialisation de tous les corps de metiers et de personnalite qui sont que trop rares et ne suffisent plus a la tache de meme que les ecoles du soir qui affichent des programmations formats de poches, si je peux m'exprimer ainsi.

104) Il faut egalement que sur le front ouvrier, ces actes discrimatoires cessent chez nos Canadiens anglais comme francais tant dans l'entreprise privee que dans les milieux fonctionnaristes et au sein des societes de la Couronne.

105) Il est temps que nos dirigeants, en qui nous avons mis notre confiance sachent adopter une attitude dorenavant qui saura combler aux diverses et multiples lacune qui ont assombries notre securite nationale par une discipline severe d'abord dans leur propre milieu et ensuite sur l'etendue du pays afin de faire renaitre chez nous un climat qui nous a echappe il y a de cela trop longtemps qui aurait su etre beaucoup plus efficace et

propice a chacun pour une meilleure comprehension et communion, favorisant au niveau national des relations autrement superieures a celles-ci existantes et ce, pour une meilleure unite, pour la formation d'une saine nation enviee de tous et de tous les pays et nations qui nous fixent a tout instant des divers points du globe et tout specialement nos voisins les Etats-Unis et les certaines autres pays avec qui nous chevauchons continuellement pour la liberte, l'egalite des races, l'union de l'Humanité entiere et la paix.

106) A mon avis, ce n'est qu'en affichant une nouvelle attitude similaire a celle que j'ai mentionnee; en favorisant un meilleur climat et une tres large comprehension, une entente mutuelle sous tous les niveaux sans egard encore une fois du groupe auquel nous appartenons, que nous reussirons a former une jeune nation, forte, unie, prospere demunie de partisanneries et ce fait nous ragagnerons vitement et hautement la confiance, d'abord en nous-meme, puis ensuite celle de toutes les autres nations du monde qui nous vouerons j'en suis sure un respect et un devouement que nous n'avons encore jamais connu et qui saura, dans un avenir tres proche, je l'espere nous elever au meme niveau que tous les autres, travaillant tous a la meme cause: L'Egalite, la Liberte et la Paix, au sein de l'Humanite.

J. RéJean Taillefer.
Novembre 1963.

CA

Mémoire 740-204
M. J. Réjean Taillefer
Montréal
2e partie

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DECEMBRE 1963.

MONTREAL.
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# M E M O I R E  A B R E G E

P r é s e n t é  à  l a

C O M M I S S I O N

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L A U R E N D E A U - D U N T O N

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B I C U L T U R A L I S M E

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Par:
M. J. RéJean Taillefer.,
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Montréal 24, Qué.

Monsieur le Président,
Monsieur Le Co-Président,
Madame La Commissaire,
Messieurs Les Commissaires.

Veuillez bien m'excuser si encore une fois, je viens prendre de votre très précieux temps. Cependant, lors de la rédaction récente d'un mémoire, quelques points m'ont malgré mon application, échappé et j'aimerais de ce fait, rectifier, compléter ces quelques informations et suggestions et de plus, animer en quelques sortes certains développements dont j'ai été comme tant d'autres et qui sont survenus dernièrement, témoins; tout spécialement depuis la teneur des audiences du mois dernier.

Vous avez surement constaté, vous-mêmes l'ampleur qu'a prise la campagne et le vif intérêt qui suscite de part et d'autre visant le sujet mis en cause...Il est certes encourageant de constater cet état de chose et ceci, j'en suis à peu près certain, nous facilitera à tous la tâche qui place sur un front commun toute la population canadienne qui prend graduellement conscience de son sort, de ses possibilités d'union, pour de meilleures relations et ses toutes dernières chances de survivre dans cette fragile Confédération.

Le Ciel fasse que par cet effort mutuel, compréhensivement et pacifiquement nous y parvenions et demeurions un pays solide, une vaillante nation libre, unie et puissante.

Je viens donc une fois de plus vous soumettre, La Commission Royale d'enquête un second exposé pour faire suite à la récente présentation d'un mémoire que j'ai déposé en main propre à vos bureaux de l'Avenue Laurier lors d'un récent voyage à Ottawa.

Afin de compléter certaines discussions qui ont été omises, et aussi pour résumer certaines constatations faites depuis la tenue de l'audien du mois dernier, j'ai donc résolu de revenir vous entretenir aussi brièvement qu'il se peut de mes vues, de venir vous consulter de nouveau sur le BILINGUISME et le BICULTURALISME.

En effet, si l'on jette un coup d'oeil sur les multiples publications et commentaires qui ont déferlé dans la presse, nos grands quotidiens et à la radio, à la télévision tout comme chez l'individu dans la rue ou au travail, il nous est permis de constater que le travail que s'est imposé la Commission ne s'avère pas en vain et ceci n'en est que plus encourageant pour les mois à venir. On y remarque néanmoins la ferme position qu'ont pris des milliers de Canadiens devant la gravité éminente de la situation qui déchire notre Confédération.

Pour sa part, la presse a, depuis ce temps, rédigé et publié nombre de communiqués et éditoriaux et photo-reportages se rapportant au sujet et à la campagne en général, fouillant tous les milieux minitieusement. Et ce, presquement quotidiennement et laborieusement.

Selon les divers manchettes que j'ai régulièrement consulté, il appert que la grande majorité de la population canadienne, de tous les groupes ethniques et appartenant à toutes les classes diverses de la société ont pour de vrai compris et pris conscience des faits en cours et ont décidé enfin de s'oublier et d'agir et de mettre la main à la pâte. C'est une collectivité tant du côté de l'individu que du côté des associations diverses, corporations privées et de la Couronne, des milieux professionnels, les compagnies tant grandioses et petites qui font maintenant front commun pour tenter de remédier à cette menace, évidente et destructive qui nous fait se rallier.

C'est un problème qui n'est certes pas unique mais il n'a cependant pas de raison d'exister au sein de notre nation aussi jeune et démocratique à une ère aussi avancée et civilisée au XXième siècle.

Pour ceux qui comme moi ont leur appareil de radio constamment ouvert ou leur appareil de télévision en opération, la même situation de publicité tapageuse se fait sentir assez fortement, encourageant la continuité de cette grande campagne dont vous assumez la direction.

Quantité de programmations sont réservées pour fins d'information publique au cours des multiples forums, conférence de presse, ou autres émissions commentant les événements de la semaine ou du mois. Ce, sur la presque totalité des réseaux radiophoniques et de télévision, tant en français qu'en anglais ou stations multilingues tels qu'il en existe dans la région de Montréal. En fait, c'est devenu un des sujets d'intérêt primordial partout au pays. Nombre d'experts y déferlent avec assurance y exposant leurs griefs ou leur approbation, y émettant des opinions personnelles ou receuillies au sein de la société. Des éducateurs, des professionnels, des politiciens tout autant que des individus à des facultés académiques, les gens de la rue, tous y participent. On y discute politique, économie, sécurité sociale, constitution, on étudie soigneusement la Confédération sous son angle actuel ce qui parfois ne manque de piquant.

Qu'il me soit permis, ici, en passant de féliciter chaleureusement la Commission pour son fabuleux travail accompli en si peu de temps avec la coopération de son personnel administratif de façon à faciliter à tous et chacun, la communication efficacement entre tous les groupes de la communauté pour mener à bonne fin la lourde tâche qu'elle s'est vouée. Je suis certain que la Commission va ardemment poursuivre cette campagne avec la participation de tous et celle également des 11 gouvernements qui nous dirigent et qu'elle s'acquittera avec succès et loyalement de ce fardeau qu'elle a endossé pour la survivance de notre nation canadienne et celle du régime confédératif. Régime confédératif favorisant de ce fait l'essort culturel, économique du Canada sous une Constitution entièrement renovée, s'il le faut nous assurant ainsi une meilleure sécurité et une durabilité, la paix et l'Unité de notre Nation.

Pour revenir au point de départ, je citais l'effort concret qui point deci delà dans tous les milieux et régions du Canada.

Nous avons été témoins depuis le début de cette campagne de l'appréhension de certaines personnes ou de certains groupes demeurant toutefois songeurs devant la nouvelle politique visant l'état bilingue et biculturel du notre pays. Certains ont tout d'abord offert de la résistance pour ne pas dire se prononcer contre ou viser une formule plus constructive favorisant le terme "MULTI" dans les deux sujets mis en cause. On en a été témoins non seulement en audiences mais ceci continue dans certains milieux plutôt antipatiques ou pessimistes selon les commentaires qui nous proviennent. Il est vrai que le pourcentage n'est pas inquiétant Dieu merci... On ne peut certes pas nier toutefois qu'il fallait s'y attendre... Quoiqu'en soit le sujet, on peut s'attendre à de l'opposition; c'est ce qui rend le travail plus captivant. Cependant, il y a une certaine forme d'opposition avec laquelle je ne suis pas d'accord.

Par ceci, je m'attaque à certains individus plutôt que des groupements qui sont encrés, déterminés à nier catégoriquement et critiquer amèrement et violamment le fait et la reconnaissance du français tout autant que de l'anglais chez nous, et également du bilinguisme et du biculturalisme.

Au contraire, certains de ces individus appartenant à des corporations ou asssociations professionnelles mettent en pratique toute discrimination possible et le rejet unanime de tout ce qui est une entrave à la doctrine anglo-saxonne, enfant de l'ancestrale hiérarchie et monarchie anglaise.

Plusieurs exemples et faits saillants récents survenus sur la colline parlementaire, au sein de l'administration en générale au statut fédéral et civil concrétisent nos dires.

Après l'incident Gordon, on vient d'être témoins et victimes d'un individu encore plus ignoble et plus déconcertant que le premier. Nul doute que l'incident Mac Gregor va avoir de désastreuses conséquences et répercussions chez nous et même à l'extérieur alors que ces propos malveillants ont porté atteinte à un vaillant allié, la France, à la réputation d'une compagnie renommée et à 23 de ses clients assidus répartis sur le globe. On pourrait également en citer plusieurs autres; il serait très facile de grossir le nombre de ces gauchistes qui en somme dépendent de nous de par leur occupation professionnelle.

Je considère déplorable et désinvolte une telle attitude et ligne de conduite provenant d'individus au service des Canadiens occupant des postes élevés à la Couronne, à l'état. Il est un fait indéniable que ceux qui roupettent le plus en ce moment sont justement ceux qui sont à l'emploi de nos régimes législatifs en province et au fédéral. Evidemment, qu'il y va d'un certain pourcentage et cela heureusement.

Il n'en reste pas moins que dans ce Canada en voie de réforme, il y a encore des personnages plutôt inusités, excédant de zèle et de patriotisme qui pratiquent une infâme doctrine anti-raciale et voir même religieuse et anti-francophone tout spécialement attachant à la Mère Patrie l'Angleterre un respect d'outre mesure et démodé à notre ère.

Une si voyante désinvolture est tout simplement révoltante pour les Canadiens Français et certains Nouveaux Canadiens qui en sont constamment les victimes et qui en souffrent dans tous les milieux où ils doivent évoluer c'est devenu un joug et une dictature chez certains et ceci mérite, à mon avis châtiment de réciproque façon.

Des Gordon, Bennett, Melvin et MacGregor, il y en a souvent eu au sein de nos arènes gouvernementales et industrielles ou sociales; il appert que nous en aurons d'autres si l'on y met pas du nôtre un fois pour toutes.

Il ne faut certes pas généraliser la situation mais il faut toutefois songer qu'une seule mauvaise brebis peut contamminer tout le reste du troupeau.

Je conçois que le gros bon sens veut que au Canada, nous cessions enfin de nous chamailler pour des mots et des termes de référence favorisateurs. Je suis d'accord pour les termes en autant qu'ils soient proclamés par l'entier et non l'individu lui-même.

On connait tous la profonde confusion qu'ont jeté surtout sur la province de Québec amis aussi aux autres régions du pays, les éléments séparatistes divers qui se succèdent et échouent un après l'autre. Nul n'est utile de citer leur doctrine erronée qui a retenti il y a trois ans pour semer la confusion et même la terreur dans certains milieux à l'apparition des partisans vandalistes.

Cette confusion règne d'ailleurs pleinement chez eux et la divergence est si apparente qu'encore tout récemment, une scission se faisait entre les trois grands de l'indépendance. Un quatrième vient de poindre ayant à sa tête, un autre décu politicien qui les imite et prétend être l'éventuel sauveteur en proclamant des citations déjà vieilles utilisées et abandonnées par ces compétiteurs qu'on s'est lassé d'entendre. Je proclame ce que j'ai cité antérieurement: qu'il ne peut y avoir d'autre solution que le régime confédératif, fusse-t-il mis en pièce et renové en entier ou partiellement; amendé de par ces clauses incluses dans l'Acte d'Amérique du Nord BRITANNIQUE.

Je soutiens que la proclamation utilisée primitivement des expressions "Etat du Québec", "la Nation Canadienne-Française" ou "Nation du Québec" n'a surement pas aidé à réduire la tension entre les Canadiens français et anglais dans cette province et s'est avéré une insulte nationale et cette attitude séparatiste n'accomplit rien de sérieux pour notre peuple.

Aussi longtemps que nous sommes les sujets d'un pays, sans considération du Royaume-Uni, nous demeurons une seule et même nation, quelles que soient nos relations immédiates intérieures.

Selon la raison et la logique, nous sommes deux groupes, deux peuples dominants aux cultures et aux langues différentes. Il est catégoriquement inadmissible et impossible de faire de notre pays deux nations distinctes: le Canada proprement dit et d'autre part l'état du Québec. Croire à un tel regroupement individuel est une gaffe monumentale. Politiquement, économiquement, c'est nul et infaisable. En matière sécurité économique et sociale, c'est une menace et un échec éminent et tout cela ne ferait que nous jeter graduellement dans les bras de nos puissants voisins qui n'attendent que ce faire depuis lontemps. Et c'est compréhensible avec tout ce qu'ils ont chez nous et ce qu'on a à offrir côté matériels et ressources. Ce serait un coup de maître sans effort ni violence.

Il est également que certains esprits ont depuis longtemps laissé tomber leur nationalisme pour s'adonner à l'Américanisme. Leur vie en est remplie...Bravo pour eux, s'ils s'y entendent bien et veulent dorénavant le demeurer. Cependant, je vois d'un très mauvais oeil, tous les Canadiens s'y soumettre.

Il fait bon de constater néanmoins qu'au Canada, depuis peu, tous les Canadiens, anglais et Français comme les Néo-Canadiens se donnent mutuellement la main pour reconnaître et s'affermir à l'état bilingue et biculturel au Canada en s'y donnant de plein gré dans tous les niveaux.

L'Université a bien débuté et établi sa propre campagne. Elle a démarré et emboité le pas sur d'autres institutions du genre et je vous assure que ça bouge. On sent qu'ils ont eux-mêmes en bons éducateurs ressenti l'urgence et la réalité leur a indiqué la concrétisation immédiate d'un remaniement sous tous les angles.

Au niveau des gouvernements, on procède lentement mais assurément à la refrancisation sous toutes les formes politiques et économiques. Evidemment, il y a là aussi des rétissents mais un jour prochain, ils parviendront à emboiter le pas avec les autres.

Au domaine de l'éducation cependant, cela semble plus difficile; néanmoins, il est constaté qu'on a récemment cherché à tous les niveaux scolaires et dans les divers ministères de l'Education à approfondir le fait bilingue et biculturel avec assez de force et ce à compter des premières années des cours primaires. J'avoue cependant que cette forme d'enseignement des deux langues et de l'infiltration des deux cultures simultanées à un niveau de débutants m'inquiète fortement.

Spécialement en ce qui regarde les élèves de première, deuxième et troisième années qui sont déjà dépassés et déconcertés par la variété des programmes actuels.

Je rédigeais justement il y a quelques temps un court mémoire à l'attention de l'Hon. Paul Gérin-Lajoie à cet effet lui laissant entendre le danger qu'encourerait une telle initiative en pratiquant cette méthode d'enseignement à un stage aussi primitif; ce qui serait selon moi, trop prématuré. Ce système susciterait chez l'étudiant concerné un sublime effort intellectuel et physique qui risquerait certes de menacer la constitution de l'individu et je doute de l'efficacité qui en découlerait par une méthode trop avancée et comme je le citais précédemment prématurée.

Cependant, il est bon de constater l'intérêt qu'apporte à l'enseignement et à l'éducation les réseaux de radio et de télévision qui ont fait en ce sens des efforts depuis quelques années et qui se proposent d'en faire de plus efficaces dans un très proche avenir. On est actuellement citant spécialement la Société Radio-Canada, à établir une nouvelle programmation constructive supérieure à celle actuellement en vigueur et ce sur les deux réseaux, anglais et français.

Dans les institutions d'enseignement secondaire et au niveau supérieur et universitaire, on travaille à faciliter à tous les abonnés l'éducation et l'instruction bilingue et à favoriser les échanges culturels sur tous les niveaux facultatifs.

L'exemple de l'effort fourni dans les autres provinces nous a été fourni par le Ministère de l'éducation du Manitoba qui a annoncé officiellement son nouveau programme scolaire la semaine dernière. De leur part, c'est plus qu'une excellente nouvelle si l'on considère qu'il y a environ un mois, les représentants de cette même province ont différé d'opinion avec l'assemblée et se sont prononcé presque négativement contre le bilinguisme mais en faveur de l'unilinguisme ou de la soi-disante forme MULTI dans les deux sens.

Pour sa part, l'Ontario malgré son rétissant chef, prend petit-à-petit une position de plus en plus affirmative vis-à-vis de la campagne. Au moment même où je vous écris ces quelques lignes, un fort groupement de délégués de la Ville Reine reçoit une délégation du Québec conduite par M. Yvon Dupuis, député fédéral de St-Jean, Qué., dans le but de poursuivre des débats sur le bilinguisme. En somme c'est un échange inter-provincial, une étude du sujet commun qui relie les deux partis.

Il y a peu de temps, plus de trois mille cinq cents étudiants (3,500) de cette région ontarienne ont travaillé par un rassemblement monstre à concrétiser la reconnaissance du Canada Français en protestant devant les autorités gouvernementales leur laissant carte blanche à condition qu'ils y atteignent une fin précise en ce sens. Des centaines d'autres témoignages sont venus ensuite s'ajouter à ceux-ci de part et d'autres. Tous parlent en faveur d'un Canada Français et Anglais uni; en somme qu'on reconnaisse les différences francophones et anglophones comme créatrices arrivant à nous fortifier et nous enrichir.

Un mémoire a été remis de la part de groupements ontariens au premier ministre, M. Robarts simulant une meilleure compréhension et plus de souplesse dans notre politique, se prononçant littéralement contre toutes formes de ségrégaration voir même nationaliste au Canada.

Ceci, des milliers d'autres personnes et égalements étudiants tels qu'à McGill, Laval, Universités de Montréal (exception faite des éléments séparatistes y siégeant), Loyala, Sherbrooke, du Nouveau-Brunswick, d'Halifax et du Manitoba l'ont déjà conféré. Ce qui n'est pas peu dire.

D'autres régions anglophones de l'Ontario telles que Hamilton, Sudbury, North-Bay etc font honneur à la campagne du bilinguisme. A Hamilton malgré certains précédents créés par l'institution des écoles séparées, on remarque un brillant avocat canadien d'origine française, Me. Ryan Paquette qui siège à la Commission Scolaire. Il est un fervent adepte du bilinguisme et ses amis et clients se compte par milliers. Chez lui, il est un vaillant défenseur de sa langue et de sa culture. Il est d'origine canadienne-française natif de la ville de Cornwall, Ontario de parents également francophones. Il a épousé un anglaise des Maritimes. Il a participé à la fondation de la paroisse de Notre-Dame du Perpétuel-Secours et de l'école Notre Dame dans sa ville. Il est président des Artisans et aussi de Club des Canadiens-Français. Il est président régional de l'Association des Canadiens-Français d'Education d'Ontario. C'est un autre exemple concret de ce qui se fait chez nos voisins.

Au fait, Radio-Canada a de plus ajouté sa part dans ce secteur en transformant sa station radio-phonique CJBC en station française à compter de janvier 1964.

La programmation entière en français ne commencera cependant pas avant la fin de l'été mais par contre d'ici là un total de 6 heures par jour et plus en fin de semaine sera consacré à la population française et canadienne-française de cette région et des environs qui se chiffre à plus de 200,000 ou environ. C'est une belle initiative que même les anglophones approuvent. Quoique cette station a longtemps fait partie d'un important réseau de concurrence de langue anglaise.

Une autre surprise qui ne se prévoyait pas lors des audiences de novembre, c'est la voie favorable des Ukrainiens sur le bilinguisme... je ne doute pas de ce changement spontané dans sa sincérité. Cependant du côté des cultures, rien n'a changé. Ils visent le fameux MULTI en tout sens. Ceci n'est peut-être pas tellement bête mais il faut s'entendre quand même sur ce point par ure consultation de groupes.

Je reconnais que l'Union des cultures ne devrait servir au Canada qu'à servir à l'essort et l'enrichissement des Canadiens en général et non en favorisant un ou deux groupes en particulier mais à part des deux principaux groupes du pays déjà existants. Certains le laissent entendre ainsi se considérant assez majoritaire pour envisager une telle exigence.

Toutefois, qu'on accepte en partie majoritaire la reconnaissance du bilinguisme et la participation des cultures et ce sera déjà un bon pas de fait. Espérons une concrétisation plus large prochaine.

Ma conception visant la province de la Saskatchewan est pauvre. Mise à part des violentes discussions du mois dernier par M. Melvin et de ses confrères, des récentes opinions publiques nous font croire que cette province aux groupes ethniques multiples n'entend pas adoucir sa politique anglophone pour très bientôt. Je n'en suis cependant pas du tout surpris. Ayant déjà vécu en cette province, soit à Saskatoon et Moose Jaw, j'ai raison de croire que la Commission et ses supporteurs auront fort à faire affrontant des adversaires non pas de taille mais perspicaces et têtus.

La doctrine anglo-saxonne est fortement implantée dans cette région voir même chez les groupes minoritaires qui y habitent et y évoluent et il sera peut-être difficile de l'en déloger, ne serait-ce qu'a 25% même. Je crois que M. Rudnyckyj qui réside dans la province voisine saurait étant donné sa profession exercée nous le confirmer. Ce sera une lutte difficile, je n'en doute pas aussi rude et retentissante que celle que nous aurons à livrer à la Colombie-Britannique, berceau et royaume de M. l'Hon. W.A.C. Bennett, notre bien-aimé compatriote.

Au fait, un incident m'a récemment frappé ici au Québec qui me rappelle M. le premier ministre BENNETT.

Une certaine institution de langues du nom de Globe School of Languages, sise à Place Ville-Marie en a de bonnes. Elle exerce sa publicité en enseignement du français en ce sens. Son prospectus se lit également ainsi: elle proclame ce sui suit: Le Français, ça se parle qu'à Paris. Si vous avez l'intention de voyager et surtout d'aller en France, notamment à Paris, apprenez le français. Ceci vous facilitera la tâche dans votre participation à certains spectacles tels qu'à l'Opéra, aux Galerie d'Arts et vous permettra ainsi de converser avec les Français: En somme une nouvelle langue dans un nouveau monde.

Pour une insulte, c'est une insulte et tout aussi apostrophale que celle de M. MacGregor, visant les Français que les Canadiens-Français. Cette affirmation a été dans l'est surtout à Montréal un coup de fouet et un très fort pourcentage de la population déplore la teneur d'une telle proclamation venant d'une institution publique dans la deuxième ville française du monde.

C'est aussi révoltant que les dires de ces Messieurs Bennett, Melvin, MacGregor, Robarts, Gordon et autres qui s'affirment bien en ce sens quand il s'agit des communautés francophones...Leurs allucinations n'en sont pas moins que destructives et tout aussi démodées et dénuées de sens. Tout comme je connais celle qu'ont portée Messieurs les Maires Philips de Toronto et Anderson de Portage La Prairie, ex-candidat à la direction fédérale des libéraux.

Il est un fait que l'ouest du pays dans son ensemble, diverge d'opinions sur le sujet du bilinguisme et du biculturalisme et c'est ce qui nous confond d'avec les 6 autres provinces canadiennes, qui elles s'épanchent sur la solution plausible par une meilleure compréhension mutuelle, une étroite collaboration en vue de cette unité nationale dans un état parfaitement bilingue quelqu'en soient les obstacles encourus ici et là.

Certains de ces éminents personnages de l'ouest s'accordent à dire que la Confédération ne croulera pas mais ils ne font rien contre la menace puis pèse sur nous et qui justement est la cause principale de notre survivance ou de notre dissociation si il y a lieu d'avoir dissociation dans l'avenir.

Personnellement, je n'y crois pas du tout.. Je ne suis pas un pessimiste; au contraire et combien ne devraient pas l'être et voir d'un meilleur oeil, l'avenir du Canada à condition qu'ils fassent leur part dans cette lutte. Encore s'il y avait des raisons concrètes ou sensées à conserver la formune unilingue ou culturelle...

Je ne connais aucun pays de ce monde qui ne soit érigé de cette façon. Même chez les moins fortunés ou moins civilisés là où figurent plusieurs peuplades d'origines différentes.

Situation et position pitoyable, c'est celle qu'ont pris les éléments séparatistes du Québec qui se chiffrent maintenant à quatre si l'on considère le nouveau mouvement de M. Michel Chartrand, le Parti Socialiste du Québec. En somme tous ces petits politiciens de troisième ordre auront joué un rôle défavorable dans cette renaissance si ce n'est d'avoir légèrement ouvert les yeux des Canadiens sur une situation dont beaucoup avaient déjà conscience. Leur rôle respectif a plutôt été destructif et confondant pour les populations québecquoises.

Si ces politiques de quètes, de jeûnes et d'actes de vandalisme continuent on verra peut-être bientôt surgir l'immolation ou le sacrifice du feu, l'arme suicide favorite des boudhistes ou quoi encore.

Et c'est cela qu'on appelle un peuple mature et des dirigeants éventuellement de classe, au sein d'une nation forte. C'est piètre comme publicité et doctrine pour des Canadiens Français supporteurs de tels mouvements...

On y a vu à date dans les arènes. les Chaput, Marcoux, Montgrain, Barbeau, Gravel, Caron, Lallemagne, Casgrain et Bourgault et maintenant ce type nommé Chartrand un insatisfait de publicité qui a eu échec sur échec en peu d'années sans compter un certain groupe d'étudiants mineurs démunis de jugement et de cervelles et de respect d'eux-mêmes qui ont emboité aveuglément le pas plus ou moins conscients du danger du goufre qui s'ouvrait à eux. Une autre belle aventure de jeunesse, une jeunesse qui devra servir d'élites demain en remplacement de la génération présente aux directives et destinées du pays... Oh...la... Quels élites....

Dans ces milieux séparatistes, on a même parlé de BOYCOTTER les grands quotidiens, les journalistes qu'on qualifie de jaunistes, d'incompétents parce que ceux-ci ne s'adonnent pas aux vues d'un Québec vu et sous la tutelle des séparatistes...On les traite aussi d'indésirables, de vendus et quoi encore.

Ce qui est encore surprenant, c'est la position prise récemment par la Société St-Jean-BAPTISTE (SSJB) Il y a environ un mois, elle menaçait de tout renversé de BOYCOTTER le travail de la Commission. Aujourd'hui elle devient plus coopérative et approuve presquement le fait qu'un Québec indépendant est impossible et inconstitutionnel. Auparavant, on les aurait jugé

séparatistes selon leurs propos violents citant clairement qu'il fallait faire de la province un état, une patrie canadienne française, notre patrie selon la citation. On visait un Québec unilingue littéralement forçant même les Anglais à fuir si cet état de chose ne leur plaisait pas. Maintenant la situation apparaît sous de nouveaux angles. Changée presquement à 50%. Cette société qui est responsable aussi du fameux Prêt d'Honneur aux étudiants a justement porté plainte récemment en ce sens qu'elle recevait plus au cours de ses campagnes de souscription des Anglais que des canadiens français...Pourquoi? C'est simple.. C'est parce que ces derniers sont moins riches étant moins favorisés financièrement. D'ailleurs un certain pourcentage de ces étudiants bénificiaires des bourses sont aussi des Anglais même si ils sont inférieurs en nombre. C'est donc réciproque et équitable qu'il en soit ainsi. Certains s'accordent à dire que les Canadiens Français en profitent à 99%; c'est un peu fort. Les résultats de la dernière souscription a nettement démontré que les anciens qui ont profité de ces allocations n'ont pas reconnaissamment répondu à l'appel lors de la ceuillette; ceci affiche une parfaite ignorance et de l'ingratitude. Pour les Anglais, c'est un point de discussion, il va sans dire.

A la S.S.J.B, on s'inquiète maintenant si l'indépendance ne causerait pas la mort du français et le retour inconsciemment à l'anglais. On a cité de plus la qualité inférieure actuelle du français utilisé chez nous affirmant que les Canadiens Français sont les premiers à ne plus respecter leur langue. Même dans le domaine des affaires, les canadiens français affichent en anglais et publient également en anglais ou dans un français qu'on a déjà qualifié de "joual", parlant également souvent dans bien des milieux de cette façon.

Certains ont suggéré l'usage unilingue, soit le français dans les milieux ouvriers dans le respect de la majorité. J'appréhende tout comme certains de ces gens des doutes de l'efficacité de la constitution d'un Québec unilingue.

On redoute surtout, et ce, je le cite avec raison la mauvaise foi provenant des milieux industriels et organismes fédéraux, de la finance, dans les milieux sportifs et les moyens modernes de diffusion qui seraient impliqué dans une telle application, sous un tel joug dans une province où ils évoluent assez puissamment.

Ma façon, en ce qui regarde le Québec, de voir une amélioration collaboratrice est comme suit: Il doit exister chez nous plusieurs formes d'élites dans les milieux syndicalistes, dans le monde ouvrier et surtout dans le monde des étudiants, les élites de demain.

Toutes ces élites se doivent de s'adapter aux nouvelles réformes d'autorités, les dimensions du nationalisme, résultat d'une prise de conscience et de position à caractères vraiment culturels et sociaux dont nous pouvons disposer; et une liberté d'expression originale que nous nous devons de reconnaître dans le grand contexte social québecquois. Il nous faut avant tout bien nous encrer dans le contexte historique, référant à toutes les informations possibles pour raffermir nos connaissances dans un but de discipline académique et sociale et non de patriotisme flagrant, nous permettant ainsi une évolution concrète et facile, constructive et solidaire.

Il nous faut songer à un biculturalisme et un bilinguisme avantageux, sur ce qu'on peut individuellement en tirer, applicable partout où il est utile et possible. Ce n'est pas une question de choisir, mais c'est un fait, une nécessité à l'essort et la survie de notre régime nationaliste et constitutionnel.

Il nous faut de plus en définir adéquatement et justesse ses modalités et son étendue. Il reste la solution de reconnaître pour tous les Canadiens la nécessité à nos jours difficiles du bilinguisme et du biculturalisme en égard de sa constante utilité dans tous les domaines vitaux et l'adaptation des cultures principales nées en y insérant les autres cultures nouvelles régionalisées pour aussi grandir, enrichir le pays entier.

Certains craignent ce que l'on croit devenir l'expression commune de "MELTING POT" selon la formule Américaine, Ce "melting pot" pour moi n'existe pas en ce qui regarde le Canada à moins qu'on laisse nos voisins l'emprise nécessaire à cet effet.

Ce qui amène à une adhésion, c'est la volonté de l'individu et de l'état, du pays. Il y a un esprit de race ou religieux qui dicte cette ligne de conduite qui font la force d'un peuple, d'une nation.

Le Canada est encore jeune et il y a lieu de croire que, d'ici peu d'années, avec la collaboration de tous et chacun, sans considération de races ou d'origine, nous parviendrons pacifiquement par une compréhension, un intérêt de nation, et un sens de collectivité digne de nous à renverser la situation présente et que nous rebâtirons solidement la Confédération chancelante; une nation belle, riche, unie pour le meilleur ou pour le pire dans un contexte de reconnaissance nationale et universelle.

J. Réjean Taillefer

Mémoire 740-204
M. J. Réjean Taillefer
Montréal
2e partie

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DECEMBRE 1963.

MONTREAL.
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# M E M O I R E  A B R E G E

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Par:
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824 est rue Ste-Catherine.,
Montréal 24, Qué.

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Montréal 24, Qué.

Monsieur le Président,
Monsieur Le Co-Président,
Madame La Commissaire,
Messieurs Les Commissaires.

Veuillez bien m'excuser si encore une fois, je viens prendre de votre très précieux temps. Cependant, lors de la rédaction récente d'un mémoire, quelques points m'ont malgré mon application, échappé et j'aimerais de ce fait, rectifier, compléter ces quelques informations et suggestions et de plus, animer en quelques sortes certains développements dont j'ai été comme tant d'autres et qui sont survenus dernièrement, témoins; tout spécialement depuis la teneur des audiences du mois dernier.

Vous avez surement constaté, vous-mêmes l'ampleur qu'a prise la campagne et le vif intérêt qui suscite de part et d'autre visant le sujet mis en cause...Il est certes encourageant de constater cet état de chose et ceci, j'en suis à peu près certain, nous facilitera à tous la tâche qui place sur un front commun toute la population canadienne qui prend graduellement conscience de son sort, de ses possibilités d'union, pour de meilleures relations et ses toutes dernières chances de survivre dans cette fragile Confédération.

Le Ciel fasse que par cet effort mutuel, compréhensivement et pacifiquement nous y parvenions et demeurions un pays solide, une vaillante nation libre, unie et puissante.

Je viens donc une fois de plus vous soumettre, La Commission Royale d'enquête un second exposé pour faire suite à la récente présentation d'un mémoire que j'ai déposé en main propre à vos bureaux de l'Avenue Laurier lors d'un récent voyage à Ottawa.

Afin de compléter certaines discussions qui ont été omises, et aussi pour résumer certaines constatations faites depuis la tenue de l'audienc du mois dernier, j'ai donc résolu de revenir vous entretenir aussi brièvement qu'il se peut de mes vues, de venir vous consulter de nouveau sur le BILINGUISME et le BICULTURALISME.

En effet, si l'on jette un coup d'oeil sur les multiples publications et commentaires qui ont déferlé dans la presse, nos grands quotidiens et à la radio, à la télévision tout comme chez l'individu dans la rue ou au travail, il nous est permis de constater que le travail que s'est imposé la Commission ne s'avère pas en vain et ceci n'en est que plus encourageant pour les mois à venir. On y remarque néanmoins la ferme position qu'ont pris des milliers de Canadiens devant la gravité éminente de la situation qui déchire notre Confédération.

Pour sa part, la presse a, depuis ce temps, rédigé et publié nombre de communiqués et éditoriaux et photo-reportages se rapportant au sujet et à la campagne en général, fouillant tous les milieux minitieusement. Et ce, presquement quotidiennement et laborieusement.

Selon les divers manchettes que j'ai régulièrement consulté, il appert que la grande majorité de la population canadienne, de tous les groupes ethniques et appartenant à toutes les classes diverses de la société ont pour de vrai compris et pris conscience des faits en cours et ont décidé enfin de s'oublier et d'agir et de mettre la main à la pâte. C'est une collectivité tant du côté de l'individu que du côté des associations diverses corporations privées et de la Couronne, des milieux professionnels, les compagnies tant grandioses et petites qui font maintenant front commun pour tenter de remédier à cette menace, évidente et destructive qui nous fait se rallier.

C'est un problème qui n'est certes pas unique mais il n'a cependant pas de raison d'exister au sein de notre nation aussi jeune et démocratique à une ère aussi avancée et civilisée au XXième siècle.

Pour ceux qui comme moi ont leur appareil de radio constamment ouvert ou leur appareil de télévision en opération, la même situation de publicité tapageuse se fait sentir assez fortement, encourageant la continuité de cette grande campagne dont vous assumez la direction.

Quantité de programmations sont réservées pour fins d'information publique au cours des multiples forums, conférence de presse, ou autres émissions commentant les événements de la semaine ou du mois. Ce, sur la presque totalité des réseaux radiophoniques et de télévision, tant en français qu'en anglais ou stations multilingues tels qu'il en existe dans la région de Montréal. En fait, c'est devenu un des sujets d'intérêt primordial partout au pays. Nombre d'experts y déferlent avec assurance y exposant leurs griefs ou leur approbation, y émettant des opinions personnelles ou receuillies au sein de la société. Des éducateurs, des professionnels, des politiciens tout autant que des individus à des facultés académiques, les gens de la rue, tous y participent. On y discute politique, économie, sécurité sociale, constitution, on étudie soigneusement la Confédération sous son angle actuel ce qui parfois ne manque de piquant.

Qu'il me soit permis, ici, en passant de féliciter chaleureusement la Commission pour son fabuleux travail accompli en si peu de temps avec la coopération de son personnel administratif de façon à faciliter à tous et chacun, la communication efficacement entre tous les groupes de la communauté pour mener à bonne fin la lourde tâche qu'elle s'est vouée. Je suis certain que la Commission va ardemment poursuivre cette campagne avec la participation de tous et celle également des 11 gouvernements qui nous dirigent et qu'elle s'acquittera avec succès et loyalement de ce fardeau qu'elle a endossé pour la survivance de notre nation canadienne et celle du régime confédératif. Régime confédératif favorisant de ce fait l'essort culturel, économique du Canada sous une Constitution entièrement renovée, s'il le faut nous assurant ainsi une meilleure sécurité et une durabilité, la paix et l'Unité de notre Nation.

Pour revenir au point de départ, je citais l'effort concret qui point deci delà dans tous les milieux et régions du Canada.

Nous avons été témoins depuis le début de cette campagne de l'appréhension de certaines personnes ou de certains groupes demeurant toutefois songeurs devant la nouvelle politique visant l'état bilingue et biculturel du notre pays. Certains ont tout d'abord offert de la résistance pour ne pas dire se prononcer contre ou viser une formule plus constructive favorisant le terme "MULTI" dans les deux sujets mis en cause. On en a été témoins non seulement en audiences mais ceci continue dans certains milieux plutôt antipatiques ou pessimistes selon les commentaires qui nous proviennent. Il est vrai que le pourcentage n'est pas inquiétant Dieu merci... On ne peut certes pas nier toutefois qu'il fallait s'y attendre... Quoiqu'en soit le sujet, on peut s'attendre à de l'opposition; c'est ce qui rend le travail plus captivant. Cependant, il y a une certaine forme d'opposition avec laquelle je ne suis pas d'accord.

Par ceci, je m'attaque à certains individus plutôt que des groupements qui sont encrés, déterminés à nier catégoriquement et critiquer amèrement et violamment le fait et la reconnaissance du français tout autant que de l'anglais chez nous, et également du bilinguisme et du biculturalisme.

Au contraire, certains de ces individus appartenant à des corporations ou asssociations professionnelles mettent en pratique toute discrimination possible et le rejet unanime de tout ce qui est une entrave à la doctrine anglo-saxonne, enfant de l'ancestrale hiérarchie et monarchie anglaise.

Plusieurs exemples et faits saillants récents survenus sur la colline parlementaire, au sein de l'administration en générale au statut fédéral et civil concrétisent nos dires.

Après l'incident Gordon, on vient d'être témoins et victimes d'un individu encore plus ignoble et plus déconcertant que le premier. Nul doute que l'incident Mac Gregor va avoir de désastreuses conséquences et répercussions chez nous et même à l'extérieur alors que ces propos malveillants ont porté atteinte à un vaillant allié, la France, à la réputation d'une compagnie renommée et à 23 de ses clients assidus répartis sur le globe. On pourrait également en citer plusieurs autres; il serait très facile de grossir le nombre de ces gauchistes qui en somme dépendent de nous de par leur occupation professionnelle.

Je considère déplorable et désinvolte une telle attitude et ligne de conduite provenant d'individus au service des Canadiens occupant des postes élevés à la Couronne, à l'état. Il est un fait indéniable que ceux qui roupettent le plus en ce moment sont justement ceux qui sont à l'emploi de nos régimes législatifs en province et au fédéral. Evidemment, qu'il y va d'un certain pourcentage et cela heureusement.

Il n'en reste pas moins que dans ce Canada en voie de réforme, il y a encore des personnages plutôt inusités, excédant de zèle et de patriotisme qui pratiquent une infâme doctrine anti-raciale et voir même religieuse et anti-francophone tout spécialement attachant à la Mère Patrie l'Angleterre un respect d'outre mesure et démodé à notre ère.

Une si voyante désinvolture est tout simplement révoltante pour les Canadiens Français et certains Nouveaux Canadiens qui en sont constamment les victimes et qui en souffrent dans tous les milieux où ils doivent évoluer; c'est devenu un joug et une dictature chez certains et ceci mérite, à mon avis châtiment de réciproque façon.

Des Gordon, Bennett, Melvin et MacGregor, il y en a souvent eu au sein de nos arènes gouvernementales et industrielles ou sociales; il appert que nous en aurons d'autres si l'on y met pas du nôtre un fois pour toutes.

Il ne faut certes pas généraliser la situation mais il faut toutefois songer qu'une seule mauvaise brebis peut contamminer tout le reste du troupeau.

Je conçois que le gros bon sens veut que au Canada, nous cessions enfin de nous chamailler pour des mots et des termes de référence favorisateurs. Je suis d'accord pour les termes en autant qu'ils soient proclamés par l'entier et non l'individu lui-même.

On connait tous la profonde confusion qu'ont jeté surtout sur la province de Québec amis aussi aux autres régions du pays, les éléments séparatistes divers qui se succèdent et échouent un après l'autre. Nul n'est utile de citer leur doctrine erronée qui a retenti il y a trois ans pour semer la confusion et même la terreur dans certains milieux à l'apparition des partisans vandalistes.

Cette confusion règne d'ailleurs pleinement chez eux et la divergence est si apparente qu'encore tout récemment, une scission se faisait entre les trois grands de l'indépendance. Un quatrième vient de poindre ayant à sa tête, un autre déçu politicien qui les imite et prétend être l'éventuel sauveteur en proclamant des citations déjà vieilles utilisées et abandonnées par ces compétiteurs qu'on s'est lassé d'entendre. Je proclame ce que j'ai cité antérieurement: qu'il ne peut y avoir d'autre solution que le régime confédératif, fusse-t-il mis en pièce et renové en entier ou partiellement; amendé de par ces clauses incluses dans l'Acte d'Amérique du Nord BRITANNIQUE.

Je soutiens que la proclamation utilisée primitivement des expressions "Etat du Québec", "la Nation Canadienne-Française" ou "Nation du Québec" n'a surement pas aidé à réduire la tension entre les Canadiens français et anglais dans cette province et s'est avéré une insulte nationale et cette attitude séparatiste n'accomplit rien de sérieux pour notre peuple.

Aussi longtemps que nous sommes les sujets d'un pays, sans considération du Royaume-Uni, nous demeurons une seule et même nation, quelles que soient nos relations immédiates intérieures.

Selon la raison et la logique, nous sommes deux groupes, deux peuples dominants aux cultures et aux langues différentes. Il est catégoriquement inadmissible et impossible de faire de notre pays deux nations distinctes: le Canada proprement dit et d'autre part l'état du Québec. Croire à un tel regroupement individuel est une gaffe monumentale. Politiquement, économiquement, c'est nul et infaisable. En matière sécurité économique et sociale, c'est une menace et un échec éminent et tout cela ne ferait que nous jeter graduellement dans les bras de nos puissants voisins qui n'attendent que ce faire depuis lontemps. Et c'est compréhensible avec tout ce qu'ils ont chez nous et ce qu'on a à offrir côté matériels et ressources. Ce serait un coup de maître sans effort ni violence.

Il est également que certains esprits ont depuis longtemps laissé tomber leur nationalisme pour s'adonner à l'Américanisme. Leur vie en est remplie...Bravo pour eux, s'ils s'y entendent bien et veulent dorénavant le demeurer. Cependant, je vois d'un très mauvais oeil, tous les Canadiens s'y soumettre.

Il fait bon de constater néanmoins qu'au Canada, depuis peu, tous les Canadiens, anglais et Français comme les Néo-Canadiens se donnent mutuellement la main pour reconnaître et s'affermir à l'état bilingue et biculturel au Canada en s'y donnant de plein gré dans tous les niveaux.

L'Université a bien débuté et établi sa propre campagne. Elle a démarré et emboité le pas sur d'autres institutions du genre et je vous assure que ça bouge. On sent qu'ils ont eux-mêmes en bons éducateurs ressenti l'urgence et la réalité leur a indiqué la concrétisation immédiate d'un remaniement sous tous les angles.

Au niveau des gouvernements, on procède lentement mais assurément à la refrancisation sous toutes les formes politiques et économiques. Evidemment, il y a là aussi des rétissents mais un jour prochain, ils parviendront à emboiter le pas avec les autres.

Au domaine de l'éducation cependant, cela semble plus difficile; néanmoins, il est constaté qu'on a récemment cherché à tous les niveaux scolaires et dans les divers ministères de l'Education à approfondir le fait bilingue et biculturel avec assez de force et ce à compter des premières années des cours primaires. J'avoue cependant que cette forme d'enseignement des deux langues et de l'infiltration des deux cultures simultanées à un niveau de débutants m'inquiète fortement.

Spécialement en ce qui regarde les élèves de première, deuxième et troisième années qui sont déjà dépassés et déconcertés par la variété des programmes actuels.

Je rédigeais justement il y a quelques temps un court mémoire à l'attention de l'Hon. Paul Gérin-Lajoie à cet effet lui laissant entendre le danger qu'encourerait une telle initiative en pratiquant cette méthode d'enseignement à un stage aussi primitif; ce qui serait selon moi, trop prématuré. Ce système susciterait chez l'étudiant concerné un sublime effort intellectuel et physique qui risquerait certes de menacer la constitution de l'individu et je doute de l'efficacité qui en découlerait par une méthode trop avancée et comme je le citais précédemment prématurée.

Cependant, il est bon de constater l'intérêt qu'apporte à l'enseignement et à l'éducation les réseaux de radio et de télévision qui ont fait en ce sens des efforts depuis quelques années et qui se proposent d'en faire de plus efficaces dans un très proche avenir. On est actuellement citant spécialement la Société Radio-Canada, à établir une nouvelle programmation constructive supérieure à celle actuellement en vigueur et ce sur les deux réseaux, anglais et français.

Dans les institutions d'enseignement secondaire et au niveau supérieur et universitaire, on travaille à faciliter à tous les abonnés l'éducation et l'instruction bilingue et à favoriser les échanges culturels sur tous les niveaux facultatifs.

L'exemple de l'effort fourni dans les autres provinces nous a été fourni par le Ministère de l'éducation du Manitoba qui a annoncé officiellement son nouveau programme scolaire la semaine dernière. De leur part, c'est plus qu'une excellente nouvelle si l'on considère qu'il y a environ un mois, les représentants de cette même province ont différé d'opinion avec l'assemblée et se sont prononcé presque négativement contre le bilinguisme mais en faveur de l'unilinguisme ou de la soi-disante forme MULTI dans les deux sens.

Pour sa part, l'Ontario malgré son rétissant chef, prend petit-à-petit une position de plus en plus affirmative vis-à-vis de la campagne. Au moment même où je vous écris ces quelques lignes, un fort groupement de délégués de la Ville Reine reçoit une délégation du Québec conduite par M. Yvon Dupuis, député fédéral de St-Jean, Qué., dans le but de poursuivre des débats sur le bilinguisme. En somme c'est un échange inter-provincial, une étude du sujet commun qui relie les deux partis.

Il y a peu de temps, plus de trois mille cinq cents étudiants (3,500) de cette région ontarienne ont travaillé par un rassemblement monstre à concrétiser la reconnaissance du Canada Français en protestant devant les autorités gouvernementales leur laissant carte blanche à condition qu'ils y atteignent une fin précise en ce sens. Des centaines d'autres témoignages sont venus ensuite s'ajouter à ceux-ci de part et d'autres. Tous parlent en faveur d'un Canada Français et Anglais uni; en somme qu'on reconnaisse les différences francophones et anglophones comme créatrices arrivant à nous fortifier et nous enrichir.

Un mémoire a été remis de la part de groupements ontariens au premier ministre, M. Robarts simulant une meilleure compréhension et plus de souplesse dans notre politique, se prononçant littéralement contre toutes formes de ségrégaration voir même nationaliste au Canada.

Ceci, des milliers d'autres personnes et égalements étudiants tels qu'à McGill, Laval, Universités de Montréal (exception faite des éléments séparatistes y siégeant), Loyala, Sherbrooke, du Nouveau-Brunswick, d'Halifax et du Manitoba l'ont déjà conféré. Ce qui n'est pas peu dire.

D'autres régions anglophones de l'Ontario telles que Hamilton, Sudbury, North-Bay etc font honneur à la campagne du bilinguisme. A Hamilton malgré certains précédents créés par l'institution des écoles séparées, on remarque un brillant avocat canadien d'origine française, Me. Ryan Paquette qui siège à la Commission Scolaire. Il est un fervent adepte du bilinguisme et ses amis et clients se compte par milliers. Chez lui, il est un vaillant défenseur de sa langue et de sa culture. Il est d'origine canadienne-française natif de la ville de Cornwall, Ontario de parents également francophones. Il a épousé un anglaise des Maritimes. Il a participé à la fondation de la paroisse de Notre-Dame du Perpétuel-Secours et de l'école Notre Dame dans sa ville. Il est président des Artisans et aussi de Club des Canadiens-Français. Il est président régional de l'Association des Canadiens-Français d'Education d'Ontario. C'est un autre exemple concret de ce qui se fait chez nos voisins.

Au fait, Radio-Canada a de plus ajouté sa part dans ce secteur en transformant sa station radio-phonique CJBC en station française à compter de janvier 1964.

La programmation entière en français ne commencera cependant pas avant la fin de l'été mais par contre d'ici là un total de 6 heures par jour et plus en fin de semaine sera consacré à la population française et canadienne-française de cette région et des environs qui se chiffre à plus de 200,000 ou environ. C'est une belle initiative que même les anglophones approuvent. Quoique cette station a longtemps fait partie d'un important réseau de concurrence de langue anglaise.

Une autre surprise qui ne se prévoyait pas lors des audiences de novembre, c'est la voie favorable des Ukrainiens sur le bilinguisme... je ne doute pas de ce changement spontané dans sa sincérité. Cependant du côté des cultures, rien n'a changé. Ils visent le fameux MULTI en tout sens. Ceci n'est peut-être pas tellement bête mais il faut s'entendre quand même sur ce point par une consultation de groupes.

Je reconnais que l'Union des cultures ne devrait servir au Canada qu'à servir à l'essort et l'enrichissement des Canadiens en général et non en favorisant un ou deux groupes en particulier mais à part des deux principaux groupes du pays déjà existants. Certains le laissent entendre ainsi se considérant assez majoritaire pour envisager une telle exigence.

Toutefois, qu'on accepte en partie majoritaire la reconnaissance du bilinguisme et la participation des cultures et ce sera déjà un bon pas de fait. Espérons une concrétisation plus large prochaine.

Ma conception visant la province de la Saskatchewan est pauvre. Mise à part des violentes discussions du mois dernier par M. Melvin et de ses confrères, des récentes opinions publiques nous font croire que cette province aux groupes ethniques multiples n'entend pas adoucir sa politique anglophone pour très bientôt. Je n'en suis cependant pas du tout surpris. Ayant déjà vécu en cette province, soit à Saskatoon et Moose Jaw, j'ai raison de croire que la Commission et ses supporteurs auront fort à faire affrontant des adversaires non pas de taille mais perspicaces et têtus.

La doctrine anglo-saxonne est fortement implantée dans cette région voir même chez les groupes minoritaires qui y habitent et y évoluent et il sera peut-être difficile de l'en déloger, ne serait-ce qu'a 25% même. Je crois que M. Rudnyckyj qui réside dans la province voisine saurait étant donné sa profession exercée nous le confirmer. Ce sera une lutte difficile, je n'en doute pas aussi rude et retentissante que celle que nous aurons à livrer à la Colombie-Britannique, berceau et royaume de M. l'Hon. W.A.C. Bennett, notre bien-aimé compatriote.

Au fait, un incident m'a récemment frappé ici au Québec qui me rappelle M. le premier ministre BENNETT.

Une certaine institution de langues du nom de Globe School of Languages, sise à Place Ville-Marie en a de bonnes. Elle exerce sa publicité en enseignement du français en ce sens. Son prospectus se lit également ainsi: elle proclame ce sui suit: Le Français, ça se parle qu'à Paris. Si vous avez l'intention de voyager et surtout d'aller en France, notamment à Paris, apprenez le français. Ceci vous facilitera la tâche dans votre participation à certains spectacles tels qu'à l'Opéra, aux Galerie d'Arts et vous permettra ainsi de converser avec les Français: En somme une nouvelle langue dans un nouveau monde.

Pour une insulte, c'est une insulte et tout aussi apostrophale que celle de M. MacGregor, visant les Français que les Canadiens-Français. Cette affirmation a été dans l'est surtout à Montréal un coup de fouet et un très fort pourcentage de la population déplore la teneur d'une telle proclamation venant d'une institution publique dans la deuxième ville française du monde.

C'est aussi révoltant que les dires de ces Messieurs Bennett, Melvin, MacGregor, Robarts, Gordon et autres qui s'affirment bien en ce sens quand il s'agit des communautés francophones...Leurs allucinations n'en sont pas moins que destructives et tout aussi démodées et dénuées de sens. Tout comme je connais celle qu'ont portée Messieurs les Maires Philips de Toronto et Anderson de Portage La Prairie, ex-candidat à la direction fédérale des libéraux.

Il est un fait que l'ouest du pays dans son ensemble, diverge d'opinions sur le sujet du bilinguisme et du biculturalisme et c'est ce qui nous confond d'avec les 6 autres provinces canadiennes, qui elles s'épanchent sur la solution plausible par une meilleure compréhension mutuelle, une étroite collaboration en vue de cette unité nationale dans un état parfaitement bilingue quelqu'en soient les obstacles encourus ici et là.

Certains de ces éminents personnages de l'ouest s'accordent à dire que la Confédération ne croulera pas mais ils ne font rien contre la menace puis pèse sur nous et qui justement est la cause principale de notre survivance ou de notre dissociation si il y a lieu d'avoir dissociation dans l'avenir.

Personnellement, je n'y crois pas du tout.. Je ne suis pas un pessimiste; au contraire et combien ne devraient pas l'être et voir d'un meilleur oeil, l'avenir du Canada à condition qu'ils fassent leur part dans cette lutte. Encore s'il y avait des raisons concrètes ou sensées à conserver la formune unilingue ou culturelle...

Je ne connais aucun pays de ce monde qui ne soit érigé de cette façon. Même chez les moins fortunés ou moins civilisés là où figurent plusieurs peuplades d'origines différentes.

Situation et position pitoyable, c'est celle qu'ont pris les éléments séparatistes du Québec qui se chiffrent maintenant à quatre si l'on considère le nouveau mouvement de M. Michel Chartrand, le Parti Socialiste du Québec. En somme tous ces petits politiciens de troisième ordre auront joué un rôle défavorable dans cette renaissance si ce n'est d'avoir légèrement ouvert les yeux des Canadiens sur une situation dont beaucoup avaient déjà conscience. Leur rôle respectif a plutôt été destructif et confondant pour les populations québecquoises.

Si ces politiques de quètes, de jeûnes et d'actes de vandalisme continuent on verra peut-être bientôt surgir l'immolation ou le sacrifice du feu, l'arme suicide favorite des boudhistes ou quoi encore.

Et c'est cela qu'on appelle un peuple mature et des dirigeants éventuellement de classe, au sein d'une nation forte. C'est piètre comme publicité et doctrine pour des Canadiens Français supporteurs de tels mouvements...

On y a vu à date dans les arènes. les Chaput, Marcoux, Montgrain, Barbeau, Gravel, Caron, Lallemagne, Casgrain et Bourgault et maintenant ce type nommé Chartrand un insatisfait de publicité qui a eu échec sur échec en peu d'années sans compter un certain groupe d'étudiants mineurs démunis de jugement et de cervelles et de respect d'eux-mêmes qui ont emboité aveuglément le pas plus ou moins conscients du danger du goufre qui s'ouvrait à eux. Une autre belle aventure de jeunesse, une jeunesse qui devra servir d'élites demain en remplacement de la génération présente aux directives et destinées du pays... Oh...la... Quels élites....

Dans ces milieux séparatistes, on a même parlé de BOYCOTTER les grands quotidiens, les journalistes qu'on qualifie de jaunistes, d'incompétents parce que ceux-ci ne s'adonnent pas aux vues d'un Québec vu et sous la tutelle des séparatistes...On les traite aussi d'indésirables, de vendus et quoi encore.

Ce qui est encore surprenant, c'est la position prise récemment par la Société St-Jean-BAPTISTE (SSJB) Il y a environ un mois, elle menaçait de tout renversé de BOYCOTTER le travail de la Commission. Aujourd'hui elle devient plus coopérative et approuve presquement le fait qu'un Québec indépendant est impossible et inconstitutionnel. Auparavant, on les aurait jugé

séparatistes selon leurs propos violents citant clairement qu'il fallait faire de la province un état, une patrie canadienne française, notre patrie selon la citation. On visait un Québec unilingue littéralement forçant même les Anglais à fuir si cet état de chose ne leur plaisait pas. Maintenant la situation apparaît sous de nouveaux angles. Changée presquement à 50%. Cette société qui est responsable aussi du fameux Prêt d'Honneur aux étudiants a justement porté plainte récemment en ce sens qu'elle recevait plus au cours de ses campagnes de souscription des Anglais que des canadiens français...Pourquoi? C'est simple.. C'est parce que ces derniers sont moins riches étant moins favorisés financièrement. D'ailleurs un certain pourcentage de ces étudiants bénificiaires des bourses sont aussi des Anglais même si ils sont inférieurs en nombre. C'est donc réciproque et équitable qu'il en soit ainsi. Certains s'accordent à dire que les Canadiens Français en profitent à 99%; c'est un peu fort. Les résultats de la dernière souscription a nettement démontré que les anciens qui ont profité de ces allocations n'ont pas reconnaissamment répondu à l'appel lors de la ceuillette; ceci affiche une parfaite ignorance et de l'ingratitude. Pour les Anglais, c'est un point de discussion, il va sans dire.

A la S.S.J.B, on s'inquiète maintenant si l'indépendance ne causerait pas la mort du français et le retour inconsciemment à l'anglais. On a cité de plus la qualité inférieure actuelle du français utilisé chez nous affirmant que les Canadiens Français sont les premiers à ne plus respecter leur langue. Même dans le domaine des affaires, les canadiens français affichent en anglais et publient également en anglais ou dans un français qu'on a déjà qualifié de "joual", parlant également souvent dans bien des milieux de cette façon.

Certains ont suggéré l'usage unilingue, soit le français dans les milieux ouvriers dans le respect de la majorité. J'appréhende tout comme certains de ces gens des doutes de l'efficacité de la constitution d'un Québec unilingue.

On redoute surtout, et ce, je le cite avec raison la mauvaise foi provenant des milieux industriels et organismes fédéraux, de la finance, dans les milieux sportifs et les moyens modernes de diffusion qui seraient impliqué dans une telle application, sous un tel joug dans une province où ils évoluent assez puissamment.

Ma façon, en ce qui regarde le Québec, de voir une amélioration collaboratrice est comme suit: Il doit exister chez nous plusieurs formes d'élites dans les milieux syndicalistes, dans le monde ouvrier et surtout dans le monde des étudiants, les élites de demain.

Toutes ces élites se doivent de s'adapter aux nouvelles réformes d'autorités, les dimensions du nationalisme, résultat d'une prise de conscience et de position à caractères vraiment culturels et sociaux dont nous pouvons disposer; et une liberté d'expression originale que nous nous devons de reconnaître dans le grand contexte social québecquois. Il nous faut avant tout bien nous encrer dans le contexte historique, référant à toutes les informations possibles pour raffermir nos connaissances dans un but de discipline académique et sociale et non de patriotisme flagrant, nous permettant ainsi une évolution concrète et facile, constructive et solidaire.

Il nous faut songer à un biculturalisme et un bilinguisme avantageux, sur ce qu'on peut individuellement en tirer, applicable partout où il est utile et possible. Ce n'est pas une question de choisir, mais c'est un fait, une nécessité à l'essort et la survie de notre régime nationaliste et constitutionnel.

Il nous faut de plus en définir adéquatement et justesse ses modalités et son étendue. Il reste la solution de reconnaître pour tous les Canadiens la nécessité à nos jours difficiles du bilinguisme et du biculturalisme en égard de sa constante utilité dans tous les domaines vitaux et l'adaptation des cultures principales nées en y insérant les autres cultures nouvelles régionalisées pour aussi grandir, enrichir le pays entier.

Certains craignent ce que l'on croit devenir l'expression commune de "MELTING POT" selon la formule Américaine, Ce "melting pot" pour moi n'existe pas en ce qui regarde le Canada à moins qu'on laisse nos voisins l'emprise nécessaire à cet effet.

Ce qui amène à une adhésion, c'est la volonté de l'individu et de l'état, du pays. Il y a un esprit de race ou religieux qui dicte cette ligne de conduite qui font la force d'un peuple, d'une nation.

Le Canada est encore jeune et il y a lieu de croire que, d'ici peu d'années, avec la collaboration de tous et chacun, sans considération de races ou d'origine, nous parviendrons pacifiquement par une compréhension, un intérêt de nation, et un sens de collectivité digne de nous à renverser la situation présente et que nous rebâtirons solidement la Confédération chancelante; une nation belle, riche, unie pour le meilleur ou pour le pire dans un contexte de reconnaissance nationale et universelle.

J. Réjean Taillefer

Faith

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Mémoire de 25 pages; aucune recommandation

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REMARQUES DE L'ANALYSTE:

L'auteur, avec une bonne volonté évidente, se fait l'avocat de la bonne entente, souhaite la reconnaissance effective des deux groupes et pour y arriver, réclame un remaniement complet de la constitution.

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A L'ATTENTION DE LA RECHERCHE:

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740-204

Monsieur J. Réjean Taillefer,
824 est, rue Sainte-Catherine,
Montréal 18e, Qué.
le 26 novembre 1963.

Mémoire; 25 pages

Introduction

La création de la présente Commission répond au souhait de nombreux Canadiens désireux de voir exposer ouvertement la situation qui règne depuis déjà trop longtemps au Canada, à savoir, "l'ignorance totale du fait français"

Sa création suit la prise de conscience par le gouvernement fédéral "du grave danger qui menaçait la Confédération canadienne d'un échec inévitable" p.1

Sujet du mémoire:

Essayer de "bien définir le problème en question". Pour ce faire: suggestions "Susceptible d'aider à la sauvegarde de la Constitution canadienne"; "analyses précises"; "remaniement complet des clauses de la charte signée par les Pères de la Confédération". p.2

Résumé de l'histoire du Canada: (1)

- Les colons français sont possesseurs du territoire jusqu'à la Conquête;
- après la Conquête, des droits et privilèges sont accordés aux C.F.;
- après les troubles de 1837, campagne de discrimination contre les C.F.;
- La Confédération n'a pas amené la paix entre les deux groupes;
- Les C.F. subissent les persécutions des différents gouvernements qui se succèdent à Ottawa;

> "Les moyens de transiger, l'éducation et la communication s'avèrent difficiles puisque la hantise de la Mère-patrie incitait les dirigeants du pays plutôt anglais à conserver au Canada le caractère anglophone dans tous les domaines". p.4

- Les ententes entre les deux groupes ne sont pas respectées et plusieurs des revendications des C.F. sont rejetées.

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(1) exposé sans aucune rigueur scientifique

> "Tels l'enseignement du français dans l'Ontario et dans les provinces de l'Ouest et la reconnaissance du français même dans les milieux minoritaires français du pays". p.4

Les mêmes problèmes continuent d'exister malgré la bonne volonté manifestée dans certains milieux.

Mandat de la Commission:

La situation menaçant toujours la survivance de la Confédération, la Commission doit rechercher la solution au problème du bilinguisme et du biculturalisme.

> "A savoir si les Canadiens misaient sur l'établissement officiel de deux langues et de deux cultures officielles au pays". p.5

Souhait formulé: (que la Commission) arrive finalement à un compromis qui saura être acceptable et recevoir, l'approbation de tous les Canadiens". p.5

Il est déplorable que nous connaissions un climat aussi malsain et ce, après 97 ans de co-existence dans la Confédération.
Si tous les Canadiens s'étaient donné la main, cette situation aurait pu être corrigée depuis longtemps.
Seule solution: "la reconnaissance du bilinguisme et du biculturalisme unanimement par tous les Canadiens quels qu'ils soient". p.6
Cette reconnaissance est devenue nécessaire dans tous les domaines: économique, politique, éducationnel et social.
Les minorités francophones des autres provinces, si infimes soient-elles ont leur mot à dire dans la Confédération.
Le fait que les C.F. ont contribué à la fondation et à la survivance du Canada mérite d'être pris en considération.

Le séparatisme et la bonne entente:

La propagande séparatiste n'a pas aidé à mettre fin à la crise actuelle; elle n'a fait que "surexciter certains esprits chancelants".
Raison des actes de terrorisme: "supporter la campagne séparatiste en signe de protestation contre la non reconnaissance du Québec et du fait français sur le plan national dans tous les domaines vitaux". p.7

Ces actes ont nui à la cause défendue par le R.I.N., le P.R.Q. et l'A.L.

Cette campagne terroriste aura servi:

1) "à ouvrir les yeux des Canadiens sur la situation actuelle"

2) "à inciter la grande majorité des Canadiens à prendre les grands moyens pour rémédier à la situation qui de fait menace la survivance de notre Confédération". p.8

L'indépendance du Québec:

"Ce serait ridicule en toute évidence de considérer que le Québec puisse du jour au lendemain devenir un état indépendant et aller de l'avant sans appréhender de sérieux ennuis". p.8

Le Québec n'aurait pas les moyens d'effectuer les remaniements économico-politico-sociaux inhérents à une telle séparation.

Le seul remède aux divers problèmes des Canadiens: le maintien de la Confédération.

Les C.F. au sein de la Confédération:

Ils ont été ignorés ou négligés "dans la plupart des domaines qui se rattachent à la vie de tous les jours".

Bien fondé de leurs critiques et de la réclamation d'une reconnaissance légale et légitime.

Nous constatons

1) "La persistance de certains - individus ou groupes - à ignorer la participation égale des C.F. au sein de la Confédération"

2) "l'acharnement de certains autres (surtout les néo-canadiens) à ne pas reconnaître le fait bilingue et français au pays et dans leur province". p.9

Le boycottage de la Commission:

"C'est précisement ce que je qualifierais de chantage et de respect humain inacceptable quand il s'agit du sort non d'un groupe individuel mais d'une nation entière et de la survivance". p.9

L'attitude de certains gouvernements provinciaux (de la Colombie-Britannique en particulier) à l'égard d'un Canada bilingue et biculturel et par voie de conséquence à l'égard de la Commission, au nom de l'égalité des diverses minorités est inacceptable.

"Le séparatisme n'est pas seulement pratiqué par les C.F. Il l'est également dans certains milieux anglophones du pays". p.9

Fait heureux à signaler:

- l'attitude des étudiants de l'Université de Toronto qui appuient la cause du Québec
- la proposition de la F.T.Q. préconisant des séances d'étude et des discussions ouvertes à tous les citoyens.

"L'affaire du bilinguisme et du biculturalisme, c'est l'affaire de tout le monde et de tous les milieux et il faut leur laisser la chance de s'exprimer par tous les moyens jugés efficaces". p.11

Conception personnelle:

d'une part... "... multiples outrages ont constamment subsisté et amoindri les pouvoirs des C.F. et contribué à ce recul qui aujourd'hui soulève l'élément français indigne et frustré qui s'en prend aux anglophones".

d'autre part, "nous-mêmes avons été fautifs en ce sens que nous aurions dû, bien avant aujourd'hui nous soulever contre cette attitude et réagir, revendiquer nos droits, faire pression auprès des autorités afin que soient respectés les engagements pris lors de l'institution de la Confédération". p.11

Les C.F. ont oublié qu'ils étaient Canadiens;

Ils n'ont pas jugé bon de se servir des droits et privilèges dont ils pouvaient jouir à titre de membre égal de la communauté canadienne. Cette patience et cette inertie a permis aux Canadiens-anglais de prendre l'initiative et de la garder dans tous les domaines: politique, économique, éducationnel, social.

Aujourd'hui, "on se décide à exercer en vitesse des pressions fortes sur les gouvernements pour remédier à ce qui est devenu soudainement une menace de destruction de l'élément que nous représentons". p.11

L'éveil se fait un peu tard.

Les correctifs ne pourront être appliqués dans un temps record.

Nécessité d'user de patience et de diplomatie pour solutionner nos problèmes et rétablir l'unité nationale.

L'impuissance des C.F. dans le passé les a conduit au découragement et à l'indifférence. "Ils renoncaient au combat pour adopter une attitude plutôt indifférente, désintéressée quant au sort qui leur était réservé pour l'avenir". p.12

Nous n'avons pas su choisir adéquatement nos représentants.

Ceux-ci, très souvent n'ont pas su nous défendre et administrer nos affaires. Nécessité de procéder lentement dans les réformes afin d'éviter d'autres erreurs coûteuses.

Il n'est pas permis, dans un pays démocratique comme le nôtre de "garder une structure nationale telle qu'elle existe aujourd'hui". p. 14

Le système actuel ne répond plus aux besoins de la population.

Domaine de l'éducation:

Nécessité d'une meilleure structure.

Nécessité de répondre aux besoins qui se manifestent aux différents niveaux scolaires, eu égard aux différents "groupes ethniques que chaque communauté de la nation représente". (1)

Nécessité d'une bonne préparation des instituteurs et des éducateurs.

Domaine politique:

Sur les plans national et provinciaux, "il semble qu'il existe une certaine confusion qui apparemment affaiblit d'année en année les pouvoirs et le prestige des responsables de la vie politique." p.15

Langueur, hésitation, recul devant les solutions à apporter aux problèmes capitaux.

Existence d'un conflit qui met constamment aux prises les dirigeants des partis politiques.

Les différents groupes ethniques (1) sont largement responsables de cette situation.

"Depuis le début du régime confédératif, la teneur de querelles raciales, religieuses et autres a littéralement paralysé nos relations politiques et sociales..." p.15

D'où, la nécessité de "rebâtir sous toutes ses formes notre constitution".

Les querelles pour la reconnaissance des droits linguistiques et culturels ont semé la discorde.

Celle-ci:"résultat de la pratique de doctrines et de principes discriminatoires à l'égard des minorités qui devaient ou se plier

(1) Le texte ne précise pas de quel groupe ethnique il s'agit.

aux exigences du plus fort, ou "poursuivre une lutte bien souvent inutile dont les efforts n'étaient pas reconnus". p.16

Les moyens d'arriver à une entente sur le plan national n'ont jamais été envisagés sérieusement par les responsables, "alors qu'il aurait fallu en temps opportun appliquer des mesures sanctionnaires pour respecter l'ordre et la reconnaissance visant les revendications et les suggestions apportées par les partis en conflits". p.16

Au contraire, on a rejeté souvent ce qui semblait désavantageux aux anglophones "pour n'adopter qu'une attitude d'ignorance des exigences d'autrui et continuer l'application de la doctrine favorable qui avait jusqu'à date servi la cause des ambitieux anglophones pratiquant le favoritisme et servant en même temps la cause de la Mère-patrie qui exigeait une telle continuité". p.16

Drapeau et hymne national:

Il nous faut un drapeau et un hymne distinctif, ne favorisant aucun groupe particulier.

Egalité des langues:

Nécessité d'une reconnaissance officielle des 2 langues et des 2 cultures, compte tenu de la participation des différents groupes ethniques.

Si l'on doit tenir compte des minorités, l'on ne doit pas pour autant opter pour l'état multilingue et multiculturel.

Nécessité du bilinguisme dans tous les ministères.

Nécessité de donner à tous les individus la possibilité de s'instruire dans les 2 langues.

Nécessité d'étendre le bilinguisme à tous les secteurs de l'entreprise privée.

Faire en sorte que tous les citoyens, dans la mesure du possible deviennent parfaitement bilingues.

On remarque dans certains milieux la pratique d'un unilinguisme rigoureux. Telle est la situation dans les milieux maritimes et dans les services touristiques.

Même problème à la Galerie Nationale et dans nombre d'organisations syndicales, corporations civiles, etc.,

Pratique du favoritisme dans le fonctionnarisme à l'égard des anglo-saxons.

Un role éducationnel important peut être joué par les grands moyens de communication: radio, télévision, journaux, etc.,

Nos dirigeants se doivent d'adopter une attitude favorisant une meilleure compréhension mutuelle et l'unité nationale.

CONFIDENTIEL

DOCUMENTS PREPARATOIRES

Mémoire #: 740-204

J.L.J. Réjean Taillefer

MONTREAL

A. RENSEIGNEMENTS SUR L'INDIVIDU

Monsieur Taillefer est un personnage assez curieux. Après nous avoir écrit plusieurs fois (la dernière lettre date du 26 décembre 1963), il disparaît de la circulation. Pas de nouvelles de M. Taillefer, les lettres que nous lui envoyons nous sont retournées. Puis le 7 septembre 1965, notre personnage revient à la vie. Et depuis ce temps, il nous fait parvenir des lettres dont la confusion de style et de pensée ne facilite pas notre travail. En fin de compte, nous lui avons indiqué que s'il était toujours intéressé à comparaître, la Commission le recevrait mercredi , le 1er décembre, à cinq heures de l'après-midi, soit à la toute fin des audiences de Montréal. Il est fort possible qu'il ne puisse se présenter, mais au cas contraire, nous le saurons qu'au dernier instant.

Advenant cette possibilité, voici quelques questions qui pourraient lui être posées. Elles ont été préparées en vue des premières audiences de Montréal en mars dernier et ne portent que sur le premier mémoire soumis par M. Taillefer en date du 26 novembre 1963.

B. QUESTIONS...

... EN PROVENANCE DU SERVICE DES AUDIENCES

p. 10-11
paras. 46-52

Q.1 You cite several specific observations by persons in Canada who have expressed views concerning Quebec.

a) Would you think that these examples illustrate that English-speaking Canadians think about the problem of national unity in terms other than yours and other French-speaking Canadians?

b) For example, do they think and speak in terms of economics, politics, and constitution, whereas you may be thinking and speaking in terms of history, culture, and "social justice" or social philosophy?

(This Q. towards discovering the basis for a "dialogue de sourds")

p. 12
paras. 55-57

Q. 2 The "speed of change" taking place in Quebec has alarmed" many English-speaking Canadians, and you suggest in para. 57 some guidelines for future action such as patience, perseverance, diplomacy, and mutual understanding. Could you use an example, and imagine you are trying to explain these guidelines in operation to an English-speaking Canadian? What "background information" do you think should precede such a discussion?

p. 14
paras. 64-67

Q. 3
a) Do you see any conflict between the "demands of "modernization, automation, industrialization" of the twentieth century", and the future destiny of French Canadian culture?
b) Is there, in the field of education, some special aspect or common field of function which could serve to provide "common goals and understanding between the two founding groups in Canada"?

p. 15
para. 70

Q. 4
a) Can you identify accurately the cause of "une certaine langueur" in Canadian politics?
b) Can such a "cause" be removed? Replaced?
c) What <u>could</u> or <u>should</u> be the basis for "positive politics" in the federal or national level of government?

p. 16
para. 73

Q. 5 Without debating the question of the ignorance of the English-speaking community, what do you see as the <u>reasons</u> for this? How would you propose rectifying this? What specifically should this community <u>know</u> as a basis for proceeding to present and future solutions for the nation?

p. 21
para. 89
ll. 3-8

Q. 6 Other than cost (financial), what other reasons would <u>you</u> suggest for this condition?

p. 23
para. 101

Q. 7 Although on page 12 you advocated patience and diplomacy, you now suggest rapid and "un effort commun à restaurer entièrement la vraie constitution canadienne".

p. 24
para. 102

Q. 8 These recommendations have been made by others. What would <u>you</u> see as the guidelines for such students exchanges... in particular subjects? Specific students in certain studies?

Q. 9 Again, what specific types of programming would you recommend? A "Canadians' Hour" each week? Discussions? Debates? Lecturers?

p.25
para. 106

Q. 10 Equality, Liberty, Peace, and Humanity are goals and general statements with which we cannot disagree. One of the great problems, however, is translating these abstract goals into present action. In less abstract terms, what bases would you suggest we should begin to bring all Canadians to participate in a program to advance towards these goals? How can we create a better climate, increase mutual understanding, and so on? By what means and to what specific springs of human action, would you suggest Canadians should be urged to participate?

CONFIDENTIEL

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Q. 10 Equality, Liberty, Peace, and Humanity are goals and general statements with which we cannot disagree. One of the great problems, however, is translating these abstract goals into present action. In less abstract terms, what bases would you suggest we should begin to bring all Canadians to participate in a program to advance towards these goals? How can we create a better climate, increase mutual understanding, and so on? By what means and to what specific springs of human action, would you suggest Canadians should be urged to participate?

PART I

Winnipeg, Manitoba,
June 29th, 1964.

To the Co-chairmen and Members
of the Royal Commission on
Bilingualism and Biculturalism.

Esteemed Co-chairmen and Members of the Royal Commission:

Brief of WASYL SWYSTUN, Barrister,
of the City of Winnipeg, Manitoba.

S U M M A R Y

The following is the summary of the topics considered in this brief in the order in which they are presented:

1. The brief is presented individually and not in the name or on behalf of any Ukrainian association or body.

2. My submissions that although the terms of reference relate to bilingualism and biculturalism, with particular attention to the cultures of other ethnic groups, the discussions at the public meetings of the Commission seem to lay stress on bi-nationalism, and that due to this I propose to submit my opinion also on the question of bi-nationalism in Canada.

3. My submissions on the problem of bilingualism and biculturalism at the federal level of Canadian life, showing inequality that exists there, not so much in the use of the French language in Parliamentary debates and publications, but with respect to the federal civil service and, in particular, with respect to the higher executive positions in the civil service, and my submission that in part this is due to shortcomings of the educational system in Quebec.

4. My submissions with respect to bilingualism in Quebec, showing that Quebec is predominantly French in language and culture. In this part I consider complaints of the French-Canadians about the lack of desire on the part of the English-speaking residents of Quebec to learn the French language and their complaints about the higher executive positions in industrial, manufacturing and financial concerns being held mostly by the English-speaking persons and my submission that in part this is also due to shortcomings of the Quebec educational system.

5. My submissions on the basis of the analysis of the 1961 Census of Canada from the point of view of ethnic and linguistic groups, showing that the French-speaking group in the western prairie provinces, Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta, and in the Province of British Columbia, has lost its first place in Manitoba to the Ukrainians, and to the Germans in Saskatchewan, Alberta and British Columbia; that in Manitoba 27.4% of the French-Canadians do not declare their mother tongue as French; that in Saskatchewan the proportion of French-Canadians in this category amounts to 39.5%, in Alberta to 49.1% and in British Columbia to 60.9%; that in Manitoba the Ukrainians outnumber the French-Canadians and in Saskatchewan, Alberta and British Columbia the Germans outnumber the French-Canadians; that the French-Canadians refuse to accept this situation with equanimity.

6. I give an analysis of the Austro-Hungarian Ausgleich of 1867, which some French-Canadians in Quebec would like to introduce as a model for a new

constitution of Canada, under which Quebec would become a sovereign state similar to that of Hungary, with the English-speaking Canadian provinces to be united federally (similar to Austrian provinces) as the other sovereign state. I stress that notwithstanding various criticisms of it, confederation has succeeded in having the span of life practically twice as long as the Austro-Hungarian Ausgleich, which ceased to exist in 1918.

7. This part contains a discussion on the question: "Is Canada two nations or one?", giving a definition of the several meanings and usages of the word "nation" and ending with the conclusion that Canada is one nation and not two.

8. Considers the steps that may be taken with respect to strengthening the position of the French language in the four western Canadian provinces and the introduction of teaching of German, Ukrainian, Polish and Icelandic in the public schools of the three western provinces. This part also contains special reference to the Laurier-Greenway Compromise of 1897 and to the introduction of bilingualism in Manitoba public schools which placed the German, Ukrainian, Polish and French languages on the same footing.

9. Contains recommendations with respect to bilingualism, biculturalism, cultures of other ethnic groups, cultural exchanges, etc.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

(Wasyl Swystun)

Winnipeg, Manitoba,
June 29, 1964.

To the Co-chairmen and Members
of the Royal Commission on
Bilingualism and Biculturalism.

Esteemed Co-chairmen and Members of the Royal Commission:

Permit me to express my appreciation for the opportunity offered me to present a brief on some matters that fall within the terms of reference of the Commission.

1. As a Canadian of Ukrainian descent, I have lived in Canada for the last fifty-three years and have been in close contact with the Ukrainian groups in Canada in my professional work, formerly as a public school teacher in Saskatchewan and Manitoba and principal of the P. Mohyla Ukrainian Institute, and for the last thirty-three years as a barrister practicing in the City of Winnipeg. In addition to my professional work I have been always active in cultural work among the Ukrainians in Canada.

I came to Canada at the end of 1913, lived in Manitoba and Saskatchewan during the First World War and after becoming a Canadian citizen in 1921, I was also active in Canadian political life in the Provinces of Saskatchewan and Manitoba.

I wish to stress that the opinions, observations and comments expressed in this brief are my own and are not presented on behalf of any Ukrainian association or organized group, but at the same time I believe that many other Ukrainians share them.

2. Although the terms bilingualism and biculturalism are not expressly defined in the terms of reference, I take it that the main task of the Commission is to enquire into and report upon the existing state of bilingualism and biculturalism, in the main, as it affects Canada as a whole at the federal level of Canadian national life, or, in other words, as it affects Canada as a nation, with two founding races (or peoples) and other ethnic groups united into one federal state.

However, the discussions at the public meetings of the Commission throughout Canada, as well as the reports, articles and comments in the press, seem to lay stress not so much on bilingualism and biculturalism as on bi-nationalism, though, in my humble opinion, bi-nationalism is not within the terms of reference of the Commission. It therefore appears, in view of the fact that the Commission at its public meetings not only did not exclude but allowed a free discussion of the problem of bi-nationalism, that any person or organization submitting a brief should be allowed to discuss also the problem of bi-nationalism.

That the enquiry into and report upon the state of bilingualism and biculturalism in Canada and the recommendations as to what steps should be taken to develop the Canadian confederation on the basis of an equal partnership between the two founding races--taking into account the contribution made by the other ethnic groups to the cultural enrichment of Canada and as to what steps should be taken to safeguard that contribution--is to be considered,

in particular, in reference to the federal level of Canadian life, is seen from item 1 of the terms of reference which specifically require that the Commission "should make recommendations designed to ensure the bilingual and basically bicultural character of the federal administration".

3. While considering the question of bilingualism and biculturalism at the federal level, I wish to stress that the French-Canadians are entitled to a full partnership with the English-speaking Canadians as provided and guaranteed by the British North America Act. At the same time, it appears to me that, at the federal level, bilingualism, in particular, the right to use the French language in parliamentary debates, has been well preserved. The French-Canadian members of Parliament have never been denied their right to use the French language in their debates, addresses and discussions. However, it cannot be denied that in the federal administration, the French-Canadians have not been enjoying a full partnership with the English-speaking Canadians as far as the civil service and, in particular, the higher positions in the civil service are concerned. In my opinion, this inequality is not so much the effect of a discrimination on the part of the English-speaking Canadians against the French-Canadians, but rather, the result of some shortcomings of the system of education in the Province of Quebec which until recently was out of step with the practical requirements of Canadian life.

It is also true that, until recently, the

French language has not always been used to the same extent as the English language in federal official documents, stationery, pamphlets, etc. In this respect the French language should have equal rights with the English language.

4. Coming to the question of bilingualism and biculturalism at the provincial level, I fail to see much ground for complaint on the part of the French-Canadians as far as the Province of Quebec is concerned. The British North America Act definitely provides for bilingualism in the Province of Quebec, that is, the equality of the use of the French and English languages in the said Province at the provincial and municipal level and anyone who visits the Province of Quebec gets an indelible impression that Quebec is a province where the French language and culture predominate. I do not think that any amendment to the British North America Act would improve the situation in Quebec as far as the French language and culture are concerned. As long as Quebec is part of Canada its predominantly French character in language and culture will be preserved.

The principal complaint of the French-Canadians of Quebec is not about the lack of equality between the French and English languages and cultures in Quebec, but the complaint that the majority of the English-speaking people of Quebec are not bilingual, that they do not consider it necessary for them to learn the language of the majority of the people of Quebec. In particular, the complaints are directed against the industrial, manufacturing,

financial and other concerns where the language of communication is only English, although the mass of the employees and workers are French-Canadian, where the higher officials are English, where the officials holding executive and managerial positions speak only English and neglect to learn even the rudiments of the French language so as to be able to converse with their employees who are French-Canadian.

There is no doubt that the complaints of the French-Canadians as to the predominance of the English language in industrial, manufacturing and financial establishments is well grounded, but this cannot be said with respect to the French-Canadian complaints about too few French-Canadians in higher executive or managerial positions or positions requiring higher engineering or technical training, as this situation is due not so much to a discrimination on the part of the English-speaking Canadians against the French-Canadians, but to the shortcomings of the system of education in Quebec, which until recently has been controlled by the church, the aim of which was to produce good priests, lawyers and doctors, and which failed to produce sufficient quantity of good scientists, technicians, engineers, who are so needed in modern industrial life. Of course, the present Quebec government is doing a great work in re-organizing the educational system in Quebec and there is no doubt that in the not too distant future the situation, as far as it concerns the production of sufficient number of leaders for our modern industrial society, will be greatly improved.

The French-Canadians of Quebec also complain about the American ownership of a majority control in most of the industrial concerns, in particular, those connected with mining and smelting, extraction of oil, etc. This complaint the French-Canadians have in common with the English-speaking Canadians, and therefore cannot be ascribed to any discriminatory actions between them.

I wish to stress again that the French-Canadians in Quebec can look with great confidence into the future and can rest assured that their province will be, as it always has been, a province where the French language and culture are and will be predominant. As far as their industrial, financial and commercial establishments are concerned, the change of their educational system will bring about the necessary changes in the industrial, economic and business life of Quebec, which changes will result in more control of the French-Canadians in that respect and that they will not take a second place to the English-speaking Canadians.

5. Without attempting to define "culture", on the assumption that there is a close connection between the language and culture of any national or ethnic group, a different picture of the French-Canadian life emerges when one examines the situation as to the French language (and culture) in relation to the English language (and culture) and the languages (and cultures) of other ethnic groups in the English-speaking provinces.

In this respect I have checked the 1961 Census of Canada on the question of population in relation to ethnic groups and in relation to official language and mother tongue and to my astonishment found that as far as the mother tongue is concerned, in the three western provinces of Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta, the number of French-Canadians whose mother tongue is no longer French but English, is much greater than the number of Ukrainians whose mother tongue is no longer Ukrainian. In the whole of Canada the French-Canadians, classified as an ethnic group, number 5,540,346 or 30.4% of the total population of 18,238,247, and in the whole of Canada there are 5,123,151 French-Canadians or 28.1% of the total population whose mother tongue is French; there are 417,195 French-Canadians or 2.3% of the total Canadian population whose mother tongue is not French. This percentage (2.3%) is relatively small, but it is considerably larger in the Provinces of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta and British Columbia, when considered in relation to the English-speaking population and in relation to such ethnic group as the Ukrainians.

In Manitoba, the French-Canadians, classified as an ethnic group, number 83,936, but of them only 60,899 declare French as their mother tongue. This means that for 23,037 out of 83,936 French-Canadians (or 27.4% of them) French is no more their mother tongue.

In relation to the Ukrainian ethnic group in Manitoba, the French-Canadians number only 9.1% of the total Manitoba population of 921,686, while the Ukrainians

number 105,372 or 11.4% of the total Manitoba population. There are 85,173 Ukrainians or 9.2% of the total Manitoba population who still retain Ukrainian as their mother tongue. In other words, in Manitoba 20,179 out of 105,372 Ukrainians or 19.2% do not use Ukrainian as their mother tongue as against 23,037 out of 83,936 French-Canadians, or 27.4%, who do not consider French as their mother tongue.

In Saskatchewan the French-Canadians as an ethnic group number 59,824, or 6.4% of the total population of Saskatchewan of 925,181, of whom 36,163 consider French as their mother tongue, that is, 23,661 out of 59,824 French-Canadians in Saskatchewan, or 39.5%, do not use French as their mother tongue. The Ukrainians as an ethnic group in Saskatchewan number 78,851 or 8.5% of the total Saskatchewan population, and 67,087 Ukrainians use Ukrainian as their mother tongue, which means that 11,764 out of 78,851 Ukrainians, or 14.9% of them, do not consider Ukrainian as their mother tongue.

In Alberta the total population classified by ethnic groups is 1,331,944, of which the French-Canadians number 83,319, or 6.2%; there are 42,276 French-Canadians who declare French as their mother tongue, and 41,043 or 49.1% of the total French-Canadian population in Alberta who do not consider French as their mother tongue.

At the same time, in Alberta there are 105,923 Ukrainians classified as ethnic group or 7.9% of the total Alberta population, 83,923 of whom declare

Ukrainian as their mother tongue; 22,000 out of 105,923 Ukrainians, or 20.7% do not use Ukrainian as their mother tongue, as against 49.1% for the French-Canadians in the same category.

In British Columbia, of the total population of 1,623,082 classified by ethnic groups, the French-Canadians number 66,970 or 4.15%; 26,179 French-Canadians declare French as their mother tongue, and 40,791, or 60.9% do not consider French as their mother tongue.

This fact, which shows that a great number of French-Canadians in western Canada do not consider French as their mother tongue, no doubt, is the cause of great disappointment and worry for the whole body of French-Canadians. Therefore, as far as the French language (and culture) is concerned, it is not the situation in Quebec but the situation in western Canada and, to a lesser degree, in the English-speaking provinces in eastern Canada, which the French-Canadians refuse to accept with equanimity.

6. What steps then should be taken in order to remedy the situation in which the French language and culture find themselves in the English-speaking provinces - the situation which, from the French point of view, is not only unsatisfactory and unfortunate for the French-Canadians, but critically dangerous for the future of Canada?

The separatists do not believe that there is any way of remedying this situation and take the position that sooner or later the French-Canadians in the English-

speaking provinces will be assimilated and that those who refuse to be assimilated will return to Quebec which will separate from the rest of Canada and become a sovereign French-Canadian state.

The moderate French-Canadians, believing that Quebec should remain within the Canadian confederation, see such remedy in radical changes in the British North America Act, which will safeguard the existence and free development of the French schools in French-Canadian settlements, with the French language as the language of instruction. This appears to be their minimum desideratum, in view of their usual claim that the French-Canadians, no matter in what province they live, should have the same rights and privileges as they enjoy in Quebec.

There is also a group which believes that the only way of safeguarding the existence of the French-Canadian nation, with the French language and culture preserved in the whole of Canada, is by adopting a completely new constitution for Canada which, in its main features, should be based on a settlement or treaty between the two sovereign states (nations), the state (nation) of Quebec and the federation of the English-speaking provinces as the other sovereign state (nation), which settlement or treaty should be patterned on the famous Austro-Hungarian Ausgleich or Compromise of 1867, by which Austria and Hungary formed a dual monarchy and by which Hungary was recognized as a separate kingdom with complete internal autonomy within the dual monarchy, with Franz-Josef as the Emperor of Austria and the King of Hungary.

It is remarkable that the Austro-Hungarian Ausgleich or Compromise was concluded in 1867, the year in which the Canadian Confederation was formed. It is still more remarkable that the Austro-Hungarian Compromise, so attractive to the above mentioned group of the French-Canadians that they wish to use it as a model for a new constitution of Canada, lasted only a little more than fifty years, while the Canadian Confederation, whose real or alleged shortcomings are severely criticized by many Canadians, has already reached a span of life practically twice as long as that of the Austro-Hungarian Ausgleich.

Let us examine the main features of the Austro-Hungarian Compromise.

Prior to the said Compromise, Austria and Hungary were united only in their common Habsburg dynasty and by the central administration in Vienna. Under the said Compromise Austria and Hungary each had its own separate parliament, with three common Ministries to be held alternately by Austrians and Hungarians. Those were the Ministries of foreign affairs, war and finance. There were also the Austrian and Hungarian Delegations composed of representatives of both halves of the empire, which were to debate on common affairs in Vienna and Budapest alternately. The Compromise of 1867 provided that Austria was to bear 70% and Hungary 30% of the common expenditure. It also provided that financial concessions and customs and commercial accord between Austria and Hungary were to be revised every ten years.

The Hungarian sovereignty was recognized in the appointment of an independent cabinet of ministers responsible only to the Hungarian Parliament.

Dualism was to mean complete parity between Austria and Hungary. It was a sort of a de facto union between the two states, each composed of several provinces. Austria as a state was a federation under the emperor, consisting of Austria proper, Bohemia (with Moravia) and Galicia-Lodomeria. Only Austria had a unilingual German population with a small Italian minority.
The remaining two provinces within the Austrian federation, Bohemia and Galicia, were bilingual. In Bohemia the Czechs were the predominant majority, with the Sudeten Germans forming the substantial minority. In that province the Czech majority and the Sudeten German minority fought each other as to the respective rights of the Czech and German languages in the provincial diet, courts and organs of administration.

Galicia, which became part of the Austrian state after dismemberment of Poland, in its western part was Polish, while in eastern Galicia the Ukrainians (then commonly referred to as Ruthenians) formed a large majority, with the Poles in a minority, where the Polish minority was dominating the Ukrainian majority and was trying to impose the Polish language, customs, etc. upon the Ukrainian majority.

The Hungarian half of the Empire consisted of Hungary proper, with the Hungarian (Magyar) majority and the Slovak, Ruthenian (Ukrainian), Rumanian and German minorities, and the province of Croatia-Slavonia. The Magyar

majority was chauvinistic in the extreme, bent upon a complete extinction of the minorities. This Magyar policy forced the Slovaks and Ukrainians to use only the Magyar language as the language of instruction. The Magyars, however, were not successful in imposing their language upon the Croatians and Slavonians. Under the provisions of the Compromise of 1867 Croatia was an autonomous province with its own provincial diet and was to be represented by forty delegates in the lower house and by three delegates in the upper house of the Hungarian Parliament in Budapest.

It should be noted that the chauvinistic attempt of the Hungarians (Magyars) to extirpate the linguistic minorities had the opposite effect, both in the Hungarian and the Austrian halves of the Empire. It created the Yugoslav movement of the Croats, Serbs and Slavonians, and encouraged the Czechs, Ukrainians and Poles to demand national autonomy for their respective lands.

A great source of friction in the Austrian half was the question of suffrage and the disputes as to the number of deputies to be elected by various national groups to the diet or to the Central Parliament. The Austrian Parliament was the scene of furious fights between the deputies representing various national groups.

In 1909 Francis Joseph, Emperor of Austria and King of Hungary, proclaimed the annexation of Bosnia and Hercegovina. This step, intended to insure for Austria-Hungary a dominant position in the Balkans, led instead to the assassination of Francis Ferdinand, the Austro-Hungarian

heir apparent, which occasioned the First World War, resulting in the downfall and dismemberment of the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

No doubt, the real cause of the downfall and dismemberment of Austria-Hungary lay in the constitutional practice of Austria-Hungary adopted after the Ausgleich of 1867 which, instead of uniting the peoples of Austria-Hungary into one viable state, offered them opportunities and reasons for continual inter-racial strifes. It should be noted, however, that the government of the Austrian half, which during the first thirty-five years or so was not against applying the policy of divide et impera (divide and rule) by playing off one national group against the other, gradually began to introduce the policy of equal rights to national minorities, believing that this was the way to unify them into a new federal Austria. This policy, however, was introduced too late to be of any lasting effect.

I was born in Galicia where I received my elementary and high school education and where I witnessed in practice the application of the policy of divide and impera of the Austrian government, resulting in injustice, discrimination and political sculduggery. I would never dream of patterning the Canadian constitution upon the Austro-Hungarian Ausgleich of 1867 which proved a great political failure and ended in complete dismemberment of Austria-Hungary.

I dare say that if a scheme similar to the Austro-Hungarian Ausgleich were adopted in Canada, the same result would be witnessed in Canada, namely, the dualistic government

in Canada would be of a comparatively short duration and would lead only to deepening the bitterness, animosity, discrimination and all sorts of misunderstandings, disagreements and conflicts between the two principal races (peoples) and other ethnic groups in Canada and would finally and unavoidably lead to the separation of Quebec from the rest of Canada.

I have read with interest, in the Saturday Night for June, 1964, an article by John Gellner entitled "Dualism not good, not new" and wish to quote the following paragraphs with the contents of which I am in agreement:

> "What happened to Austria-Hungary as a consequence of the Ausgleich of 1867 is history. The First World War was merely the coup de grace. Abandonment of the unifying Austrian idea had long since brought with it inner dissolution, in a witch's cauldron of nationalist ferment. It all began when the threatening victory - and, ultimately, the victory - of Hungarian aspirations first stiffened the opposition to separatism, and then strengthened the separatist tendencies of the other principal (in terms of national consciousness, at least) nationality of the Empire, the Germans themselves. Their reaction - a response with virulent nationalism to virulent nationalism - has a distinct parallel in the mounting anti-separatist feelings of the English-speaking Canadians.
>
> Worse followed. Hungarian separatism and German

nationalism aroused similar feelings in the other nationalities of the Empire. In the end, in all the clamour for national identity and separate expression, the Austrian idea, the only one that could have acted as a bond where everything else was creating barriers, was for ever drowned.

After long and bitter experience, and what can best be termed a general civil war, Europe has succeeded in ridding itself of the aberrations of nationalism. Only just in time, when European civilization was almost at the point of extinction, the political leaders and the peoples of the Old Continent seem to have learned to emphasize the unifying, and to skirt around the divisive.

The destructive tidal wave of nationalism has rolled into Africa and Asia, areas now somewhere near the stage of political development of Europe at the end of the last century. It is sad indeed to see re-enacted in our own highly developed country the sorry follies of Europe of former years. Somehow, politically, we seem to be the retarded children of the West."

7. Is Canada two nations or one?

The answer depends upon what meaning is attached to the word "nation". "Nation" is not the term which has only one clearly defined meaning or usage. It is used principally in two senses: 1. as a race of people having the same language, religion, customs, history, etc., or, as

Dr. Eugene Forsey defines it, "an ethnic, cultural, sociological entity"; and 2. as a people of a country united under the same government or, as Dr. Forsey defines it, "a legal, constitutional juristic entity". In the view of Dr. Forsey, "Canada is both two nations and one; two nations in the ethnic, cultural, sociological sense; one nation in the political, legal, constitutional sense".

> Dr. Eugene Forsey; Canada: Two Nations or One. (McMaster University, Hamilton, 1962)

I believe that "nation" is used also in two more senses: 3. as a people having the same language, customs, history, etc. and occupying the same territory, which aspires to its independent statehood or self-determination, or as a people which has lost its former independent statehood as the Poles during the time of their partition or as the Ukrainians who lost their independent state formed under their Hetman Bogdan Khmelnitsky in the middle of the 17th century; and 4. as an equivalent of "state", without any restriction as to whether the state consists of one, two or more peoples (nations) united under one king (or emperor) as e.g. Belgium, which consists of two peoples (nations), Walloons and Flemish.

In this connection it may be noted that Lord Durham, when speaking in his report (1839) of "two nations warring in the bosom of a single state" used "nation" as designating "an ethnic, cultural, sociological entity".

While considering the present-day Canada as the federal state, consisting of two founding races or peoples,

English speaking and French speaking, it should be emphasized that Canada has been formed not as a result of the conquest or by a dynastic marriage but by a peaceful agreement or "political marriage" between two races (peoples) "to live and let live" in Confederation, with a reasonable degree of equal partnership between the contracting parties.

A.R.M. Lower: Colony to Nation.
Toronto, 1946, chapters 23, 24 and 25.

Confederation, nowadays approaching its centenary, obliterated the English conquest, the conquest of England over France in their struggle for world supremacy. Prior to the Peace of Paris (1763) the residents of Canada, both French speaking and English speaking, were the subjects of the King of France in the French colony of New France and after 1767 they became the subjects of the King of England in the British colony known at first as the Province of Quebec (1763-1791), re-named (in 1791) as the provinces of Upper Canada and Lower Canada and re-united as one province of Canada (1840-1867).

During those one hundred years there were attempts to Anglicize the French settlers which proved completely unsuccessful. At this point it should be noted that in 1822 a project of a bill for the union of the two Canadas, advocated mainly by the Montreal group of merchant politicians, proposed a return to English as the sole official language, along with a property franchise so high that most French-Canadians would be debarred from voting. Although the proposed bill was dropped by the British government, the mistrust aroused by it went into the general

bill of French grievances and led to the formation of the organization Les Patriotes under the leadership of Louis Joseph Papineau culminating in the Rebellion of November 23rd, 1837, which, although crushed militarily, had a positive political effect and led to a better understanding and relationship between the French-Canadians and the English speaking Canadians, resulting in Confederation of 1867.

At the same time, the people of Upper Canada were not satisfied with the political and economical conditions in their province governed by the Family Compact, leading to the movement of the Reformers under the leadership of William-Lyon MacKenzie, whose aim was the establishment of a responsible government in the Province. This movement, due to the intransigence and obstruction of the Family Compact, also culminated in a rebellion, the December Rebellion (of 1837) which, although crushed militarily as was the Papineau Rebellion, was instrumental in establishing self-government in Canada.

General dissatisfaction in both the Lower and Upper Canada, culminating in the Papineau and MacKenzie Rebellions, resulted in the appointment of Lord Durham as Governor-General and Lord High Commissioner of British North America (in 1838). Lord Durham submitted his report on January 31st, 1839, which report contained valuable recommendations as to how to introduce a better government in both Canadas, but which also advocated the Anglicization (or "Anglification" - the term used by Lord Durham) of the French-Canadians in Lower Canada. In order

to speed up such "Anglification", Lord Durham recommended that the provinces of Upper and Lower Canada be re-united within one province of Canada - and such union was effected by the Union Act of 1840. However, the Act of Union did not work as anticipated by its framers. Instead of bringing about the "Anglification", it in effect greatly strengthened the French-Canadians in their efforts to preserve their language and culture, their institutions and customs, and helped them to develop a spirit of co-operation and partnership with the English speaking Canadians by the formation of the Baldwin-Lafontaine ministry which contributed to the establishment of a responsible government in Canada and prepared the seeds of unity which, planted by the Fathers of Confederation, grew and blossomed into Canadian Confederation.

It should be noted that Confederation, although expressing a peaceful agreement ("political marriage") between the English speaking and French speaking Canadians, could be brought about only in the form of an Act of Great Britain, as the contracting parties were British subjects residing in the British colony in the three provinces of Canada, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, and for that purpose the British North America Act was passed by the British Parliament in 1867 to give effect to their desire "to be federally united into one Dominion under the Crown of the United Kingdom, Great Britain and Ireland, with a constitution similar in principle to that of the United Kingdom".

The Fathers of Confederation intended to create a strong federal state. Macdonald summed it up as follows: "In the proposed constitution all matters of general interest are to be dealt with by the general legislature, while the local legislatures will deal with matters of local interest, which did not affect the Confederation as a whole".

Edgar McInnes: Canada,
A Political and Social History,
New York-Toronto, 1947, at p. 303.

Macdonald intended but failed to get the desired title of "Kingdom of Canada", but he made clear his aim at full national status within the British Empire. Canadians would become a people "able from our union, our strength, our population, and the development of our resources, to take our position among the nations of the world. The colonies are now in a transition state.....Instead of looking upon us as a merely dependent colony, England will have in us a friendly nation - a subordinate but still a powerful people - to stand by her in North America in peace or in war".

McInnis, Canada, at p. 305.

Canada grew in stature and power since 1867. Consisting then of the three provinces, the province of Canada (which was subsequently divided into two provinces, Quebec and Ontario), the province of Nova Scotia and the province of New Brunswick, now it numbers ten provinces "from sea to sea", from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Canada acquired full status of an independent nation by the Statute of Westminster, 1931, and the only vestige of

colonialism in our consititution is the fact that the British North America Act is still the Act of the British Parliament instead of being the Act of the Canadian Parliament and that all amendments to it must be passed by the British Parliament. A way should and must be found to have this anomaly removed without delay.

Professor A.R.M. Lower, the eminent historian of Canada, conclusively shows in his outstanding work "Colony to Nation" (supra) that Canada is one nation not two. In particular, see chapters 23, 24 and 25 of his "Colony to Nation".

"Making one political body out of two is among the most difficult of human tasks", remarks Prof. Lower in the opening paragraph of chapter 23 (p.309). "The difficulty", he continues, "increases as the square of the number to be united, so to speak. It took centuries to unite England and Scotland, more centuries to form Italy or Germany. But here in this North American continent two political miracles have occurred: thirteen American states peacefully united to form the United States of America, and then three British provinces equally peacefully formed the Dominion of Canada"..... At the bottom of the same page (p.309) Prof. Lower says: "There was not much in the way of precedent: the United States and, more remotely, England and Scotland, or England and Ireland; possibly Switzerland"..

The mention of Switzerland as a precedent is very appropriate. In Switzerland, like in Canada, there are more than one official languages used by more than one people

but there is only one nation, the Swiss nation. In Switzerland there were three official languages, German, French and Italian, to which recently Romansh has been added, but the citizens speaking any of those four languages consider themselves not as members of four nations but all are members of one Swiss nation.

The same, it is submitted, should be observed with respect to Canada, where there are two official languages, English and French, where there are two founding peoples,French and English,and where there are also several other ethnic groups with their distinct languages and cultures, but they all are members of one Canadian nation.

8. May I again refer to and repeat the question raised in the first paragraph of part 6 (at p.9) of my brief:

> "What steps then should be taken in order to remedy the situation in which the French language and culture find themselves in the English-speaking provinces - the situation which, from the French point of view, is not only unsatisfactory and unfortunate for the French-Canadians, but critically dangerous for the future of Canada?"

After taking into consideration -

(a) the provisions contained in section 133 of the British North America Act which permit the use of either the English or the French language in Parliamentary debates and in the federal courts, together with

(b) the provisions of section 23 of the Manitoba Act of 1870, permitting the use of either the English or the French language in the (Manitoba) Legislature debates and in the federal courts, and

(c) the Act of the Manitoba Legislature of 1890 providing that the English language shall be the official language of the Province of Manitoba;

(d) the provisions respecting education contained in section 93 of the British North America Act, together with

(e) the provisions of section 22 of the Manitoba Act, as well as

(f) the statute of Manitoba relating to education passed in 1871, as well as

(g) the (Manitoba) Public Schools Act of 1890, and

(h) the ensuing litigation (Barrett v. Winnipeg and Logan v. Winnipeg, (1892) Appeal Cases, 445, (decision of the Privy Council) ), together with

(i) In re Certain Statutes of the Province of Manitoba relating to Education, a special case referred by the Governor-General-in-Council to the Supreme Court of Canada, ( (1894) 22 Supreme Court of Canada); as well as

(j) the fact of the great changes, from the ethnic and language point of view, in the four western provinces;

it is evident that under the present constitution of Canada

(1) bilingualism is provided for only in the administration of Canada at the federal level and in the federal courts of Canada;

(2) education is within the exclusive jurisdiction of the provinces;

(3) only the provinces have the right to permit or deny the use of the French language as the official language or the language of instruction;

(4) it is also evident that since about 1888 the French-Canadians have become a permanent minority in the three western prairie provinces and in British Columbia and that according to the 1961 Census of Canada the French-Canadians have lost their first place (after the English, Irish, Scottish and others from the British Isles) to the Ukrainians in Manitoba and to the Germans in Saskatchewan, Alberta and British Columbia.

As a member of the Ukrainian ethnic minority group and as one who loves and treasures the Ukrainian language and culture and is convinced that the preservation of the Ukrainian, German, Polish, Icelandic and other languages and cultures is necessary for the development of a distinctive Canadian culture, common to all Canadians, I cannot but feel great sympathy for and appreciation of the French language and culture and the necessity for their preservation.

I cannot, however, bring myself to agree with the demand voiced by some French-Canadians that as one of the two founding races the French-Canadian people must have, in every Canadian province, the same rights as to their language, culture and customs as they have in Quebec, and that the Canadian constitution should be changed so as to insure to them such rights. I consider

such demand as completely unrealistic.

Now as to the demand of the French-Canadians that they are entitled to have the French language introduced as the language of instruction in the schools situate in the districts with a substantial French population, I ask myself, as the father of my children, this question: Would it be to the benefit and in the best interest of my children to receive their primary and secondary schooling in the Ukrainian language as the language of instruction, in the province of Manitoba or Saskatchewan? (I resided in both these provinces in the districts with predominant Ukrainian majority).

To be honest with myself and my children I would have to reply to this question in the negative. In such a situation my children would not be prepared to take full part in the life of the province where they live, as they would not be able to compete in business, industrial and political activities, with those who had attended a school with the English language as the language of instruction.

The same, I dare say, is true of the French-Canadian children living in Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta or British Columbia, who would attend schools with the French language as the language of instruction. It is idle talk to claim that they can acquire sufficient knowledge of English in the street. This is impossible in the age of advancing automation which requires much higher education and schooling than a few years ago.

Still I believe that more attention should be paid to the French language in our schools in western Canada. I believe that the French language should be taught in all grades of the public school and high school, beginning in grade 1, and that, in addition, a few selected subjects on the school curriculum might be given in the French language.

I have had personal knowledge of bilingualism as a student of a bilingual (or utraquistic) high school (gymnasium) in Kitsman, a Ukrainian town in the Province of Bukovina in Austria. Half the subjects in that gymnasium were given in the Ukrainian language and the other half in German. This system of teaching, however, was not liked by the Ukrainians, and in the space of ten years or so the school became completely Ukrainianized.

Certainly it would be in the best interest of Canada, in her aim towards evolving a distinctive Canadian culture, to give an opportunity for the non-French students to study and acquire proper knowledge of the French language by introducing French in place of Latin as a prerequisite for a university course of study. Nowadays the study of Latin is not required in most countries of Europe, including the Soviet Union. A short course for the teaching of the meaning of the words and phrases, used in literature and in "intellectual" conversation, would suffice. And the students intending to study the law or medicine could acquire the knowledge of the words and phrases used in the law and medicine by spending comparatively little time in acquiring such knowledge.

In order to preserve the language and culture of the proportionately large ethnic minorities (such as the Ukrainians, Germans, Poles and Icelanders), the Ukrainian, German, Polish and Icelandic languages should be taught as a subject of study in the districts populated by the respective minorities and should be introduced as such subject not in the high school but in the lower grades of the public school, beginning as a conversational language in grade 1, the same as conversational French. Those languages should have full credits at the university. In addition, due to the importance of the Russian language in our age, the students, irrespective of their ethnic origin, should be given an opportunity to choose also Russian as a matriculation subject for the university.

The fact that education is within the exclusive jurisdiction of the provinces and that under our constitution the federal government cannot dictate to the provincial government its educational policy or what languages may be introduced in its school curriculum, does not rule out the possibility of discussions, conversations, conferences, arrangements or compromises between the federal and provincial governments in the sphere of education. We have an historical precedent in this connection in the Laurier-Greenway Compromise of 1897, which introduced bilingualism in Manitoba public schools. The bilingual clause imposed no limitation on the mother tongue which might be taught with English, whenever there were ten children of a language other than

English in a school. This clause allowed teaching not only of French or Mennonite (German) but also of Ukrainian and Polish.

W.L. Morton: "Manitoba - a History"
University of Toronto Press, 1957, p.311.

I have a vivid personal recollection of the events connected with the Compromise of 1897, which played a decisive role in my life. Towards the end of 1912 I arrived as an immigrant at the City of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, where two of my cousins lived. At that time I was an extra-mural law student of the University of Franz-Jozef in Lviv (then known as Lemberg) and planned to stay in Philadelphia only for two years in order to earn enough money for my tuition and living expenses after my return to the university at Lviv. However, I stayed in Philadelphia only for three or four days. I learned there that, in the province of Manitoba, teaching of Ukrainian with English was allowed in public schools and that I might obtain a permit to teach in one of such schools as I had a rudimentary knowledge of the English language acquired in my native land, the former Galicia.

I immediately packed my belongings, arrived in Winnipeg and after an interview with Dr. Fletcher, Deputy Minister of Education, I was recommended for obtaining a permit and was engaged by the trustees of the Chmelnicki school district, North-west of the town of Rossburn, where I taught school for six months (January to June, 1913), using in Grade 1 "The Manitoba Readers (Ruthenian-English) First Reader" published by Thomas Nelson and Sons, London, Edinburgh, Dublin and New York. I believe that the First Reader was the only Reader published. (I was lucky to

preserve a copy of the First Reader which was ordered to be destroyed by the Norris government in 1916 when the bilingual clause of the Compromise was repealed). I am certain that but for the Compromise of 1897 I probably would have never become a Canadian citizen.

In any event, between 1897 and 1916 the Ukrainians, Germans and Poles were on an equal footing with the French-Canadians as to their respective languages in the public schools in Manitoba.

9. 1. In addition to the recommendations with respect to bilingualism indicated in part 8 of this brief, I would like to make the following recommendations:

(a) Every Canadian who wishes to take full part in Canadian life and to be able to appreciate the cultures of the two founding peoples, if he is a French-speaking Canadian, should attempt to learn English, and if an English-speaking Canadian, should attempt to learn French. Of course, no one should be forced by law to learn the second language.

(b) Every Canadian aspiring to take active part in Canadian federal politics as a candidate for a member of Parliament or as one who aspires to serve on any commission appointed from time to time by the federal government, should know the two languages, English and French.

(c) Every person who wishes to become a civil servant in the federal administration should know the two languages.

2. With respect to culture:

(a) Every Canadian association, organization,

or body, interested in promoting Canadian culture through the medium of the English or French language, should be placed on an equal footing with respect to financial aid, grants and other assistance from the Canada Council, the Canada Foundation and other public or private organizations possessing funds for that purpose;

(b) Similarly, every Canadian association, organization or body, promoting culture of any of the ethnic groups through the medium of German, Ukrainian, Polish, Icelandic, Russian or other languages of the Canadian ethnic groups, should obtain proportionate aid, grants and other assistance from the Canadian Council, the Canada Foundation or other public or private organizations possessing funds for that purpose.

(c) There should be active cultural exchanges between associations, societies or groups promoting English and French culture, such as literary, musical, theatrical and other artistic groups and historical societies, in particular, between such associations, societies and groups of the Province of Quebec and similar associations, societies and groups in other provinces in Canada.

(d) There should be active exchanges of public school, high school, college and university professors and students, in particular, between those of the Province of Quebec and those in the other provinces in Canada.

(e) There should be active cultural exchanges between associations, societies and other bodies promoting culture of any ethnic group through the medium of the German, Ukrainian, Polish, Icelandic, Russian and

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(c) There should be active cultural exchanges between associations, societies or groups promoting English and French culture, such as library, musical, theatrical and other artistic groups and historical societies, in particular, between such associations, societies and groups of the Province of Quebec and similar associations, societies and groups in other provinces in Canada.

(d) There should be active exchanges of public school, high school, college and university professors and students, in particular, between those of the Province of Quebec and those in the other provinces in Canada.

(e) There should be active cultural exchanges between associations, societies and other bodies promoting culture of any ethnic group through the medium of the German, Ukrainian, Polish, Icelandic, Russian and

other languages, and similar organizations in their native countries, Germany, Ukraine, Poland, Iceland, Soviet Union and others.

(f) That Canada should enter into agreements respecting cultural exchanges with France, Germany, Ukraine, Poland, Iceland, Soviet Union and other countries.

(g) That the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation should pay more attention, both on the radio and television, to Ukrainian folk, symphonic and operatic music and give more opportunity to the Canadian listeners and viewers to hear more Ukrainian folk and symphonic music on the radio and to watch Ukrainian opera on television.

3. As to constitutional changes:

As I do not consider myself an expert in this field I feel that I am not competent to recommend any changes in the Canadian constitution as to the division of jurisdiction between the federal and provincial governments, in particular, in the matter of taxation and financing, and for the additional reason that I do not consider such matters as being within the terms of reference of the Commission.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

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All of which is respectfully submitted.

(Mary Symchych)